

Portuguese Humanism and
the Republic of Letters

Intersections

Interdisciplinary Studies in Early Modern Culture

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Portuguese Humanism and the Republic of Letters

Edited by

Maria Berbara and Karl A.E. Enenkel



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INTRODUCTION
TRANSOCEANIC CROSSROADS – PORTUGUESE HUMANISM
AND THE REPUBLIC OF LETTERS

Maria Berbara and Karl A.E. Enenkel

*Transoceanic Crossroads: Images of the Lusitanian Empire:
Italy, Portugal and the New World*

Historians and art historians have recently reminded us that globalisation is not a phenomenon that originated in the late 20th century.¹ For example, the expansion of the Lusitanian Empire in the 15th and 16th centuries – combined with inventions in the fields of transportation, communication and printing – was a cornerstone of a new age of globalisation. During the reign of King Manuel I, when Portugal experienced a period of unprecedented wealth, Lisbon became one of the most important sites of international exchange. In only two years – between 1498, when Vasco da Gama, after circumnavigating Africa, arrived in Calcutta, and 1500, when Pedro Álvares Cabral landed on the Brazilian coast – Portugal succeeded in establishing a global commercial maritime network; in the first decade of the 16th century, it strengthened its commercial bases on the western coast of Africa and in Brazil, Persia, Goa, Malacca, Timor. In this context, colonial conquests were understood as the fulfilment of biblical prophecies. The reign of King Manuel I was interpreted by humanists and artists in a providential sense: the King, whose very name goes back to the messianic tradition, was seen as the Messiah of a re-born Empire.

These concepts were often related to the classical past, which offered a language that could be applied in diverse ways to different historical contexts. Carolingians, Ottonians, French 18th century revolutionaries and Latin American 20th-century dictators, among many others, have used rhetorical and visual elements of the classical past in order to legitimise contemporary forms of government. The usage of the

¹ For the correction of the English, we want to express our gratitude to Walter Melion.

classical tradition reflects a dynamic process in which literary and artistic models are freely re-defined and applied in new contexts. A special quality of this process is its “universality”, i.e. the fact that it is extremely fit for international intellectual exchange. In his treatise *Da Pintura Antigua* (*On Ancient Painting*), written in the 1540's, Portuguese humanist and painter Francisco de Holanda tries to demonstrate the universality of what he calls ‘ancient painting’ by pointing out that its principles were present throughout the world: from Morocco to India, from Brazil to Peru, and even in China one notices the precepts of ‘ancient painting’.²

In the early modern period, Humanism stimulated an intellectual internationalisation analogous, *mutatis mutandis*, to the process described in 1924 by Spanish philosopher Ortega y Gasset in his *Revista del Occidente*: ‘Without a common programme, without any act or intention of propaganda, without any apparatus or instrument, it happened that the best members of European and American international organisations joined, without really knowing how, in a close contact’.³ Ortega felt that in different countries, dozens of thinkers not only began to take notice of other countries and cultures, but also started to feel more akin to thinkers living in different regions than to their own countrymen.

In the course of the 16th century, Portuguese intellectuals inserted themselves into the international humanistic *Republic of Letters* and its networks. An important stimulus was provided by the transfer of the University back to Coimbra, in 1537, and the efforts to transform it into an international academic centre. The gathering there of scholars from different parts of Europe culminated in the creation of the Real Colégio das Artes e Humanidades in 1542. Humanists such as Elie Vinet, George Buchanan, Nicolas de Grouchy, Fabio Arca, Sebastian Stockhamer, or Nicolaus Clenardus were brought together in what then became an intellectual centre of the highest order.⁴ Conversely, Portuguese scholars such as João de Barros or Damião de Góis built up their careers abroad. King João III generously granted thirty

² Cf. Francisco de Holanda, *Da Pintura Antigua*, ed. A. González García (Lisbon: 1983) 87–88.

³ Cf. *História como sistema y otros ensayos de filosofía* (Madrid: 1981) 105 ff.

⁴ King João III invited the humanist André de Gouveia, then rector of the university of Paris, to become director of the Colégio.

scholarships for Portuguese scholars to study abroad (mainly in Paris and Bordeaux).

In the visual arts, however, during the reign of King Manuel I international classicising tendencies were counter-balanced by efforts to create a specifically national visual language connected with maritime control (symbols such as anchors, caravels, cordage) and the discovery of new lands and peoples. The iconographical language belonging to the so-called Manueline style did not necessarily enter into dialogue with forms and motives derived from classical tradition. “Novelties” of Renaissance Italian provenance were often openly criticised, and such critical opposition continued well into the 16th century. Paulo Pereira, for example, in his essay on Manueline architecture, recalls a Portuguese popular play from ca. 1550 in which the Devil is represented as a classicist architect who competes with an old traditional Portuguese mason working in the Manueline style.⁵ A significant example of official resistance to the contemporary Italianising avant-garde is the set of illustrations in the *Ordenações d’El Rei D. Manuel* (Pietro da Cremona: 1514), which seems anchored in conservative visual idioms. The king is not depicted as a new Caesar or Augustus, but as a medieval monarch with his armour and crown, surrounded by Gothic architecture. This was combined with symbols attaching to the new empire: the armillary sphere, the strongest symbol of Manueline power, occurs throughout the illustrations.

Another means of propagating a new image of Portugal in Europe was the distribution of exotic animals. Most spectacular was the well known case of the elephant Hanno, which the King sent to Rome as a present on the occasion of Pope Leo X’s accession. The elephant’s name, of course, was a witty allusion to one of the most celebrated episodes of Roman history, namely Hannibal’s invasion of Italy. Pope Leo X was charmed by the present. He publicly celebrated the Portuguese overseas victories, and, in an Apostolic *breve* of 18 January, conveyed his best wishes to the Portuguese king: he hoped that he would see all of Africa converted to the Catholic Faith. The exotic gifts chosen by King Manuel I were aimed at emphasising Portuguese conquests overseas. In 1507, the Italian humanist Egidio da Viterbo celebrated the Portuguese maritime voyages with reference to classical Antiquity:

⁵ In “‘Armes divines’. La propagande royale, l’architecture manuéline et l’iconologie du pouvoir”, *Revue de l’Art* 133 (2001–2003) 47.

they had allowed Christianity to reach regions that were unknown even to Rome's greatest conqueror, Julius Caesar. In contemporary Portuguese culture, references to Classical Antiquity appeared less frequently. Portugal's conservative tendencies have been well examined by the historian of science Reyer Hooykaas (1904–1994), whose *Humanism and the Voyages of Discovery in 16th-Century Portuguese Science and Letters*, argues that Portugal experienced a conflict of loyalties.⁶ According to Hooykaas, these tensions were to a great extent due to a contradiction between the humanists' proclamation of the superiority of the Ancients and the maritime discoveries of the Moderns: the discoveries had demonstrated that the ancients were not infallible, and at the same time, they also highlighted the great achievements of modern Portuguese seamen and scientists.⁷

On the other hand, it seems clear that many humanists drew on classical models in order to highlight the existence of a new era heralded by the overseas discoveries. The words "new" and "era" abounded in the writings of humanists and poets such as Poliziano, Pedro Nunes or Luís de Camões.⁸ The concept of the *similitudo temporum* was used by humanists in order to create strong ties with classical antiquity. King Manuel was represented as a new Julius Caesar (like the historical Caesar, he conquered barbarous regions) and concurrently as the new Messiah who was the head of a newly evangelised world. In this sense, visual and rhetorical devices drawn from classical antiquity certainly did serve as means for the construction of an imperial ideology based on a cyclical conception of time, according to which Portugal gloriously appears as a revitalised *caput* of a new Christianised empire.

⁶ *Mededelingen der Koninklijke Nederlandse Akademie van Wetenschappen*, afd. Letterkunde, Nieuwe Reeks, vol. XL, no. 4, 15–16. According to Hooykaas, this feeling of triumph was particularly common amongst writers of "natural history" such as Duarte Pacheco Pereira and Garcia d'Orta, whereas "typical humanists" – i.e. Italianised intellectuals such as the aforementioned Francisco de Holanda, but also Buchanan or António Ferreira – emphasised the indispensability of ancient knowledge and minimised the contribution of the moderns.

⁷ Hooykaas quotes, among others, Garcia d'Orta's celebrated statement (1563) that 'nowadays more is known by the Portuguese in a single day than was known by the Romans in a hundred years' ('Digo que se sabe mais em hum dia aguora pellos Purtugueses, do que sesabia em cem años pollos Romanos'), and João de Barros passage in his *Rópica Pnema* (1532, 11–12): were Ptolemy, Strabo, Mela, Pliny the Elder and Galen to come back to life, the discoveries of the Portuguese would put them to shame and confusion.

⁸ The concept of a new world was for promulgated in Europe through Amerigo Vespucci's celebrated letter to Lorenzo di Pier Francesco de' Medici (the nephew of Lorenzo the Magnificent), written and published in 1502.

In the visual arts of Portugal, however, one fails to detect any consistent tendency firmly to define modern Portugal as the heir of classical Antiquity. The painter and writer Francisco de Holanda was exceptional in having explicitly formulated such a claim. Deeply rooted traditional aesthetic solutions impeded the formation of closer ties to Italy and the identification of Portugal with the classical past. This tendency toward cultural separatism may be discerned in the writings of such celebrated 16th-century Portuguese writers as Garcia de Resende, who deprecates the Portuguese voyages and the arrival of immigrants.⁹ In 1541, moreover, the reintroduction of the inquisition placed considerable restraints on academic freedom.¹⁰ Especially conspicuous in the visual arts, the Portuguese reluctance to refer to classical Antiquity or the Italian Renaissance may puzzle us, since Portugal was in other respects – politically, commercially and to some extent intellectually – quite close to Italy.

It would seem that only many decades after King Manuel's death – when the Lusitanian Empire was nothing but a faraway dream – did this connection become obvious and dominant. In 2008 the Lusophone world commemorated the bicentenary of the arrival of the Portuguese court in Brazil. On that occasion, Rio became the capital of the Portuguese empire – which then encompassed Portugal, Brazil and the African colonies.¹¹ The idea of transferring the court to Brazil dated back to 1580, when Spanish annexation buried any hope that the Lusitanian Empire might be reborn. When Portugal regained independence in 1640, many voices, among them that of the great Jesuit writer António Vieira, suggested that the court be transferred to the Americas not provisionally but permanently. With this end in view, Vieira utilised the image of imperial renovation – an idea that goes back to the old political concept of the *renovatio Romae*. At the same time, Vieira

⁹ 'Vimos muito espalhar / portugueses no viver, brasil, ilhas povoar,/ e às Índias yr morar/ natureza lhes squecer:/ [...] vemos no reyno metter / tantos captivos crescer,/ e yremse hos naturaes,/ que se assi for, seram mais /elles que nós, a meu ver', in *Miscellanea e variedade de historias, costumes, casos e cousas que em seu tempo aconteceram* (1554) (Coimbra: 1917) 67.

¹⁰ Cfr. Ramalho A. da Costa, *Para a história do humanismo em Portugal* (Coimbra: 1988), esp. chapter 5, 49–74. In the second half of his reign, many humanists working in Coimbra were persecuted and accused of Protestant heresy.

¹¹ As pointed out by Kirsten Schultz in her *Tropical Versailles* (New York-London: 2001) 1, this was an unprecedented moment in the history of Western modern imperialism. Never before had a European governor even visited, let alone lived in one of his colonies.

invoked the tradition of Portugal's Messianic future – mediaeval in design – according to which the Lusitanian Empire would correspond to the Fifth Empire of the Book of Daniel, where Daniel interprets a dream of Nebuchadnezzar.¹² Similarly, an engraving by Domingos António de Sequeira in the second edition of José António Sá's *Defeza dos direitos nacionaes e reaes da monarquia portuguesa*,¹³ represents Dom João, then the Lusitanian emperor, about to leave Portugal for Brazil; the inscription below – 'Exegit monumentum aere perennius' ('I have made a monument more lasting than bronze') – derives from the final poem in the third book of Horace's *Odes* and clearly legitimises by reference to classical antiquity the idea of grounding an imperial renovation on American soil.

Portuguese Humanism and the Republic of Letters

Given the complex and partly paradoxical character of early modern Portuguese culture, it is debatable how and to what extent, with respect to which fields, topics and discourses, Portuguese intellectuals were connected with the international *Republic of Letters*. There is a huge amount of relevant material as yet unexplored or awaiting closer examination. The lives, works and connections of many intellectuals in Portugal – both Portuguese and foreigners – have not been analysed sufficiently. The story of the intellectual exchange between Portuguese players and the international Republic of Letters resembles a large puzzle, many pieces of which are missing. The present volume represents an effort to address these questions, to add some pointers and supply some answers.

¹² For Vieira – who met the celebrated rabbi Menasseh ben Israel in Amsterdam and discussed millenarian and Messianic traditions with him – the conversion of all Jewish people, including those of the ten lost tribes, would indicate the arrival of the Fifth Empire, which would succeed the Babylonian, Persian, Greek and Roman Empires. Christ would then rule over the world through the mediation of the Pope and of a Catholic king. This king, according to Vieira, could be none other than King João IV, since only Portugal, commanding the universalising forces of the Atlantic, would be in the position of unifying all continents and beliefs. According to Thomas Cohen, Vieira was one of the first thinkers to recognise that the hierarchical distinctions between the metropolitan centre and colonial periphery were impediments to the imperial enterprise rather than its solid foundation. Cf. see See Cohen T., *The Fire of Tongues: António Vieira and the Missionary Church in Brazil and Portugal* (Stanford: 1998).

¹³ Second edition, Lisbon: 1816–1817.

The first section focuses on the exchange of knowledge that took place between Portuguese intellectuals and the Republic of Letters in the early-modern period. The evidence provided by the contributors suggests that Portugal was not a peripheral, remote or even provincial region. Rather, there were strong and clearly discernable ties between Portuguese and foreign intellectuals, with a large stream of information going to and fro. Foreign influences were intensely received and brought forth literary (e.g. Aquiles Estaço, António Ferreira, Diogo de Teive) and scholarly production (e.g. Sebastian Stockhamer, Manuel Severim de Faria). At times, Portuguese intellectuals initiated such production. For example, the Coimbra intellectual Sebastian Stockhamer turns out to have been the inventor of the genre of the emblem commentary (contribution by Karl Enenkel). Foreign books quickly found their way to Portugal (e.g. Erasmus, Alciato, Budé) and were discussed by Portuguese intellectuals; foreign intellectuals visited Portugal (e.g. Mariangelo Accursio, Elie Vinet, George Buchanan) and inspired Portuguese scholars. There were strong efforts to bring books to Portugal and to build up individual libraries, even if the erection of a public library in Coimbra met with difficulties (contribution by Ricarda Musser). In the 17th and 18th centuries, the Portuguese took a leading role in the transmission of knowledge to Asia via the networks of the Jesuit Mission in China (contribution by Noel Golvers).

Sylvie Deswarte's researches the intellectual pursuit of the Italian humanist, philologist, antiquarian and Neo-Latin poet Mariangelo Accursio (1489–1546) in relation to his sojourn in Portugal in 1527. Before his visit, Accursio was already well known in Portugal, and had established close relationships with several Portuguese intellectuals. One of his major scholarly achievements was in the field of epigraphy, the edition of the *Epigrammata Antiquae Urbis* (Rome: 1521), by then the largest collection of Roman inscriptions. His visit to Portugal greatly contributed to the understanding of and interest in Roman inscriptions by Portuguese intellectuals.

Ricarda Musser deals with the first century of Portuguese book printing and with book collections gathered by 16th-century scholars. In her contribution, she raises the important questions of which scholars were known, which books available, in what form, language and state (censored or not), and she also examines the scientific and literary debates in which these intellectuals engaged. Musser's overview testifies to how extensively Portuguese intellectuals were integrated into the networks of communication that bound together the 16th-century

European Republic of Letters. With respect to this process, she especially stresses the importance of private libraries on Portuguese soil, owned by foreign and local scholars. In the 16th century, they were the main tools for the transmission of knowledge. The public library of the University of Coimbra was initially only of secondary importance, and it greatly profited from these private libraries, as the recipient of donations from former professors and visiting scholars, such as the Italian Professor of Law, Fabio Arca de Narnia.

Catarina Barceló Fouto engages in related questions by focusing on the Portuguese reception of the works of Europe's leading humanist Desiderius Erasmus. She analyses the reception of his works in Portugal in the sixteenth century, comparing it to Spanish and Italian patterns of reception. It turns out that in Portugal – despite the religious and ideological *demarche* – the Inquisition did not play a major role. Even if the Portuguese intellectuals disagreed with Erasmus on religious and ideological grounds, they accepted his works as important if not indispensable and as prestigious literary models. Even with regard to political and religious topics, Portuguese humanists used them as examples and as storehouses of knowledge. Fouto illustrates this process through a close analysis of Diogo de Teive's mirror of princes, the *Institutio Sebastiani Primi*, a poem first published in 1558. Although Diogo de Teive disagreed with the main positions defended by Erasmus, he nevertheless took over the structure, main items and even verbatim quotations from Erasmus' *Institutio Principis Christiani*.

Karl Enenkel investigates the role of Sebastian Stockhamer (originally an alumnus of the University of Ingolstadt in Bavaria) who was part of the international group of humanistic intellectuals that came together in the formative years of Coimbra University in the 1540's, and who stayed in Coimbra until his death (ca. 1570). Enenkel analyses in particular the commentary on Andrea Alciato's influential *Emblematum libellus* (ed. pr. 1531), composed by Stockhamer in 1551/2 (ed. pr. 1556; ca. 14 editions). Enenkel argues that Stockhamer is in fact the inventor of the genre of the *scholarly emblem commentary*, an achievement usually ascribed to Claude Mignault (ed. pr. 1571). Enenkel analyses the nature and scope of the commentator's scholarship: it turns out that Stockhamer was well acquainted with a number of key works of modern humanism: by Lorenzo Valla, Pomponio Leto, Raffaele Maffei, Marcantonio Sabellico, Andrea Domenico Fiocchi, Niccolò Perotti, Pietro Crinito, Niccolò Leonico Tomeo, Guillaume Budé, Andrea Alciato and Desiderius Erasmus among others;

when commenting, he used them frequently as works of reference. By close analysis of Stockhamer's method of commenting, it is shown that he not only invented the scholarly emblem commentary but also the genre of the emblem commentary as encyclopaedic compendium. Indeed, his work constitutes an encyclopaedic collection of knowledge. Moreover, Stockhamer's emblem commentary sheds light on the humanist culture of Coimbra, the intellectual environment in which it was composed. It bears witness to the intense interest in emblematics to be found in Portugal at such an early stage (1540–1560), and additionally, demonstrates that many key works of Italian and international humanism were by then present in Portuguese private libraries, especially those of scholars working in Coimbra.

Jens Baumgarten analyses the role Portuguese theologians played in the post-Tridentine debate on images, focussing on the archbishop of Braga, the Dominican Bartholomew of Braga (Bartholomeus a Martyribus, 1514–1590), and on the Jesuit António Vieira (1608–1697). The use of images not only played a crucial role in the debates with the Protestants, but also in missionary politics, especially of Spain and Portugal. Bartholomew of Braga, who himself participated in the Council of Trent, of course defended, like many of his Italian colleagues, the veneration of images. According to Baumgarten, Portuguese theologians such as Bartholomew of Braga did more than merely assimilate Italian post-Tridentine conceptions of the use of images; they actually deepened them in a remarkable way by amalgamating current doctrine and anti-Protestant polemic with missionary discourses.

Noël Golvers assesses three major “private” book collections of Portuguese bishops who worked in China in the 17th (Diogo Valente in Macau) and 18th centuries (Polycarpo de Sousa and Alexander de Gouveia, both in Peking). With regard to the circulation of Western books in China, Portugal holds a particularly important position as the basis of the *‘padroado’* and the logistical platform for the Jesuit mission to the Far East. In a broader sense, Golver's paper demonstrates that Portuguese readers in China were open to the international book market, and elucidates some important aspects of the role Portugal played in the cultural and scientific exchanges between Europe and China.

Liam Brockey examines the wide, in fact global, network of correspondents maintained by Manuel Severim de Faria (1584–1655), a churchman and polymath who worked in Évora. Brockey investigates the tension between the stasis of the protagonist's life in a landlocked

provincial city and the far horizons of his intellectual contacts. Thanks to the presence of a university run by the Society of Jesus, Faria acted as patron to a host of men who would seek careers as missionaries in the lands belonging or adjacent to the Portuguese Empire. Brockey examines the types of information that Faria exchanged with his compatriots around the globe, surveying his range of interests and the exotic character of the objects that he accumulated for his personal collection. Like other European savants whose communications on matters cultural, scientific or intellectual contributed to the Republic of Letters, Severim de Faria had his own republic – albeit one that mirrors the far-flung commitments of contemporary Portugal – and thus an imperial republic. The contribution concludes with a sustained reflection on how Faria put his network to use in the cause of empire. It asks how patterns of sociability and correspondence contributed to building a recognisable framework for the re-establishment of the Empire after Portugal regained its independence in 1640.

The second section deals with the production of Portuguese literature in the framework of the international Republic of Letters. Thomas Earle focuses on António Ferreira's verse tragedy *Castro*. Written in the 1550's, while the author was a student at the University of Coimbra, it is the only vernacular tragedy to have come down to us from 16th-century Portugal. Earle analyses the many structural and linguistic parallels between *Castro* and the tragedies of Seneca, while also pointing out their differences. The author argues that even though *Castro* can be considered a *unicum* in Portuguese theatre of the 16th-century, both formally and in its content, the text contains a dense web of allusions both to ancient Roman and contemporary literary sources. Diogo de Teive's Latin tragedy *Iohannes Princeps*, for instance, has long been cited as one of Ferreira's sources. Earle also calls attention to differences between the two authors: Teive's tragedy conformed to the new ecclesiastical moralism connected to the Jesuit drama, which became the dominant mode of serious drama in Portugal from the late 1550's onwards, whereas in *Castro* – which also seems to dialogue with contemporary Neo-Latin tragedies such as Buchanan's *Jephthes* – there is room for doubt. Ferreira's choruses deal with the great issues of tragedy in an open-ended, undogmatic way, because the assertions of the first part of the double choruses are always contradicted by the second. No resolution of the contradictions is offered, and the effect of the choruses is to leave doubt in the audience's mind about the

issues raised. In this sense, Ferreira's play can be seen as one of the last products of Portuguese humanism.

Tobias Leuker and Alejandra Guzmán investigate the work of the Portuguese humanist Aquiles Estação (1524–1581). Estação lived in Paris and Louvain before he moved to Padua and then to Rome, where he worked under papal protection. In Louvain he was well acquainted with humanistic philologists such as Stephanus Pighius and Martinus Smetius; in Italy, he participated in the scholarly networks of leading humanists such as the antiquarians Pirro Ligorio, Ottavio Pantagato, Fulvio Orsini, Onofrio Panvinio and Antonio Agustín. Estação developed his scholarly works by engaging with the discourses of these leading antiquarians. In his writings he also drew on the rich collections of members of the Roman aristocracy and high members of the Papal Curia – men such as Cardinal Alessandro Farnese, Raffaele Maffei, Cardinal Rudolfo Pio da Carpi, Cardinal Francesco Maria del Monte (Madama) or Cardinal Pier Donato Cesi – as well as on the continuous stream of information from archeological findings and excavations. Guzmán focuses on the antiquarian aspect of Estação's production, in particular his interest in Roman epigraphy. Not only through his published works, but even more by reference to his manuscript annotations, preserved in the Biblioteca Vallicelliana in Rome, it is possible to understand the genesis of Estação's works in the framework of his scholarly exchanges with the leading humanists of his day. Tobias Leuker analyses Estação's Neo-Latin poetry, especially his *Sylvae aliquot* (1549). He demonstrates that Estação is one of the most remarkable early modern imitators of Statius. Estação's poems testify to his creativity – he re-discovered the *Silvae* as a genre for religious poetry – and to his profound knowledge of Statius' works.

The contributors to the third and last section, Onésimo Almeida, Cristóvão Marinheiro, Marília dos Santos Lopes, and Guiseppe Marocchi, mainly elaborate on the role the discoveries played in the production of knowledge. Almeida focuses on the expression “experience is the mother of things”, which is almost emblematic for the rise of the new “scientific” mentality that gained ground as the Portuguese maritime discoveries unfolded. The writings of humanists and scientists such as Duarte Pacheco Pereira (ca. 1455–ca. 1530), João de Castro (1500–ca.1548), Pedro Nunes (1502–1578), Garcia d'Orta (1490–ca. 1570), and Fernando Oliveira (ca. 1507–ca. 1585) reflect a deep awareness of the crucial importance of experience in the cognitive

process. Experience even replaced the authority of Aristotle's works as the fundamental criterion of truth. Experience was a *leitmotif* in their writings, in which they tried to make sense of the new discoveries.

Marinheiro analyses the last two chapters of book II of the commentary on *De coelo* by Manuel de Góis S.J. (1545–1597), edited in 1593, working out what knowledge the Jesuits had of geographical discoveries some hundred years after Columbus' first expedition. Since the modern scientific *imago mundi* had not been promulgated, they were caught between the contradictory conjectures of the church fathers and the new data coming from overseas about the antipodes, the Torrid Zone, the circumference of the earth and the Americas. Their attempts to resolve these contradictions, according to Marinheiro, clearly show the absence of the antagonistic historiographic concepts "modern" and "scholastic". In order to understand the status of mathematical studies within the University of Coimbra, the author analyses the correspondence of the Jesuits of Coimbra between 1562 and 1606, as well as the relations they maintained with Pedro Nunes (1502–1578) and Christophorus Clavius (1538–1612).

Marília Dos Santos Lopez focuses on three moments of an intensive cultural and intellectual exchange between Germany and Portugal: firstly, she examines personalities travelling from one country to the other (Valentim Fernandes or Hieronymus Münzer on the one hand, Damião de Góis on the other); secondly, she analyses the discursive migration of texts from Lusitania to Germany (by the means of translation); and, finally, she reconstructs the extended intellectual discussion those texts caused in Germany during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. Portuguese navigation proved to be the starting point of a new scientific approach in which contemporary experience met ancient authority, as shown by the work of Garcia d'Orta and others. In the last contribution Guiseppe Marcocci focuses on Prester John, a major figure on the Portuguese mythological horizon since the mid-fifteenth century. He points out that in spite of his importance, he is not mentioned in Luis de Camões' *Lusíadas* (1572), nor does Camões give any space to Ethiopia, the land believed to host Prester John's legendary Christian kingdom. This omission, as Marcocci argues, is an outstanding example of the fluctuation of Ethiopia's image as part of the symbolic code that in Renaissance Portugal expressed aspirations and dreams, anxieties and concerns linked to the project of imperial expansion. Through a comparative analysis of the use of the Ethiopian

myth by European humanists, Marcocci reconstructs contrasting views of the Portuguese empire (its administration, wars, efforts at evangelisation, trade and encounters with non-European populations, including Eastern Christians); the image of Ethiopia works in this sense as a prism of tensions in the realm of imperial culture.

The editors are well aware that at the present stage of research it is totally impossible to tell the whole story of the relationship between Portuguese intellectuals and the international Republic of Letters. The material is so vast that it would require the life-long efforts of many scholars to study and interpret. The libraries of Oxford alone contain more than a thousand works written by Portuguese intellectuals, which have hitherto not been sufficiently studied. As a consequence, this volume purports to be indicative rather than conclusive. But this drawback may also have a stimulating effect. The editors wholeheartedly hope that the volume may focus the attention of more scholars on Portuguese Humanism, inspire them to explore some of the puzzles it poses and to enter bravely into those expanses of Portugal's intellectual landscape that remain unexplored.

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I. THE EXCHANGE OF KNOWLEDGE
BETWEEN PORTUGUESE HUMANISM AND
THE REPUBLIC OF LETTERS

LE VOYAGE ÉPIGRAPHIQUE DE MARIANGELO ACCURSIO AU PORTUGAL, PRINTEMPS 1527

Sylvie Deswarte-Rosa

Introduction

Dans l'histoire culturelle des relations entre l'Italie et la péninsule ibérique au début du XVI^e siècle, la figure du philologue et épigraphiste Mariangelo Accursio (L'Aquila 1489–1546) a peu retenu l'attention.¹ Il a pourtant séjourné près de quatre ans en Espagne, entre octobre 1525 et août 1529, en tant que majordome du jeune margrave Johann Albrecht von Brandenburg venu parfaire son éducation à la cour de Charles Quint. Il profite des déplacements de la cour, alors itinérante, pour explorer passionnément la péninsule à la recherche d'inscriptions épigraphiques. Au printemps 1527, Mariangelo Accursio entreprit à partir de Valladolid, où résidait alors la cour de Charles Quint, un voyage épigraphique au Portugal depuis Saint-Jacques-de-Compostelle où il s'était rendu en pèlerinage.

Certains voyagent au XVI^e siècle à la recherche de livres imprimés tel Fernando Colón, fils de Christophe Colomb et fondateur de la célèbre Biblioteca Colombina à Séville, d'autres de monnaies romaines tels Jacopo Strada et Hubertus Goltzius, d'autres encore d'inscriptions antiques. Accursio appartient à cette dernière catégorie, caressant, semble-t-il, le rêve fou de composer un ouvrage épigraphique à l'échelle de l'Europe à l'époque de l'Empire romain. Ce rêve est né sans doute lors de son travail de correction du premier livre épigraphique imprimé de la Renaissance, *Epigrammata Antiquae Urbis* (Rome,

¹ Cet article sur Mariangelo Accursio au Portugal a comme point de départ une communication, non publiée, au colloque *Gramática e Humanismo. Colóquio de Homenagem a Amadeu Torres*, Braga, Univ. Cat. Port., Fac. de Philos., 20–22 avril 2005. Pour une biographie de Mariangelo Accursio, voir Dragonetti A., *Le Vite degli Illustri Aquilani* (L'Aquila: 1847) 11–30 «Accursio Mariangelo»; Campana A., «Accursio (Accorso), Mariangelo», *Dizionario Biografico degli Italiani* 1 (Rome: 1960) 126–132; Gimeno Pascual H., «Mariangelo Accursio», *CIL II*² (Universidad de Alcalá: http://www2.uah.es/imagenes_cilii/Anticuarios/Textos/Accursio.htm).

Jacopo Mazzocchi: 1521). Il ne se réalisera qu'au XIX^e siècle avec le *Corpus Inscriptionum Latinarum*, le fameux CIL.²

Mariangelo Accursio, qui a déjà visité une bonne partie de l'Europe dans cette quête épigraphique quand il arrive en Hispania, apparaît comme un des premiers épigraphistes de la Renaissance à parcourir la péninsule ibérique. Il offre dans ses recueils d'inscriptions, ou sylloges (du grec *sylogai*), une première ébauche de corpus d'inscriptions de l'Hispania classées topographiquement, au gré de ses excursions suivant l'*Itinéraire* de l'Empereur romain Antonin.³ Deux sylloges d'Accursio, conservées à la Biblioteca Ambrosiana de Milan,⁴ témoignent de ses périples ibériques et font figure de précurseurs cinquecenteschi de CIL II *Hispania* (Berlin: 1869), élaboré par Emil Hübner.

Pour ses relevés d'inscriptions, Accursio adopte la forme de l'itinéraire, notant le nombre de lieues parcourues, à côté des noms des agglomérations rencontrées, des fleuves, ainsi que des villes, rédigeant de courts textes introductifs avec le nombre d'habitants, la présence ou non d'un évêché, à la manière d'un guide de voyage. Exceptionnellement, il dessine la topographie des lieux, par exemple en Andalousie, le port de Santa Maria de Gadès (Cadix), de forme triangulaire,⁵ ou le plan (*ichnographia*) et l'élévation d'un temple près de Tarifa,⁶ à la pointe sud de l'Espagne, sur le détroit de Gibraltar. Il note éventuellement les personnes rencontrées, indications précieuses. Chemin faisant, il relève les inscriptions romaines. Certaines sont encadrées dans des

² Sur le CIL, *Corpus Inscriptionum Latinarum*, voir le site Berlin-Brandenburg Academy of Sciences and Humanities: http://cil.bbaw.de/cil_en/dateien/cil_baende.html, et aussi pour la péninsule ibérique, le site *CIL II² Inscripciones según conventos* du Centro CIL II de l'Universidad de Alcalá à Madrid.

³ Löhberg B., *Das 'Itinerarium provinciarum Antonini Augusti': ein kaiserzeitliches Strassenverzeichnis des Römischen Reiches*, 2 vols. (Berlin: 2006). Pour la péninsule ibérique, voir Roldán Hervás J.M., *Itineraria Hispana. Fuentes antiguas para el estudio de las vías romanas en la península ibérica* (Valladolid – Granada: 1975) 19–101 and pl. I–VIII.

⁴ Milan, Biblioteca Ambrosiana, ms. O 125 sup. et ms. O 148 sup., deux versions des périples ibériques d'Accursio en partant de l'Allemagne. Nous suivons, comme Emil Hübner, le ms. O 125 sup. dont nous avons le microfilm. Xavier Dupré i Raventós, dans son étude du périple d'Accursio en Catalogne, suit pour sa part le ms. O 148 sup., qui lui semble être fait sur le terrain, l'autre étant une copie au net faite par l'auteur. La comparaison des deux pages qu'il publie du Ms. O 148 sup. ne montre pas de différences avec Ms. O 125 sup. Voir Dupré i Raventós X., «Mariangelo Accursio. Un humanista italià a la Catalunya de principis del segle XVI», in *Miscellània Arqueològica a Josep M. Recasens* (Tarragona: 1992) 45–56.

⁵ Ambrosiana, ms. O 125 sup., fol. 235r: 'Portu S. Mariae ad Gadem'. Voir Fig. 10.

⁶ Ambrosiana, ms. O 125 sup., fol. 240r.

édifices modernes, car, comme écrit vingt ans plus tard le Portugais Gaspar Barreiros dans sa *Chorographia*,⁷ les hommes aiment à 'illustrer leurs édifices' en y insérant des inscriptions romaines, qui non seulement sont belles, mais aussi signe de l'antiquité du lieu. Accursio évoque en passant les monuments romains rencontrés, en faisant parfois de rapides croquis. Il esquisse ainsi dans la vallée du Rhône la célèbre Meta, pyramide à piédestal tétrapyle, de l'amphithéâtre de Vienne en France,⁸ puis en Hispania l'arc de Medinaceli⁹ et l'arc tétrapyle de Cáparra, l'antique Capera en Estrémadure¹⁰ [Fig. 1]. Cet arc a frappé plus d'un voyageur en Espagne, notamment dix ans plus tard, le jeune Francisco de Holanda, en chemin vers Rome en 1538, qui évoque l' '*antigualha de Capara*' par deux fois dans ses écrits.¹¹

Accursio combine ainsi la formule antique de l'*Itinéraire* d'Antonin et la formule médiévale des Catalogues de chemins (*Relaciones de Caminos*). Comme plus tard chez Gaspar Barreiros dans sa *Chorographia*, l'*Itinéraire* d'Antonin, une de ses sources majeures de l'Antiquité, est omniprésent à l'arrière-plan de la sylloge d'Accursio. À travers les itinéraires d'Antonin, bien que 'corrompus par la vieillesse du temps et par la barbarie des traducteurs, nous apprenons encore aujourd'hui beaucoup de choses de l'Antiquité et nous corrigeons l'ignorance des modernes', écrit Barreiros dans sa dédicace au cardinal-infant D. Henrique.¹² Accursio a sans doute en sa possession une des éditions

⁷ Barreiros Gaspar, *Chorographia de alguns lugares que stam em hum caminho que fez Gaspar Barreiros o anno de MDXXXVI* (Coimbra, João Alvares: 1561) sur son voyage de Badajoz à Milan en 1546, avec une dédicace au Cardinal-Infant D. Henrique, de Rome, le 15 janvier 1548, fol. 22v: 'vemos em alguns edificios modernos, pedras de Romãos com letras que os homens por illustrarem suas obras n'ellas encaixam'.

⁸ Ambrosiana, ms. O 125 sup., fol. 154v.

⁹ Ambrosiana, ms. O 125 sup., fol. 265r.

¹⁰ Ambrosiana, ms. O 125 sup., dans l'*Itinerarium ab Olmedo ad Divam Gvadalu-piam et Inde ad Emeritam* (8 octobre 1527), dans la section «Ab Emerita [...] Alcantarã», fol. 196r: 'Ventas de Cappara'. Arc à Ventas de Cáparra, via Valladolid, sur la voie romaine qui selon l'*Itinéraire* de Antonin va d'Emerita (actuelle Mérida) à Caesaraugusta (actuelle Saragosse). Voir E. Hübner, *CIL*, II, 1869, p. 100; *CIL*, 834 (Accursius, *Hisp.* XXVII 33): 'Urbe [Capera] media arcus cui nom vulgo Las Torres [dessin de l'arc], in cuius parte altera, inter duas columnas laevo latere inscriptio talis litteris conditissimis et grandiosibus'. Voir Roldán Hervás, 1975, 81-83 et Pl. III; García y Bellido A., «El tetrapylon de Capera (Cáparra, Cáceres)», *Archivo Español de Arqueología* 45-47 (1972-1974) 45-90.

¹¹ Dans deux passages sur les voies romaines, occasion pour évoquer son voyage. Voir Francisco de Holanda, *Da pintura antiga*, 1548, Quatrième Dialogue et *Da Fabrica que falece à Cidade de Lisboa*, 1571, cap. 7, fol. 22r.

¹² Barreiros, *Chorographia* fol. +iii r: 'D'onde tambem nacerã os itinerarios no sertã, como mandou fazer por muitas provincias do mundo o Emperador Antonino,

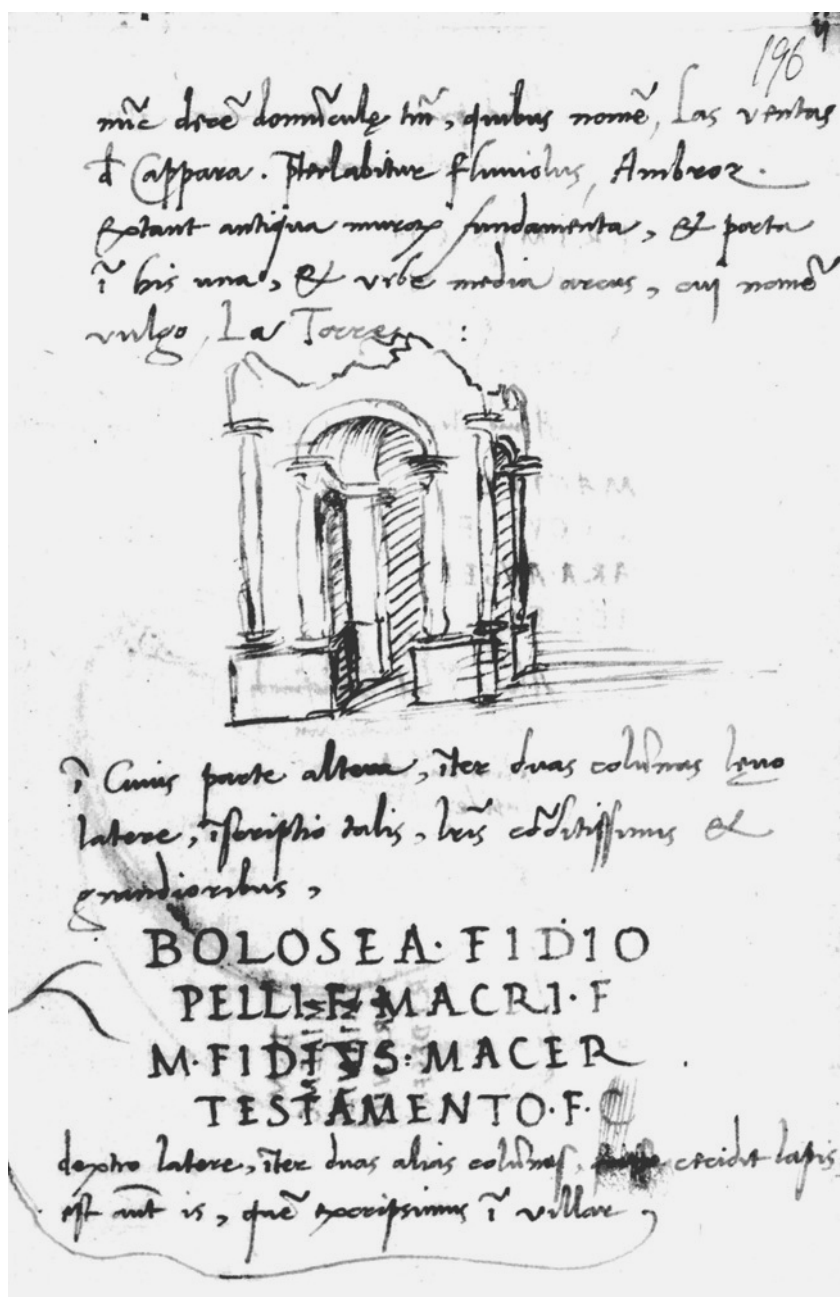


Fig. 1. Mariangelo Accursio, Arc tétrapyle de Cáparra en Estrémadure. Page de sa sylloge, dessin à la plume, Milan, Biblioteca Ambrosiana, ms. O 125 sup., fol. 196r.

de l'*Itinerarium provinciarum Antonini Augusti*, que ce soit celle in-16 de Paris, par Geoffroy Tory chez Henri Etienne en 1512,¹³ ou celle in-8° de Venise chez Aldo Manuzio en 1518 édité avec d'autres textes géographiques de l'antiquité: Pomponius Mela, Julius Solinus et son *Polyhistor*, Publius Victor.

Les sylloges d'Accursio ont ainsi été étudiées attentivement par les auteurs du XIX^e siècle, Theodor Mommsen, Wilhelm Henzen, Otto Hirschfeld, Herman Dessau et pour la péninsule ibérique, Emil Hübner, en vue de l'élaboration des volumes du CIL où sa vie, ses œuvres et surtout ses relevés épigraphiques sont souvent cités.¹⁴ Chargé du volume sur l'*Hispania* par Mommsen, au nom de l'Académie de Berlin, Emil Hübner a séjourné dans la péninsule ibérique en 1860–1861, consacrant les mois de mai à août 1861 à la visite du Portugal, y revenant vingt ans plus tard en 1881 pour le *Supplementum*.¹⁵ Hübner a ainsi recueilli à son tour les inscriptions de la péninsule ibérique,

os quaes posto que deparvados da velhice do tempo, & da barbaria dos trasladores, inda agora per elles sabemos muitas cousas das antigas, & emendamos a ignorancia dos modernos'.

¹³ Deux exemplaires de cette édition sont conservés à la Bibliothèque Nationale de Lisbonne (RES. 301 P, RES. 2098 P).

¹⁴ *Corpus Inscriptionum Latinarum* II, *Inscriptiones Hispaniae Latinae*, éd. E. Hübner (Berlin: 1869) VII–VIII; *CIL* II *Inscriptiones Hispaniae Latinae. Supplementum*, éd. E. Hübner (Berlin: 1892); *CIL* III *Inscriptiones Asiae Provinciae Evropa Graecarum Illyrici Latinae*, éd. T. Mommsen (Berlin: 1873) XIX, 154 (Dacie et Pannonie, actuelle Roumanie et Hongrie), 705 *Raetia* (actuelle Bavière); *CIL* V, 1, *Inscriptiones Galliae Cisalpiniae Latinae*, Pars I «Inscriptiones regiones Italiae Decimae», éd. T. Mommsen (Berlin: 1872) 79 (Aquileia); *CIL* V, 2, Pars 2 «Inscriptiones Regionum Italiae undecimae et novae», éd. T. Mommsen (Berlin: 1877) XIII 79 (Aquilensia), 430 (Brixiana), 529 (Tridentina), 706 (Ticinensia), 884 (Genuatia); *CIL*, VI, I, *Inscriptiones Urbis Romae Latinae*, éd. W. Henzen (Berlin: 1876) XLVI–XLVII, num. XXI Franciscus de Albertinis (sur les corrections d'Accursius), num. XXV Apianus, num. XXVII «Mariangelus Accursius Aquilanus»; *CIL* IX, *Inscriptiones Calabriae, Apuliae, Samnii, Sabinorum, Piceni Latinae*, éd. Th. Mommsen (Berlin: 1883) XXV–XXVI, 397–399, 20 n. 407 (biographie et chronologie d'Accursio) et 398 (sur les pierres de la collection d'Accursio); *CIL*, XII, *Inscriptiones Galliae Narbonensis Latinae*, éd. O. Hirschfeld (Berlin: 1888), XIV *Viennensis*, 220 (Accursio à Vienne), 384 (Nîmes); *CIL*, XIV *Inscriptiones Latii veteris Latinae*, éd. Herman Dessau (Berlin: 1887) XI, 369, VII (Tibur).

¹⁵ Sur Emil Hübner (Düsseldorf: 1834 – Berlin: 1901), voir Tormo E., «Homenaje español a la memoria de Emil Hübner: el fundador de la moderna arqueología hispánica», *Boletim de la Real Academia de la Historia* 121 (1947) 489–506; Le Roux P., «E. Hübner ou le métier d'épigraphiste», in Étienne R. (éd.), *Épigraphie Hispanique. Problèmes de méthode et d'édition* (Paris: 1984) 17–31; Stylow A.U. – Gimeno Pascual H., «Emil Hübner», in Ayarzagüena Sanz M. – Mora Rodríguez G. (éd.), *Pioneros de la Arqueología en España del siglo XVI a 1912* (Alcalá de Henares: 2004) 333–340, en particulier 336 sur le Portugal (mai-août 1861).

référant les transcriptions antérieures faites par d'autres épigraphistes, à commencer par Accursio. Dans ce travail, Hübner renvoie aux *schedae* des sylloges d'Accursio publiées au XVIII^e siècle par Lodovico Antonio Muratori dans son *Novus thesaurus veterum inscriptionum*.¹⁶ Dans les notices sur les auteurs de sylloges qu'il est amené à citer, Hübner élabore une étude pionnière sur Mariangelo Accursio et sur son itinéraire dans la péninsule ibérique.¹⁷ Il apprécie pleinement sa valeur en tant qu'épigraphiste. Les *schedae* d'Accursio sont 'la contribution la plus ancienne et la meilleure sur les inscriptions découvertes dans la péninsule', déclare-t-il dans ses *Noticias Archeologicas de Portugal*, publiées à Lisbonne en 1871 par les soins de l'Academia Real das Sciencias.¹⁸ Mais Hübner a peu prêté attention aux commentaires annexes d'Accursio écrits dans les marges ou dans de courtes notices introductives, souvent de lecture difficile, pourtant riches en informations sur les lieux traversés et sur les antiquaires de la péninsule ibérique qu'il a rencontrés. Il le fait parfois, mais de façon non systématique. Ce n'était pas son propos. Il y avait trop à faire.

En fait, l'étude des sylloges d'Accursio est une source de renseignements précieux sur l'Europe au XVI^e siècle, comme le soulignent Marc Mayer et Helena Gimeno Pascual.¹⁹ L'étude systématique de ses sylloges, sous leurs différentes facettes, mériterait d'être reprise, pays par pays et région par région, ce qu'a commencé à faire, par exemple, Xavier Dupré i Raventós (1992) pour la Catalogne.

Pour la qualité des transcriptions, exceptionnelle pour l'époque, comme le souligne Georges Fabre à propos de Conimbriga ou de la Catalogne,²⁰ les sylloges d'Accursio sont étudiées par les épigraphistes

¹⁶ Muratori Lodovico Antonio, *Novus thesaurus veterum inscriptionum*, 6 vols. (Milano, ex aedibus Palatinis: 1739–1742).

¹⁷ Hübner, *CIL II, Inscriptiones Hispaniae Latinae*, éd. E. Hübner (Berlin: 1869) VII–VIII. Voir aussi Hübner E., *Noticias Archeologicas de Portugal* (Lisbonne: 1871).

¹⁸ Hübner, *Noticias Archeologicas de Portugal* 7: 'As schedae do Accursio, o mais antigo e o melhor subsidio em relação às inscrições descobertas na Pensinsula'.

¹⁹ Mayer M., «Epigrafia hispánica y transmisión literaria con especial atención a la manuscrita», in Étienne R. (éd.), *Epigraphie Hispanique. Problèmes de méthode et d'édition* (Paris: 1984) 35–53, en particulier 50 n. 28; Gimeno Pascual, «Mariangelo Accursio».

²⁰ Fabre G., «Accursius, Hübner et l'épigraphie de Conimbriga», in Étienne R. (éd.), *Epigraphie Hispanique. Problèmes de méthode et d'édition* (Paris: 1984) 61–67; Mayer M. – Fabre G. – Rodà I. (éds.), *Inscriptions romaines de Catalogne 4: Barcino* (Barcelona: 1997) 16: 'Dans la deuxième partie des années 1520, M. Accursio copia plusieurs inscriptions barcelonaises avec une compétence qui ne sera égalée que beaucoup plus tard; sa contribution ne sera jamais assez mise en valeur et nous tentons

d'aujourd'hui qui ne craignent pas, à l'occasion, de regarder dans les marges, de lire les notices introductives pour chaque ville, de relever au passage un proverbe populaire noté par exemple par Accursio à Madrid,²¹ dans une vision plus large et moins restrictive.

Outre la richesse épigraphique, il y a en effet en filigrane dans les sylloges d'Accursio le récit de ses voyages, l'indication de ses périples dans leur chronologie, des bribes de l'histoire événementielle et puis la vie de tous les jours, les fêtes religieuses, les aléas météorologiques, les épidémies endémiques de peste... Un paysage se dessine. On franchit des montagnes, on traverse des fleuves, on découvre des ponts romains, on recherche avec lui les bornes milliaires sur les anciennes voies romaines, on voit se profiler des villes à l'horizon, on va jusqu'au bout de l'Europe, jusqu'à Punta de Tarifa au-dessus du détroit de Gibraltar face à la grande Afrique et jusqu'à Finisterre surplombant le vaste Océan.

À côté de la magie des lieux, il y a les rencontres, notées laconiquement le plus souvent, un nom dans la marge ou quelques lignes en tête d'une inscription. La notation, en marge de ses relevés d'inscriptions, de noms d'érudits et de collectionneurs, certains qu'il a dû connaître à Rome, est l'un des aspects les plus riches, et les moins exploités, de ces sylloges. Ainsi se dessine un véritable réseau d'antiquaires et d'épigraphistes s'étendant sur la péninsule ibérique tout entière comme sur l'Europe dans ses différents pays en ce début du XVI^e siècle. Parmi les noms cités par Accursio au cours de ses périples ibériques, il y a ainsi : Onofre Comes, à Tarragone, fin octobre 1525, Melchior Podesta Perusino, à Cartagène, 'D. Nicolao Trapolino Patavino', 'D. Io. Alberto Vicedomino Parmensi', D. Diego Hurtado de Mendoza tous les trois à Grenade en juillet 1526, Melendes à Ciudad Rodrigo, Francisco de Sá, à Coimbra, le Jeudi Saint 1527, Giorgio Cozero, familier autrefois de l'évêque de Pistoia, à Vila Franca de Xira près de Lisbonne, 'Hernando Pedrosa Alcantarensi', à Alcantara, etc. C'est la découverte du nom de 'Francisco de Sá', le célèbre poète portugais Francisco de Sá de Miranda, écrit à côté du nom de Coimbra, qui nous a incité à étudier de plus près le périple lusitanien d'Accursio.

Mais avant de suivre son voyage dans la péninsule ibérique et plus particulièrement au Portugal, il nous faut évoquer les débuts d'Accursio

dans notre travail de rendre justice à sa science en utilisant ses lectures et ses dessins à propos de monuments aujourd'hui perdus'.

²¹ Voir Gimeno Pascual, « Mariangelo Accursio ».

à Rome sous Jules II et Léon X où il est beaucoup question de lui et pas sous un jour favorable, dans la correspondance diplomatique portugaise.

Accursio dans la Rome de Jules II. L'affaire de São João de Tarouca

Les biographes de Mariangelo Accursio font commencer sa carrière d'humaniste à Rome sous Léon X en 1513, à l'âge de 23 ou 24 ans, avec la publication du dialogue *Osci et Volsci dialogus ludis Romanis actus* [Rome, 1513]. Cependant, les sources diplomatiques portugaises nous permettent d'ajouter une page à la biographie d'Accursio à la fin du pontificat du pape Jules II (1503–1513), où il jouit d'une singulière faveur en dépit de sa jeunesse. Il est en effet beaucoup question d'Accursio, ancien camérier du cardinal de San Clemente et secrétaire aux brefs du pape Jules II qui en a fait son favori à la fin de sa vie. Preuve de la confiance du pape, Ascanio Condivi dans sa *Vita di Michelangelo Buonarroti* (Rome: 1953) rapporte que Jules II lui confia le délicat rôle d'intermédiaire auprès du génie irascible Michelangelo.

Dans leurs lettres au roi du Portugal D. Manuel, les ambassadeurs et agents portugais à Rome sous Jules II dans les années 1511–1513, font un portrait peu flatteur de ce favori du pape à propos de l'affaire de São João de Tarouca qu'Accursio s'est vu attribuer. Situé au Nord du Portugal, près de Lamego, c'est l'un des plus importants monastères cisterciens, le premier à être fondé, lié au début de la royauté portugaise. Accursio en a hérité à la mort du cardinal San Clemente, le vénitien Francesco Argentino, dataire sous Jules II. Francesco Argentino avait été fait cardinal de San Clemente lors de la sixième promotion de cardinaux par Jules II le 17 mars 1511, mais il mourut seulement cinq mois après, le 23 août 1511, enterré à S. Maria in Trastevere.²² On a l'écho de cette mort dans les Mémoires du 'Fidalgo de Chaves', un agent du duc de Bragance D. Jaime, qui séjourne à Rome entre 1510 et 1517 et évolue au début de son séjour dans le cercle de Jules II della

²² Voir Eubel K., *Hierarchia catholica medii aevi et recentioris aevi* (Padova: 1913–1967) III, 12: '23. Franciscus Argentino de Venetiis, ep. concordien., S. D. N. datarius = tt. s. Clementis (Concordiensis) 1511 Mart. 17, † ex. C. R. 1511 Aug. 23'. Voir aussi Panvinius Onophrius, *Romani Pontifices et cardinales S.R.E. ab eisdem a Leone IX ad Paulum IV* (Venice, Michele Tramezzino: 1557) 316: 'Sexta IX Cardinalium Creatio: Francisus Argentinus Venetus, Episcopus Concordiensis, Datarius, Presbyter Card. tt. S. Clemente'. Sur la création de cardinaux sous Jules II, voir Pastor L. von, *Storia dei Papi* (Rome: 1959), vol. III, 270.

Rovere. Il évoque le cardinal San Clemente, l'un des cardinaux créés par Jules II, qui 'mourut de fièvres quand j'arrivai à Rome' ('moreo de febres quando cheguei à Roma').²³ Suite à cette mort précoce, Francesco Argentino n'eut pas le temps de payer les dettes engagées pour obtenir le chapeau de cardinal, notamment vis-à-vis d'Accursio, son camérier,²⁴ et c'est ainsi que ce dernier reçut en dédommagement le bénéfice de São João de Tarouca, comme il ressort des lettres des agents portugais. Cette affaire est au centre de la correspondance diplomatique portugaise pendant les trois années de la fin du pontificat de Jules II, à côté de la question de la nomination d'un Portugais lors de la prochaine création de cardinaux.²⁵

La mort de Jules II, le 21 février 1513, permit à D. Manuel de récupérer São João de Tarouca. À la mort du pape, Accursio perdit en effet tout son pouvoir à la Curie romaine, comme le souligne João de Faria dans une lettre au roi: 'Acursio n'est plus rien et ne pourra plus rien faire' ('Acursio, pois ja nom he nada, nem podera fazer nada').²⁶

João de Faria n'eut pas de mal à persuader le nouveau pape Léon X de destituer Accursio de ce bénéfice, soulignant l'impossibilité d'attribuer un monastère de l'importance de São João de Tarouca à un

²³ Voir *Tratado que hum criado do duque de Bragança escreveo para sua señoria dalguas notaveis cousas que vio hindo pera Roma e de suas grandezas e indulgencias e grandes acontecimentos que laa socçederam em espaço de sete anõs que hi esteve*, Madrid, Real Academia de la Historia, Salazar y Castro, no. 76, fol. 136r-230v, en particulier fol. 139v. Voir l'édition bilingue portugais-italien de Boni G., *Un Portoghese nella Roma del Cinquecento. Viaggio tra Riforma e Ortodossia* (Rome: 2003) 50. Sur le 'Fidalgo de Chaves', voir aussi Asensio E., «Memorias de un fidalgo de Chaves (1510-1517). Descripción de la Roma de Julio II y Leon X», in idem, *Estudios Portugueses* (Paris: 1974) 103-121; Deswarte S., «Un sguardo venuto da lontano: tra Roma Antica e Roma Cristiana», in Fagiolo M. (éd.), *Roma e l'Antico nell'Arte e nella Cultura del Cinquecento* (Rome: 1985) 489-508; Castro A. Pinto, «Uma voz do diálogo luso-italiano na época de Quinhentos, a do 'Fidalgo de Chaves'», *Mare Liberum* 2 (1991) 7-16.

²⁴ Il faut croire que Mariangelo Accursio n'était pas dépourvu de moyens. Il est le fils Giovan Francesco Accursio, chancelier de la ville de L'Aquila, position dont il hérita en 1539.

²⁵ Voir cette correspondance diplomatique conservée à l'Arquivo Nacional da Torre do Tombo à Lisbonne dans le *Corpo Cronológico I*, publiée dans le *Corpo Diplomatico Portuguez I*, éd. L.A. Rebello da Silva (Lisbonne: 1862) 65-70, 136-137, 142, 146-155, 156-161, 189-191; et *Corpo Diplomatico Portuguez XI, Supplemto aos tomos I à X*, éd. J. Constantino de Freitas (Lisbonne: 1898) 65-70.

²⁶ Lettre de D. João de Faria au Roi, de Rome, le 21 février 1513, ANTT, *Corpo Cronológico I*, Maço 12, Doc. 75; *Corpo Diplomatico Portuguez I*, 189-191. Le 'Fidalgo de Chaves' évoque combien tout changea à la mort de Jules II, comment les favoris de l'ancien pape ne furent plus rien sous Léon X, notamment le cardinal de Sienne, Alfonso Petrucci, son protecteur.

garçon italien, 'hum moço italiano',²⁷ d'autant plus que la royauté portugaise a toujours été hostile à l'attribution de bénéfices portugais à des Italiens. Le roi veut donner São João de Tarouca à Frei João Claro, 'un docteur en théologie'.²⁸ Le pape est d'accord. Léon X fera tout pour que Frei João Claro ait le monastère. Accursio recevra une compensation en Italie ou rien du tout, car il a beaucoup reçu de Jules II.

Ainsi finit l'affaire de São João de Tarouca. Si Jules II avait vécu quelques années de plus, Accursio serait probablement devenu cardinal. Mais maintenant, sans pouvoir récupérer la grosse somme d'argent prêté par son père à Francesco Argentino, il ne peut plus faire carrière au Vatican. Ainsi vont les choses dans la Rome papale dominée par la Roue de la Fortune. Accursio, en si grande faveur sous le pontificat de Jules II (1503–1513), dut trouver de nouveaux moyens de subsistance sous le pontificat de Léon X.

Accursio, philologue et antiquaire

Accursio commence officiellement sa carrière de philologue et d'antiquaire sous le pontificat du nouveau pape Léon X, avec la publication en 1513, à l'âge de 23 ou 24 ans, d'*Osci et Volsci dialogus ludis Romanis actus*.²⁹ Cette composition fut écrite à l'occasion des cérémonies organisées au Capitole en l'honneur de Giuliano et Lorenzo de' Medici, respectivement frère et neveu de Léon X, lorsqu'ils reçoivent la citoyenneté romaine les 13 et 14 septembre 1513. Cependant, Accursio

²⁷ Lettre de D. João de Faria au Roi, de Rome, le 23 mars 1513, ANTT, *Corpo Cronológico* I, Maço 12, Doc. 75; *Corpo Diplomatico Portuguez* I, 191.

²⁸ Sur Frei João Claro, voir Martins M., *Vida e obra de Frei João Claro* († c. 1520), *Doctor parisiensis e Professor universitário* (Coimbra: 1956). À la mort de Frei João Claro vers 1520, São João de Tarouca revint finalement au cardinal-infant D. Alfonso, frère de D. João III.

²⁹ Francesco Barberi attribue l'édition de *Osci et Volsci dialogus* (s. l. n. d.) de Mariangelo Accursio à Étienne Guillery, l'un des imprimeurs officiels de la Curie romaine, comme l'était aussi Marcellus Silber auquel Accursio fit appel pour les *Diatribae* en 1524. La page de titre gravée reprend l'édicule que Jacopo Mazzocchi utilisa au moins huit fois entre 1510 et 1515. Voir Barberi F., *Tipografi romani del Cinquecento: Guillery, Ginnasio Mediceo, Calvo, Dorico, Cartolari* (Florence: 1983) 39, 51. Sur Guillery, voir aussi Donati L., « Stampe quattrocentine di Stefano Guillireto », in *Essays in Honor of Victor Scholderer*, éd. D.E. Rhodes (Mainz: 1970) 144–158.

était déjà connu dans les cercles humanistes de Rome avant cette date, comme le souligne Augusto Campana.³⁰

Désormais, on ne parle plus d'Accursio que comme philologue et comme épigraphiste averti. Accursio participe à Rome aux réunions de poètes de la Curie romaine dans les *horti letterari*, que ce soit dans les jardins d'Angelo Colocci sur les pentes du Pincio, ou dans ceux de Hans Göritz, sur les pentes du Capitole.³¹ Il figure ainsi parmi les membres de l'Accademia Colocciana dans la liste des Carte Strozzi.³² Dans ses *Diatribae* (Rome: 1524), Accursio ne manque pas d'évoquer, à l'occasion, le célèbre pied romain sculpté sur la base du monument de Cossutius, conservé dans le jardin de Colocci, qui donnait un modèle de mesure de longueur sûr pour l'Antiquité romaine.³³

Accursio est aussi du nombre des poètes qui se réunissaient en 1514 dans le jardin de Hans Göritz, le jour de la Sainte Anne, pour composer des épigrammes ensuite apposées sur l'autel funéraire de Göritz au bas d'un des piliers de la nef de Sant'Agostino à Rome, orné de la statue de la *Vierge et sainte Anne* d'Andrea Sansovino et, au-dessus, de la fresque du *Prophète Isaïe* par Raphaël. Blosio Palladio, l'ami de D. Miguel da Silva et plus tard le protecteur de Francisco de Holanda à Rome en 1538–1540, avait réuni ces poèmes en un recueil portant le titre de *Coryciana*, édité à Rome, chez Ludovico degli Arrighi, dit Vicentino, et Lautizio Perusino en 1524, à commencer par une composition de 87 vers de Mariangelo Accursio, *Protrepticon ad Corycium*, et un distique *De Ara Coryciana*.³⁴

³⁰ Campana, « Accursio » 126: 'Non sappiamo esattamente quando si trasferì a Roma. Certo vi era, ed era già noto nelle cerchie umanistiche che fiorivano ai margini della Curia romana, nel settembre 1513, quando compose in tre giorni a quanto dice egli stesso, e pubblicò il suo primo scritto, *Osci et Volsci dialogus ludis Romanis, actus*'.

³¹ Sur ces réunions, voir Deswarte S., *Il 'Perfetto Cortegiano' D. Miguel da Silva* (Rome: 1989) 30–36.

³² Fanelli V., *Ricerche su Angelo Colocci e sulla Roma cinquecentesca* (Città del Vaticano: 1979) 49 n. 58 et Appendice n. 4.

³³ *Diatribae* (Rome, Marcellus Silber: 1524), fol. Pv: 'De muro Babilonis. Altitudo ducentos pedes detinet. Latitudo quinquaginta, ternis in singulos pedes digitis, ultra que mensura nostra est, altioribus. Rectius, AUCTIONIBVS. Ut est in vetustis aliquot. Pedis porro, digitorumque mensuram ex antiquo lapide in hortis Angeli Colotii, ad ductum aquae Virginis, invenies'. L'inscription de Cossutius est reproduite dans *Epigrammata Antiquae Urbis* (Rome, Jacopo Mazzochi: 1521) fol. Cv. Sur le *piede colotiano*, voir Fulvio Andrea, *Antiquitates Urbis* (Rome, Marcellus Silber: 1527) fol. 2v–3r; *De Urbis antiquitatibus libri quinque* (Rome, Andrea Dorico: 1545) 183.

³⁴ Dragonetti, *Vite degli Illustri Aquilani* 13.

C'est sans doute lors de ces réunions poétiques qu'Accursio fit la connaissance de D. Miguel da Silva, ambassadeur du roi du Portugal de 1515 à 1525, et aussi à travers lui, de Francisco de Sá de Miranda, qui vit dans la maison de l'ambassadeur³⁵ et qu'il retrouvera à Coimbra en avril 1527, nous le verrons.

À côté de sa participation aux *horti letterari*, Accursio exerça surtout son expertise dans le champ de l'épigraphie, comme en attestent ses sylloges où il a relevé dans ces années nombre d'inscriptions de Rome et du Latium.³⁶ Il joua un rôle actif dans l'édition des *Epigrammata Antiquae Urbis* (Rome, Jacopo Mazzocchi: 1521), premier grand recueil épigraphique imprimé de Rome, édité grâce au mécénat d'Angelo Colocci.³⁷ Il insère au début de l'ouvrage l'opuscule de Valerius Probus, *De notis antiquarum litterarum*, qui donne les clés pour développer les abondantes abréviations dans les inscriptions épigraphiques romaines, et à la fin plusieurs pages d'errata.

C'est à travers cet ouvrage des *Epigrammata Antiquae Urbis* de 1521 que le nom de Mariangelo Accursio circula à nouveau à la cour du Portugal, mais dans un tout autre contexte, celui des humanistes chargés de l'enseignement à la cour. En effet, Luís Teixeira, l'ancien précepteur de D. João III alors qu'il était prince, a en sa possession un exemplaire des *Epigrammata Antiquae Urbis*.³⁸ Il le fera relier avec

³⁵ Voir Deswarte, *Il 'Perfetto Cortegiano'*. Les documents publiés par le Père António Domingues de Sousa Costa, O.F. dans *Chartularium Universitatis Portugalensis* (1288–1537) XII (1521–1525) (Lisbonne: 1995) et XIII (1526–1529) (Lisbonne: 1999) viennent confirmer notre hypothèse que le poète Sá de Miranda résidait à Rome dans la maison de D. Miguel da Silva. Le poète est continuellement qualifié dans ces documents de 'commensal' de l'ambassadeur D. Miguel da Silva. À Rome, il devint docteur en droit canon et ne rentra au Portugal qu'en 1527 (XIII, n° 56634 (23.2.1527) 215–217). Voir aussi Earle T.F., « Sá de Miranda's Roman Comedy », in Lowe K. (éd.), *Cultural Links between Portugal and Italy in the Renaissance* (New York-Oxford: 2000) 153–163.

³⁶ *CIL*, VI, I: *Inscriptiones Urbis Romae Latinae*, éd. W. Henzen (Rome: 1876) XLVI–XLVII, num. XXVII 'Mariangelus Accursius Aquilanus': sur les relevés faits entre 1517 et 1521, conservés dans l'une de ses sylloges de la Biblioteca Ambrosiana, D. 420 inf. fasc. V.

³⁷ Colocci aurait financé l'édition des *Epigrammata Antiquae Urbis* si l'on en croit l'annotation manuscrite de sa main 'A Colotii Impensa' sur la page de titre de l'un des exemplaires en sa possession (Vat. Lat. 8492). Déjà Lancellotti attribue à Colocci l'entreprise. Voir Lancellotti Gianfrancesco, *Poesie italiane e latine di mons. Angelo Colocci* (Iesi: 1772) 38.

³⁸ BN Lisbonne, Res. 1000 A¹. Voir Deswarte S., « Contribution à la connaissance de Francisco de Hollanda », *Arquivos do Centro Cultural Português* 7 (1973) 421–429. Nous sommes revenue sur le sujet en 1983 dans le cadre de la XVII^e Exposition du Conseil de l'Europe: Deswarte S., « Francisco de Holanda », in *Catálogo do núcleo*

deux autres recueils d'inscriptions épigraphiques imprimés dans les années 1520. Sur le plat de la couverture de parchemin de l'ouvrage, on lit l'inscription manuscrite: 'Dos Let/reiros / De Roma / Foi de Luis Teixeira', tandis qu'au dos on trouve écrit en lettres gothiques le titre *Epigrammata Antiquae Urbis*. À la mort de Luís Teixeira en 1529,³⁹ l'ouvrage dut rester dans la bibliothèque royale. C'est ainsi qu'il fut utilisé par André de Resende dans son enseignement du latin à la cour à Évora dans les années 1534–1537, notamment pour le développement des abréviations à l'aide des *Notae* de Valerius Probus. Resende porte lui-même une attention extrême à la recherche des inscriptions funéraires en vers, écrivant dans la marge 'Versus' ou 'Adverte Versus' [Fig. 2].⁴⁰ Parmi les élèves de Resende, il y a le jeune Francisco de Holanda qui y gagna pour toujours le goût de l'épigraphie et qui hérita de l'ouvrage et l'emporta à Rome, comme en attestent son *ex-libris* manuscrit au fol. IX ainsi que ses annotations manuscrites et ses croquis de statues et de monuments. Ainsi trouve-t-on souvent sur la même page les annotations conjuguées d'André de Resende et de Francisco de Holanda [Fig. 3].

Accursio est cependant peu satisfait par les *Epigrammata Antiquae Urbis* éditées par Mazzocchi et il a d'autres ambitions. Il a le projet de publier à son tour un ouvrage d'épigraphie romaine d'une tout autre ampleur, à l'échelle de l'Europe. Son entrée comme majordome au service des princes de Brandebourg-Ansbach va lui permettre de travailler à la réalisation de ce rêve, sillonnant l'Europe du Nord au Sud, d'Est en Ouest, recueillant dans ses sylloges les inscriptions, en vue de ce nouvel ouvrage d'*Epigrammata* qui, finalement, du fait de son ampleur, ne vit pas le jour.

do Museu Nacional de Arte Antiga da XVII Exposição de Arte, Ciência e Cultura, *Os Descobrimentos Portugueses e a Europa do Renascimento. Arte Antiga II* (Lisbonne: 1983) 57–119, en particulier cat. no. 431. Sur l'éducation du Prince D. João (III), voulue par D. Manuel, voir la belle monographie d'Ana Isabel Buescu, *D. João III, 1502–1557* (Lisbonne: 2008), cap. 3 «Infância e aprendizagens», en particulier p. 38 (sur Luís Teixeira).

³⁹ Date de mort déduite de la lettre de dédicace de Martim de Figueiredo introduisant son *Commentum in Plinii Naturalis Historiae Prologum* (Lisbonne: 1529) où est évoqué au passé l'ancien professeur du roi, Luís Teixeira. Voir Ramalho A. da Costa, «Três referências quinhentistas a Luís Teixeira», *Humanitas* 29–30 (1977–1978) 223–225.

⁴⁰ Ces annotations ne sont pas, comme nous le disions dans notre article de 1973, des indications d'emplacement des inscriptions, évidence qu'a aussitôt vu Martine Furno avec l'œil du philologue, lors d'une séance de travail mémorable.

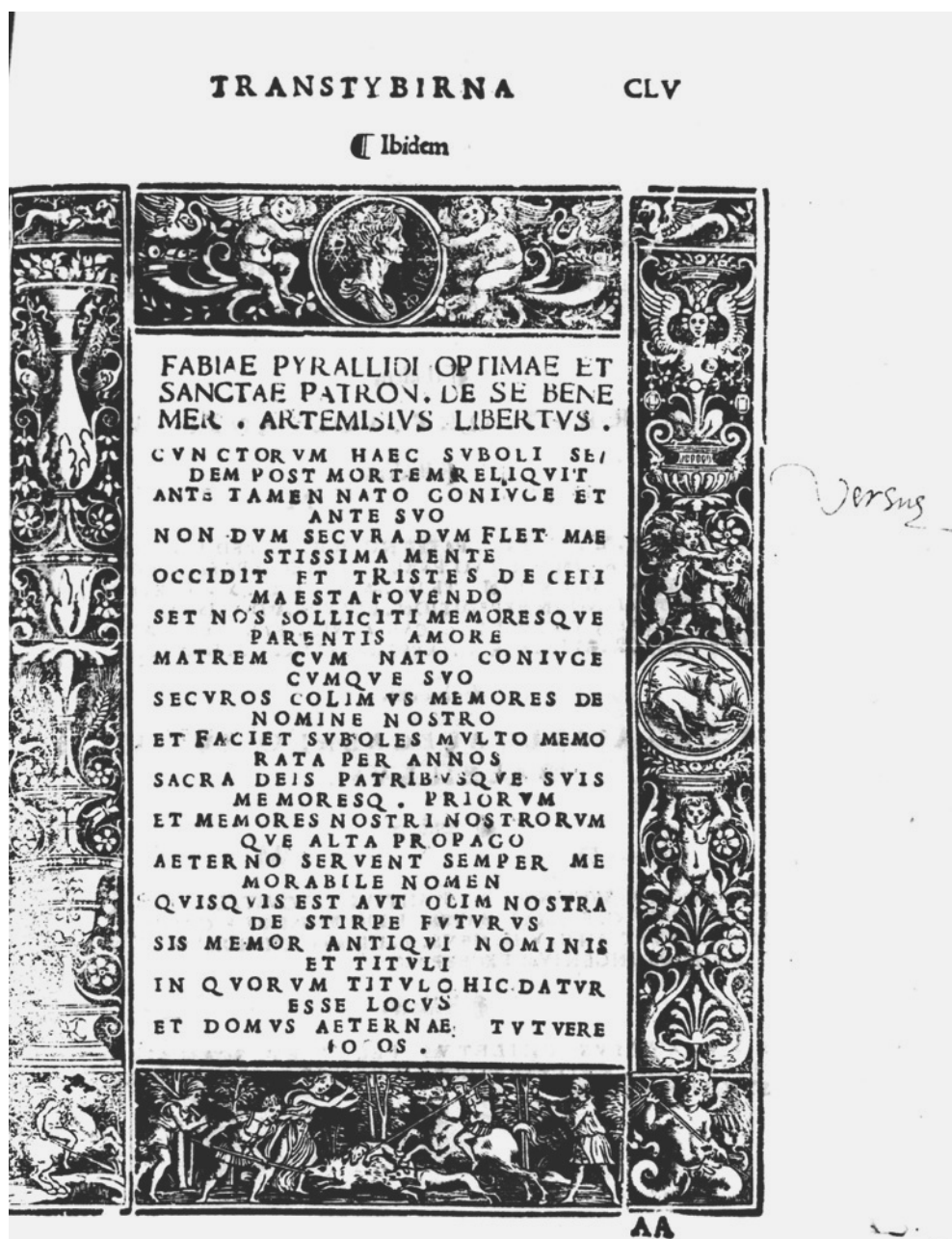


Fig. 2. *Epigrammata Antiquae Urbis* (Rome, Jacopo Mazzochi: 1521), fol. CLVr. Pages avec encadrement xylographié et l'annotation 'Versus' d'André de Resende. Lisbonne, Biblioteca Nacional, Res. 1000 A¹.

DE PONTIBVS

Ibidem.

Q VAM BENE CVRVATI DIRECTA EST SEMITA PONTIS
ATQ VE INTERRVPTVM CONTINVATVR ITER
MIRAMVR RAPIDAS SVBIECTI CVRGITIS VNDAS
ET LV BET IRATAE CERNERE MYRMYR AQ VAE
ITE IGITVR FACILES PER GAVDIA VESTRA Q VIRITES
ET NARSIN RESONANS PLAVSVS VBIQ VE CANAT
Q VI POTVIT RIGIDAS GOTHORVM SVBDERE MENTES
HIC DOCVIT DVRVM FLVMINA FERRE IVGV M

In Ponte Lucano inter Urbem &
uiam Tyburtinam.

TI. PLANTIO. M. FANI SILVANO AELIANO PONTIF. SODALI AVG.
. III. VIR. A. A. A. F. F. Q. TI. CAESARIS LEGAT. V. IN GERMA
NIA PR. VRB. LEGAT. ET COMITI CLAVDII CAESARIS IN BRI
TANNIA CONSVLI PR. COS. ASIAE LEGAT. PRAET. MOESIAE IN
Q VA PLVRA Q VAM CENTVM MIL. TRANSDANVBIORVM AD
PRAESTANDA TRIBVTA CVM CONIVGIBVS, AC LIBERIS ET PRIN
CIPIB. AVT REGIBVS SVIS TRANSDVXIT. MOTVM ORIENTEM
SARMATAR. COMPRESSIT Q VAMVIS PARTE MAGNA EXERCITVS
AD EXPEDITIONEM IN ARMENIAM MISISSET IGNOTOS ANTE
AVT INFENSOS. P. R. REGES SIGNA ROMANA ADORATVROS
AVT HOSTIBVS RECEPTOS REMISIT AB ALIQ VIS EORVM OBSI
DES ACCEPIT, PER Q VEM PACEM PROVINCIAE, ET CONFIRMA
VIT ET PROTVLIT SCYTARVM Q VOQ. REGEM ACHERONENSI
Q VAE EST VLTROBORVSTENEN OBSIDIONE SVBMOTA PRIMVS
EX EA PROVINCIA MAGNO TRITICI MODO ANNONA. P. R. AD
LEVIAVIT HVNC LEGATVM IN STRINIAM PRAEFECT. VRBIS RE
MISSVM SENATVS IN PRAEFECTVRA TRIVMPHALIBVS ORNAMEN
TIS HONORAVIT AVTHORE IMPERATORE CAESARE AVGVSTO
VESPASIANO VERBIS EXORNATIONE EIVS. Q. I. S. S. MOE
SIAE ITA PRAEFVIT VT NON DEBVERIT IN ME DIFFERRI HO
NOR TRIVMPHALIVM EIVS ORNAMENTORVM NISI Q VOD LA
TIOREI CONTIGIT MORA TITVLVS PRAEFCTO VRBIS.
IMP. CAES. AVG. VESPASIANVS ITERVM COS. FECIT.

Aene. argento, auro, flauo,
feriendo.

Populo Romano

q inferius, scripta, sunt,



Fig. 3. *Epigrammata Antiquae Urbis* (Rome, Jacopo Mazzochi: 1521), fol. IIIv. Annotation 'Versus' d'André de Resende et dessin de Francisco de Holanda du Mausolée des Plaute, sur la via Tiburtina, près du Pont Lucanum. Lisbonne, Biblioteca Nacional, Res. 1000 A¹.

Accursio au service des princes de Brandebourg-Ansbach

Mariangelo Accursio trouva en effet une nouvelle fortune auprès de deux jeunes princes allemands, le margrave de Brandebourg-Ansbach, Johann Albrecht (Ansbach, 1499 – Halle, 1550), futur archevêque de Magdebourg, et son frère Gumbrecht (Ansbach, 1503 – Naples, 1528), venus parfaire leur éducation à Rome. Ces deux princes appartiennent à la branche de Franconie des Hohenzollern, plus précisément à la nombreuse descendance de Friedrich II l'Ancien (Ansbach, 1460–1536), margrave de Brandebourg, et de Sophie Jagellon (1464–1512), fille du roi de Pologne Kasimir IV Jagellon (1427–1492).⁴¹

Accursio devint leur majordome à partir de 1521,⁴² leur dédiant en 1524 son principal ouvrage, les *Diatribae*, exhibant leurs armoiries sur la page de titre gravée. Il écrivit plus tard, dit-on, une histoire des Brandebourg.⁴³ Ensuite, il resta attaché à la personne de Johann Albrecht von Brandenburg-Ansbach, demeurant à son service jusqu'en 1532, et effectuant avec lui le long séjour dans la péninsule ibérique à la cour de Charles Quint qui va nous occuper ici.

Grâce à sa position de majordome, de nouveaux horizons s'ouvrirent à Accursio, l'Allemagne, en particulier la Franconie, fief des Brandebourg-Ansbach, et la Bavière voisine, mais aussi la Pologne, la Lituanie et la Hongrie, pays avec lesquels les Princes de Brandebourg ont des liens familiaux. En effet, leur mère Sophie Jagellon (1464–1512), était la fille du Kasimir IV (1427–1492), roi de Pologne et Grand-duc de Lituanie. Quant à la Hongrie, le jeune roi Louis II Jagellon (1506–1526) devait être pour eux comme un frère. Le père de Louis est en effet Vladislav II Jagellon (1456–1516), roi de Hongrie, fils de Kasimir IV Jagellon, roi de Pologne. Ils ont donc le même aïeul et sont cousins, mais bien plus, ils ont grandi ensemble. En effet Louis II, orphelin à l'âge de dix ans en 1516, fut confié par l'empereur Maximilien I à Georg von Brandenburg, leur frère aîné, qui devint son tuteur et l'éleva dans une atmosphère érasmienne.⁴⁴

⁴¹ Pour l'identification des deux princes allemands, voir Rentsch Johann Wolfgang, *Brandenburgischer Cedernhain* 8 (Bayreuth, Hertel: 1682) 593; *CIL* II, éd. Hübner (Berlin: 1869) VII. Nous remercions Naima Ghermani pour l'aide apportée dans la recherche sur les Brandebourg.

⁴² Cette date de 1521 figure à la fin du texte *Testudo*, fable à l'antique qui est dédiée aux princes, à la fin des *Diatribae*.

⁴³ Dragonetti, *Vite degli Illustri Aquilani* 15 n. 3.

⁴⁴ Kardos T., «L'esprit d'Erasmus en Hongrie», in *Colloquia Erasmi Turonensis* I (Paris: 1972) 189–213.

Kasimir von Brandenburg est le tuteur des deux princes, ses frères cadets, par suite de l'emprisonnement de leur père Friedrich II l'Ancien, à partir de 1515, dans le château familial de Plassenburg en Franconie pendant treize ans, à cause, dit-on, de son style de vie dispendieux. Ainsi, la responsabilité du margraviat de Brandebourg incombait à ses deux fils aînés, Kasimir (1481–1527), margrave de Brandebourg-Kulmbach, resté fidèle au catholicisme et au service des Habsbourg, ainsi que Georg le Pieux (1484–1543), margrave de Brandebourg-Ansbach, qui passera lui à la Réforme.

Aussi, les deux princes Brandebourg durent-ils certainement venir assister avec leur nouveau majordome Accursio, au double mariage Habsbourg Jagellon, le 27 mai 1521, celui de l'infant D. Fernando, frère de Charles Quint, qui épousa Anna, sœur du roi Louis II de Hongrie, tandis que Marie de Hongrie, sœur de Charles Quint, épousa Louis, roi de Hongrie. Ce fut le premier voyage d'Accursio dans l'Europe centrale et du Nord. Il deviendra un expert de ces pays. Ainsi, possédait-il une sylloge d'inscriptions de la Hongrie (Pannonia) qu'il envoya en 1538 à Anton Fugger à Augsbourg, en gardant une copie.⁴⁵ Ces pays lui sont devenus familiers. Aussi, la nouvelle de la victoire de Soliman le Magnifique (ou Süleyman) à la bataille de Mohacs au bord du Danube le 29 août 1526 et de la mort, à l'âge de vingt ans, du jeune roi Louis II de Hongrie, qu'il apprit à Grenade à la cour de Charles Quint, nous le verrons, fut-elle un choc pour lui. Il fit alors le vœu de se rendre en pèlerinage à Saint-Jacques-de-Compostelle et d'y déposer des épigrammes de sa composition à saint Jacques,⁴⁶ prière pour la pauvre Pannonie et son malheureux roi et pour l'unité de la Chrétienté face au Turc.

L'éducation de Johann Albrecht et de Gumbrecht, les deux fils cadets de Friedrich II von Brandenburg, les pupilles d'Accursio, fut donc l'affaire de leur frère aîné Kasimir (1481–1527), avec sans doute aussi dans leur venue à Rome l'intervention de leur cousin le cardinal Albrecht von Brandenburg (1490–1545), archevêque de Magdebourg et de Mayence, auquel Johann Albrecht succèdera en 1545 à l'archevêché de Magdebourg.

⁴⁵ Ambrosiana, ms. O 125 sup., fol. 271r–273r: 'Exemplar vetustarum inscriptionum et scholiorum ex archetypo libello olim ad me ex Dacia et Hungaria misso, quem de Germania misi ad D. Ant<onium> Fugg<erum> M.D.XXXVIII'; voir *CIL III Inscriptiones Asiae Provariarum Europae Graecarum Illyrici Latinae. Pars Prior*, éd. Th. Mommsen (Berlin: 1873) 154.

⁴⁶ Voir Appendice.

Mais Johann von Brandenburg (1493–1525), le dixième des frères, eut certainement un rôle dans la venue de son cadet, Johann Albrecht, en Espagne pour séjourner à la cour de l'empereur Charles Quint de la fin 1525 à 1529. Il est en effet l'ami d'enfance de Charles, avec qui il a été élevé à la cour de Marguerite d'Autriche aux Pays-Bas méridionaux à Malines et qu'il a choisi de suivre en Espagne. Les chroniqueurs notent la place privilégiée qu'il occupe auprès de Charles, par exemple lors d'un tournoi à Valladolid le 16 février 1518, où il tient le bouclier du roi, 'ayant la précedence sur nombre de grands seigneurs'.⁴⁷ Le Marquis de Brandebourg est décrit comme un 'hermoso ombre d'armas' par Alonso Fernández de Oviedo.⁴⁸ Il est beau mais il est pauvre. Charles Quint lui assura sa fortune, le mariant en 1519 à Germaine de Foix (1488–1538), vice-reine de Valence.⁴⁹ Cette Française, nièce de Louis XII et éduquée à la cour de France, était veuve de Ferdinand le Catholique (†1516), roi d'Aragon, qui, suite à la mort d'Isabelle la Catholique, l'avait épousée en secondes noces en 1506, elle âgée de dix-sept ans, lui de cinquante-quatre, ce qui fit scandale.⁵⁰ Pour donner un rang à son ami, Charles nomma Johann von Brandenburg commandant en chef de ses troupes en Espagne.

Ce mariage d'une reine avec un homme d'armes fit à nouveau scandale, véritable mésalliance. Les chroniqueurs castillans pour cela ont fait silence sur la figure de Brandebourg comme sur celle de Germaine de Foix⁵¹ et il faut consulter les sources aragonaises et les histoires de Valence pour trouver la mention de ce second mariage de la reine. Germaine de Foix, d'une singulière beauté,⁵² toujours richement parée, gagna alors définitivement sa réputation de femme lascive et légère,⁵³ que confirma son troisième mariage avec D. Fernando d'Aragon, duc

⁴⁷ Foronda y Aguilera M., *Estancias y Viajes del Emperador Carlos V* (Madrid : 1914) 118 : 'el Marqués de Brandeburgo, con el escudo del Rey, precediendole muchos grandes señores', se fondant sur Vital Laurent, « Relation du premier voyage de Charles Quint en Espagne », Bruxelles, Bibliothèque Royale, ms. no. 14543.

⁴⁸ Cruïlles Marqués de [Salvador i Montserrat S. (Valencia : 1825–1895)], *Noticias y documentos relativos a Doña Germana de Foix, última reina de Aragón*, éd. E. Belenguier (Valence : 2007), Ilustración A : Alonso Fernández de Oviedo, *Dialogue Batallas y Quinguagenas*, « El ilustrissimo et excelente señor Marques de Brandenburque » 261–269.

⁴⁹ Cruïlles, *Germana de Foix* 140 sur le mariage de Johann von Brandenburg et Germaine de Foix.

⁵⁰ Cruïlles, *Germana de Foix* 136–137.

⁵¹ Cruïlles, *Germana de Foix* 142.

⁵² Cruïlles, *Germana de Foix* 89 n. 44.

⁵³ Cruïlles, *Germana de Foix* 142 n. 174.

de Calabre à Séville en 1526,⁵⁴ peu de mois après la mort de son second mari, Johann von Brandenburg. Cependant, la reine Germaine resta toujours une proche de Charles Quint, avec lequel elle devait s'exprimer en français, depuis le jour où il mit le pied dans la péninsule ibérique en 1517.⁵⁵ C'est ainsi l'Empereur et l'Impératrice qui sont les témoins lors de son mariage à Séville en 1526, comme le rapporte Sandoval.⁵⁶

Johann von Brandenburg a très tôt pensé à la carrière de ses frères à la cour de l'empereur Charles Quint et tenta de faire leur fortune en leur obtenant des bénéfices ecclésiastiques en Espagne. Dès 1523, on le voit ainsi essayer d'obtenir pour l'un de ses frères, alors en Espagne, l'évêché de Cartagena.⁵⁷

On comprend mieux par ce contexte historique comment Johann Albrecht von Brandenburg vint séjourner à la cour d'Espagne. Il était l'usage dans de l'Europe du XVI^e siècle d'envoyer les fils de la haute noblesse se former dans une cour européenne. On connaît le cas, aujourd'hui bien étudié, de D. Ferrante Gonzaga, fils du Marquis de Mantoue, Francesco II Gonzaga, et d'Isabelle d'Este, qui séjourna avec son majordome, Pandolfo Pico della Mirandola, à la cour de Charles Quint en Espagne de 1523 à 1526⁵⁸ et devint par la suite général impérial en Italie. Johann Albrecht le côtoya au début de son séjour à la cour d'Espagne en 1526.

Par ces années passées à la cour de Charles Quint, Johann Albrecht von Brandenburg resta étroitement lié à l'empereur. Lors de l'entrée triomphale de Charles Quint à Rome en 1536, au retour de l'Expédition de Tunis de 1535, on le trouve en tant que 'camarero mayor' et l'un

⁵⁴ Cruïlles, *Germana de Foix* 169.

⁵⁵ Belenguer E., Introduction, in Cruïlles, *Germana de Foix* 11–63, en particulier 29.

⁵⁶ Sandoval Fray Prudencio de, *Historia del Emperador Carlos V*, éd. C. Seco Serano II (Madrid: 1956), Libro XIV, cap. XVII «Cásase la reina Germana en Granada»: 'antes que saliese de Sevilla, casó allí a la reina Germana, mujer que había sido del Rey Católico, y después del marqués de Brandemburg, con don Fernando de Aragón, duque de Calabria. Fueron sus padrinos el Emperador y la Emperatriz'.

⁵⁷ Selon une lettre de Martín de Salinas, voir Rodríguez Villa A., *El Emperador Carlos V y su Corte según las cartas de Don Martín de Salinas, 1522–1539* (Madrid: 1903) 120 *Lettre 40*: Lettre de Salinas au 'tesorero Salamanca', de Valladolid, le 21 juin 1523. Salinas raconte comment l'évêché de Cartagena est promis 'a un hermano de marqués de Brandenburge que acá está'.

⁵⁸ D. Ferrante Gonzaga séjourne à la cour de Charles Quint de 1523 à 1526. Voir Tamalio R., *Ferrante Gonzaga alla corte spagnola di Carlo V nel carteggio privato con Mantova (1523–1526). La formazione da 'cortegiano' di un generale dell'Imperio* (Mantova: 1991).

des électeurs, auprès de l'Empereur, l'accompagnant, avec d'autres, dans la visite de Rome qu'il connaissait bien, et tenant le sceptre, lors de la messe de Pâques, ('teniale el cetro el marques de Brangdemburg su camarero mayor, uno de los eleitores'), selon le récit d'Alonso de Sanabria.⁵⁹

Si Johann Albrecht fit une carrière brillante, devenant archevêque de Magdebourg en 1545 à la mort du cardinal Albrecht von Brandenburg, son frère Gumprecht, chanoine de Bamberg, resté à Rome, mourut prématurément à Naples en 1528, suite à ses blessures lors du Sac de Rome en 1527. Alors qu'il est encore à la cour d'Espagne, Accursio dut ainsi apprendre la mort de son jeune étudiant et mécène.

On peut se demander comment Accursio entra en contact avec ce milieu allemand : à travers Göritz, protecteur des Allemands à Rome,⁶⁰ dont il a fréquenté le jardin, ou bien en fréquentant l'officine de Silber, imprimeur originaire de Franconie, ou encore à travers le milieu catalan, le cercle de l'ancien pape Alexandre VI (Rodrigo Borgia), lié à Johann von Brandenburg, époux de la vice-reine de Valence, ou encore au travers du cardinal Albrecht von Brandenburg.

Mariangeli Accursi *Diatribae*, Rome, Marcellus Silber, 1524

Mariangelo Accursio dédia aux deux princes allemands, sa principale œuvre philologique, les *Diatribae* (Rome, Marcellus Silber, avril 1524) :⁶¹ 'Mariangelvs. Accvrsivs Ioanni Alberto Et Ivmperto Germanis Fratrīs<ibus> March<ionibus> Brandenburgen<sibus>' [cf. Fig. 9], exhibant leurs armoiries au bas de la page de titre gravée [Fig. 4]. Il s'agit d'une série de *castigationes*, c'est-à-dire de corrections, aux textes

⁵⁹ Madrid, BN, ms. 1937 (ancien G. 65), Alonso de Sanabria, évêque de Drivasto, *Comentarios y Guerra de Tunez: tercera batalla punica*, Lib. VI, cap. XI «De la entrada del emperador en Roma e recebimiento que se le hizo e cosas alli acontecidas», fol. 200v-201v: 'visito templos el emperador e lugares pios. El sabado sancto acompañado de doze cavalleros anduvo las siete iglesias: dia de pascua de resurreccion dixo el sumo pontifice la missa a la qual vino el emperador vestido de vestiduras del imperio: teniale el cetro el marques de Brangdemburg su camarero mayor, uno de los eleitores'.

⁶⁰ Simar T., *Christophe de Longueil, humaniste (1488-1522)* (Louvain: 1911), Appendice II: «Notes sur Jean Goritz et l'Académie romaine sous Léon X» 194-203, en particulier 196.

⁶¹ *Mariangeli Accursi Diatribae*, à la fin: 'ROMAE. OCTAVO KALENDAS APRILIS / M. D. XXIII / IN. AEDIVS. MARCELLI. ARGENTEI'.



d'Ausone, du *Polyhistor* de Solinus et des *Métamorphoses* d'Ovide, suivie d'une fable animalière *Testudo* (Tortue) dédiée aux deux princes en 1521. On y trouve au moins une allusion au Portugal, au célèbre rhinocéros d'Éthiopie envoyé en 1516 au pape Léon X par le roi D. Manuel.⁶²

C'est un petit in-folio, ouvrant sur une belle page de titre gravée, composé en caractères romains avec insertion de citations en grec, les *castigationes* étant écrites en capitales. Le privilège accordé à Marcellus Silber par le pape Clément VII pour sept ans figure en fin de volume, composé en capitales romaines, telle une inscription épigraphique.

Cette édition, extrêmement soignée, laisse deviner le rôle joué par Mariangelo Accursio, féru d'antiquité et d'épigraphie, dans la conception typographique du livre, que ce soit dans la l'agencement à l'antique de la page de titre gravée, dans le choix des caractères typographiques grecs et romains, ou encore dans la présentation, inédite, du privilège en forme d'inscription épigraphique, invention qui ne peut venir que d'Accursio, épigraphiste chevronné. Accursio a su imposer un style nouveau, à l'antique, dans l'officine de l'imprimeur allemand Marcellus Silber, actif à Rome.

Pour imprimer cette œuvre dédiée à deux princes allemands, Accursio a en effet choisi l'imprimeur allemand Marcellus Silber qui, à Rome, a son officine au Campo dei Fiori 'in rione Parione', quartier d'imprimeurs et de libraires, non loin de l'église nationale allemande de Santa Maria dell'Anima.⁶³ Il a peut-être fait le choix de cet imprimeur pour être originaire de Franconie, comme les princes de Brandebourg, et surtout pour être habitué à travailler avec des humanistes, disposant depuis 1521 de caractères grecs provenant de l'imprimerie de Zaccaria Calliergi du Collegio greco institué par Léon X au Quirinal.⁶⁴ Son père Eucario publiait déjà des textes classiques revus par de grands savants tels Pomponio Leto ou Giovanni Sulpizio. On peut dire, avec Alberto

⁶² *Mariangeli Accursi Diatribae*, fol. Niv r [dans les *castigationes* au *Polyhistor* de Solinus]: 'De Rhinocerote. [...] Rhinocerotem nostra aetas, ex Aethiopia usque Emanueli Lusitanie Regi allatum, ab eoque protinus Leoni. X. Pont. Max. dono missum, ne quid esset aut decimum aut maximum, quod non pontificatu eius Urbs Roma sustineret. Sed fracta, qua vehebatur, navi cum caeteris muneribus Oriente petitis, quae eum prosequebantur, interiit'.

⁶³ Le père de Marcellus Silber, Eucarius alias Franck, actif à Rome de 1480 à sa mort en 1509, était clerc du diocèse de Würzburg (Clericus Herbipolensis diocesis) et appartenait à la Confrérie de Santa Maria dell'Anima.

⁶⁴ Tinto A., *Gli annali tipografici di Eucario e Marcellus Silber (1501-1527)* (Florence: 1968) 6-7; Farenga P., « Eucario Silber », *Repertorium Pomponianum*, URL: www.repertoriumpomponianum.it/pomponiani/silber.htm.

Tinto, que l'officine des Silber à Parione était depuis sa création celle préférée des érudits. C'est probablement là qu'Andrea Fulvio publia peu après, en 1527, ses *Antiquitates Urbis*.⁶⁵

La page de titre gravée des Diatribae

Les *Diatribae* s'ouvre sur une belle page de titre gravée sur bois, reproduisant de célèbres bas-reliefs, statues et antiques de Rome. On reconnaît aussitôt l'Apollon du Belvédère, la statue favorite du pape Jules II, au Cortile delle Statue au Belvedere, ainsi qu'une statue de Minerve (Athéna), déesse de la guerre, tenant la lance et le bouclier avec le serpent [Fig. 4].

L'encadrement gravée consiste dans un montage d'antiques, choisis avec soin, deux statues et aussi deux bas-reliefs, ou 'tabulae sculptae', autour du titre de l'œuvre en caractères épigraphiques, MARIANGELI / ACCVRSII / DIATRIBAE. C'est ce type de montage d'antiques que l'on pouvait voir alors à Rome sur les parois des *cortili* de palais romains.

Si on replace la page de titre des *Diatribae* dans l'histoire du livre imprimé en ce début du XVI^e siècle à Rome, elle apparaît d'une grande nouveauté.⁶⁶ Il suffit pour s'en convaincre de la comparer avec celle en tabernacle de son dialogue *Osci et Volsci dialogus ludis Romanis actus* (Rome: 1513) ou encore avec les compositions gravées, encore quattrocentesques, du recueil d'épigraphie *Epigrammata Antiquae Urbis* (Rome, Jacopo Mazzocchi: 1521) [Fig. 2]. Ce sont des compositions gravées encore dans la tradition du manuscrit enluminé, en forme de tabernacle ou constituées de marges historiées ou ornementales à la manière des premiers livres d'heures imprimés.

La page de titre gravée des *Diatribae* est d'un tout autre caractère. C'est une véritable création qui fait date dans l'histoire du livre comme dans celle de la recherche 'antiquaire'. D'un genre nouveau, elle consiste en un agencement porteur de sens, de bas-reliefs et de statues antiques alors célèbres à Rome et souvent copiés par les artistes. On peut la rapprocher de ces assemblages ou *pasticci* de fragments antiques, recomposées et complétés comme des 'images d'histoire', qu'on

⁶⁵ Fulvio Andrea, *Antiquitates Urbis* (Rome, Marcellus Silber [?]: ca. 1527). Voir Tinto, *Annali tipografici Silber* 195, n. 330.

⁶⁶ Sur l'évolution de la page de titre, voir Gilmont J.F. – Vanautgaerden A. (éd.), *La page de titre à la Renaissance* (Bruxelles – Turnhout: 2008).

vit se multiplier à Rome sur les façades et dans les cours et jardins des palais romains, précisément à compter du milieu des années 1520.⁶⁷ La mode en fut lancée par le cardinal Andrea della Valle (1463–1534), grand amateur d'antiquités, dans son palais au Rione S. Eustachio qu'il fit construire à partir de 1520 et qui resta inachevé suite au Sac de Rome en 1527.⁶⁸ Le jardin suspendu (*hortus pensilis*), aménagé au premier étage du palais, vers 1524–1525 sous la direction de Lorenzo Lotti di Lorenzetto, sculpteur et architecte,⁶⁹ devint immédiatement célèbre pour son agencement de bas-reliefs et de statues antiques, dûment restaurés et complétés, et agrémentés d'inscriptions épigraphiques, sur les deux principales parois du jardin.

Andrea Fulvio, dans ses *Antiquitates Urbis* (Rome: 1527), présente le Jardin della Valle comme un modèle du genre, ('unicus [...] qui maiorum vetera monumenta diligenter curat').⁷⁰ Au lieu d'un amoncellement sans ordre de fragments antiques, dont on pouvait voir un exemple, non loin de là, près de la Cancellaria au jardin de Jacopo Galli,⁷¹ on se trouve ici devant une véritable composition, bien rythmée, une œuvre d'art unitaire. Vasari dans sa vie de Lorenzetto souligne comment le Jardin della Valle fut à l'origine d'une mode dans la manière de présenter les fragments antiques. 'D'autres seigneurs firent ensuite la même chose, tels les cardinaux Cesis, Ferrare, Farnèse, en un mot, toute Rome'.⁷²

⁶⁷ Matz F. – Duhn F. von, *Antike Bildwerke in Rom mit Ausschluß der größeren Sammlungen III* (Berlin: 1882); Coffin D.R., *The Villa in the Life of Renaissance Rome* (Princeton: 1979) 228.

⁶⁸ Hülsen C. – Egger H., *Die römischen Skizzenbücher von Marten van Heemskerck II* (Berlin: 1916) 56–66, «IV. Der Statuenhof im Palazzo Valle-Capranica»; Frommel C.L., *Der römische Palastbau der Hochrenaissance II* (Tübingen: 1973) 348–350; Nobis N.W., *Lorenzetto als Bildhauer* (Diss. Bonn: 1979[?]) 16–18, 253–254. Les inscriptions furent composées spécialement, sans doute par le cardinal lui-même, pour son 'Antiquarium rerum vivarium'. Certaines d'entre elles sont reproduites par Francisco de Holanda dans son dessin des *Antigualhas* (fol. 54). Voir Hülsen – Egger, *Marten van Heemskerck II* 59.

⁶⁹ Vasari, *Vite*, éd. Milanese (Florence: 1906) IV 579. On considère la date de 1523 comme le *terminus post quem* pour la construction du jardin d'antiques della Valle. Voir Lanciani R., *Storia degli Scavi di Roma I* (Rome: 1902) 88, 217–219; éd. illustrée (Rome: 1989) 165–167; Keller F.-E., «Les reliefs de la façade sur jardin», in Chastel A. (éd.), *La Villa Médicis 2* (Rome: 1991) 412–442, en particulier 431.

⁷⁰ Fulvio, *Antiquitates Urbis* (Rome: 1527) fol. 95r; cité par Fommel, *Der römische Palastbau II* 337 n. 20; Keller, «Les reliefs de la façade» 416.

⁷¹ Marten van Heemskerck (entre 1532 et 1535), Berlin, *Codex Berolinensis*, fol. 72r. Voir Hülsen – Egger, *Marten van Heemskerck I*.

⁷² Vasari, *Vite* IV 579: 'La quale cosa fu cagione che altri signori hanno poi fatto il medesimo e restaurato molte cose antiche, come il cardinale Cesis, Ferrara, Farnese et, per dirlo in una parola, tutta Roma'.

On connaît la disposition du jardin suspendu du Palais della Valle, aujourd'hui disparu, grâce à la gravure de Hieronymus Cock d'après un dessin perdu de Marten van Heemskerck (à Rome entre 1532 et 1536)⁷³ [Fig. 5] et au dessin de la paroi de droite du jardin par Francisco de Holanda dans ses *Antigualhas* (fol. 54r) [Fig. 6]. Ces antiques, après leur vente au cardinal Ferdinand de Médicis, se retrouvèrent en 1577 dans un montage similaire, sur la façade côté jardin de la villa Médicis.⁷⁴ 'On ne doutait pas, écrit Fritz-Eugen Keller, que l'utilisation d'images antiques ainsi restituées dans un contexte architectural imitât les manières de faire des anciens'.⁷⁵ Aldrovandi dans sa description du Jardin della Valle les désigne comme 'tavole antiche con varie scolture'⁷⁶ et Boissard comme 'summo artificiae sculptae tabulae', 'diversis figuris insignes'.⁷⁷

Mariangelo Accursio, alors à Rome comme maggiordomo des princes de Brandebourg auxquels il dédia ses *Diatribae*, dut suivre de près la constitution et l'aménagement du jardin d'antiques du cardinal della Valle et s'en inspirer pour l'encadrement gravé de la page de titre de ses *Diatribae* en 1524. La preuve en est qu'il y fait figurer l'une des statues du Jardin della Valle, la Minerve sans bras que l'on trouvait sur la paroi de gauche du jardin, statue gravée avec d'autres par Enea Vico⁷⁸ [Fig. 7] et décrite par Aldrovandi comme 'una Minerva togata in piedi'. Accursio la fit graver, complétée avec la lance et le serpent, face à l'Apollon du Belvédère, de part et d'autre du titre en forme de table épigraphique.

Le choix des scènes de cette belle page de titre gravée des *Diatribae* n'est certainement pas dû au hasard, car on y trouve une nette thématique ovidienne, correspondant au contenu de l'ouvrage qui

⁷³ Hülsen – Egger, *Marten van Heemskerck* II 56–66 «IV. Der Statuenhof im Palazzo Valle-Capranica». Selon Nicole Dacos, le cardinal Andrea della Valle, dont Michel Coxie était le 'familier', serait le protecteur de Marten van Heemskerck à Rome. Voir Dacos N., *Roma Quanta fuit. Tre pittori fiamminghi nella Domus Aurea* (Rome: 1995) 34.

⁷⁴ Voir Cagianò de Azevedo M., *Le antichità di Villa Medici* (Rome: 1951); Keller, «Les reliefs de la façade» 412–442.

⁷⁵ Keller, «Les reliefs de la façade» 416.

⁷⁶ Aldrovandi Ulisse, *Di tutte le statue antiche che per tutta Roma in diversi luoghi e case particolari si veggono, raccolte e descritte per M. Ulisse Aldrovandi, opera non fatta piu mai da scrittore alcuna*, in Lucio Mauro, *Le Antichità de la città di Roma* (Venise, Giordano Ziletti: 1556) 219–222.

⁷⁷ Boissard Jean-Jacques, *Romanae Urbis Topographia et Antiquitates* I (Francfort, Théodore De Bry: 1597) 42.

⁷⁸ Gravure d'Enea Vico datée 1541, Barsch, XV, 302, no. 44.

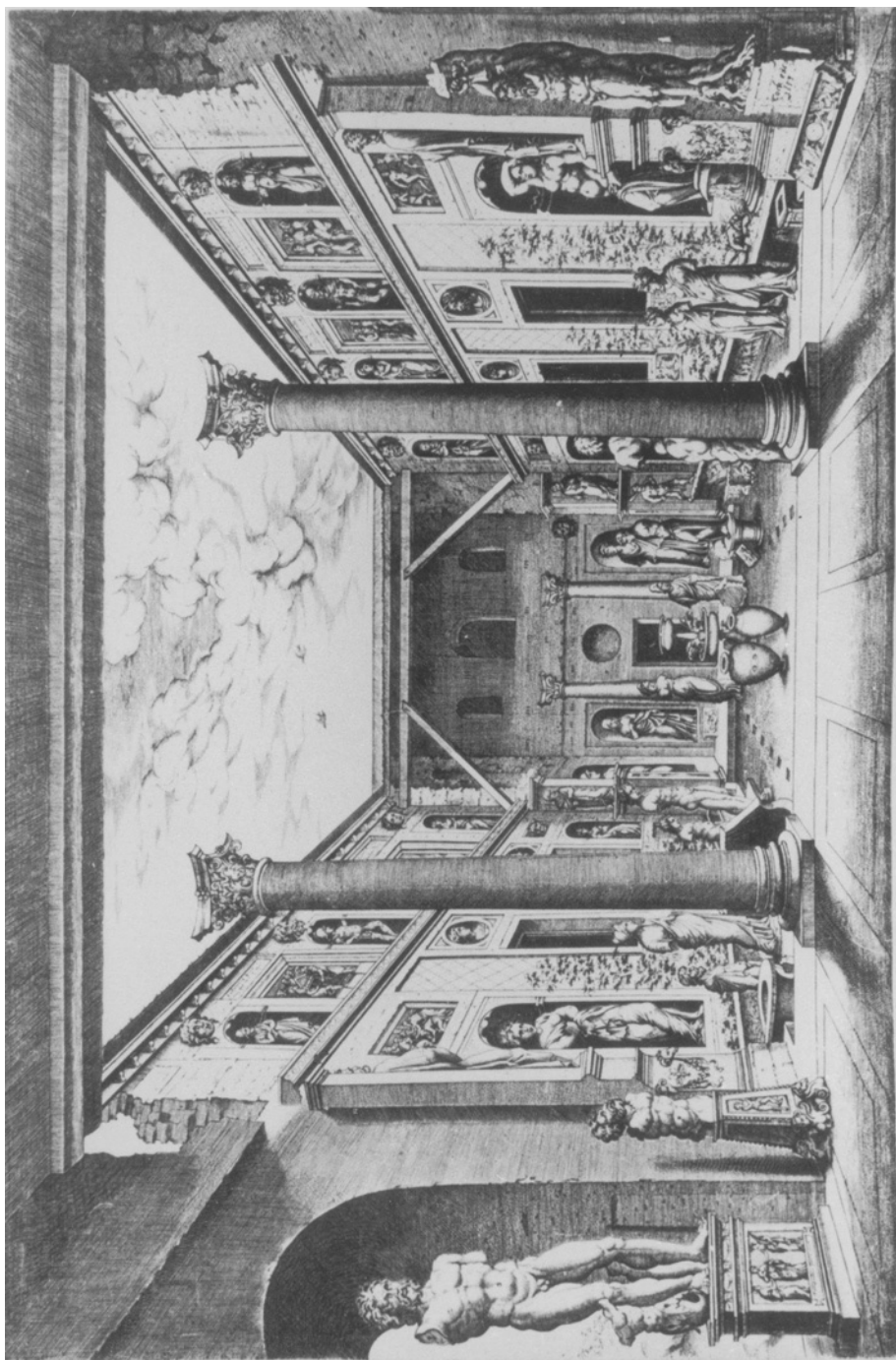


Fig. 5. Hieronymus Cock d'après Marten van Heemskerck, *Jardin suspendu du Palazzo Andrea della Valle à Rome*. Gravure sur cuivre. Photo, The Warburg Institute, London.

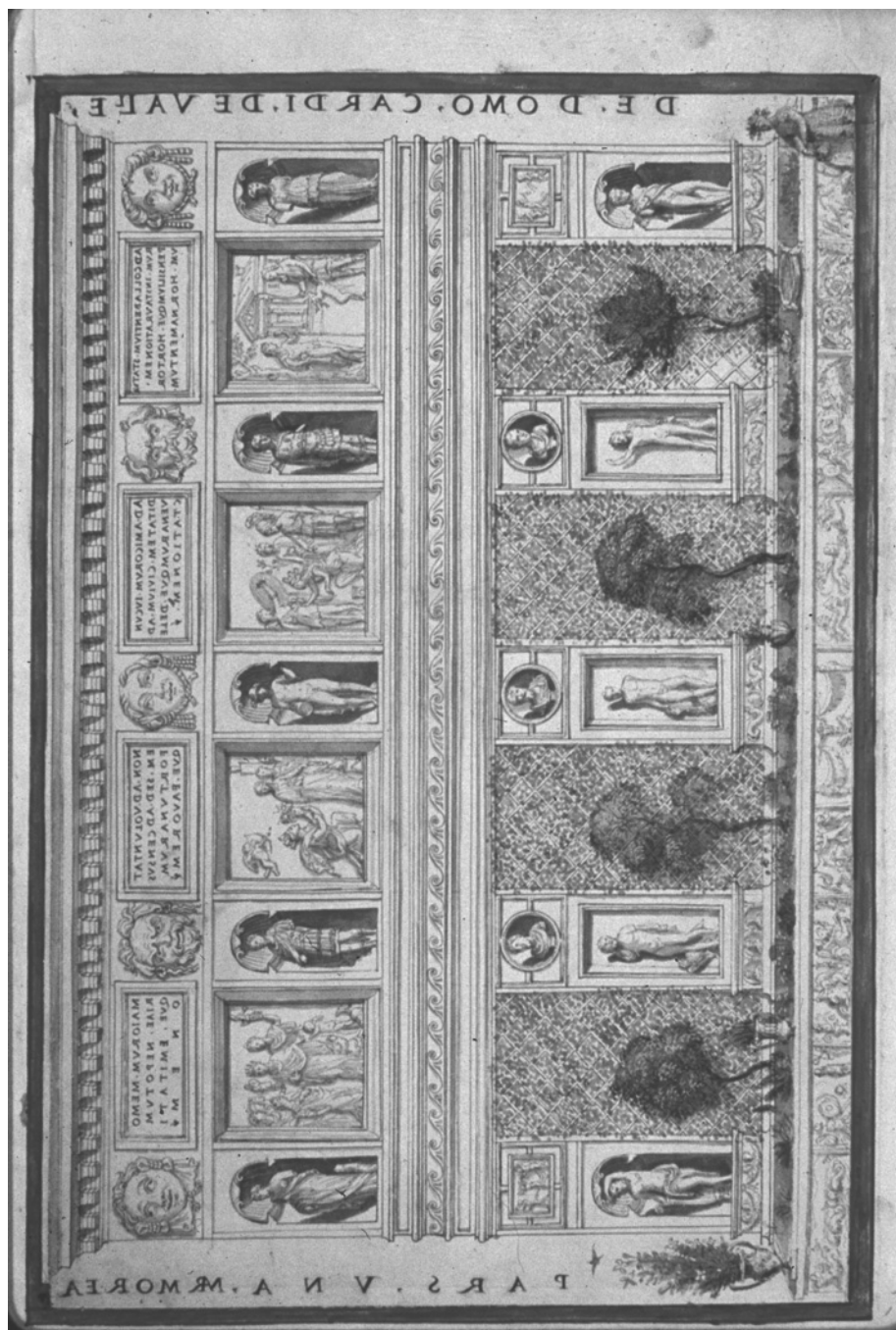


Fig. 6. Francisco de Holanda, 'De . Domo . Card. de Valle'. Paroi droite du Jardin suspendu du Palazzo Della Valle à Rome, dessin aquarellé sur papier, 27 × 39 cm. Livre de dessins des *Antigualhas*, fol. 54r. Biblioteca de San Lorenzo de El Escorial.



Fig. 7. Enea Vico, 'ROME . IN EDIB . CAR . VALLE . A . S . EXVD . 1541'. Statue de Minerve (Athéna), et d'un autre femme au Palazzo Della Valle. Antonio Salamanca, 1541, gravure sur cuivre, 24,3 × 18,6 cm. Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, Ug 7652.

comprenait, entre autres, des corrections (*Castigationes*) aux *Métamorphoses* d'Ovide (fols. 87r–95v). On peut voir dans ce montage le goût de l'auteur, Mariangelo Accursio, antiquaire et philologue averti, qui dut indiquer à l'artiste les reliefs et les statues qu'il voulait voir reproduits.

Au milieu, à gauche du titre, l'Apollon du Belvédère avec arc et au-dessous la cithare et le griffon ; à droite, Minerve avec le serpent qu'elle brandit et au-dessous, comme attributs, la hache et la chouette. Elle est montrée ici selon sa représentation habituelle en déesse de la guerre, tenant la lance et le bouclier, portant le casque et le *aegis* (peau de chèvre avec une bordure de serpent et la tête de la Méduse) sur une longue robe. La statue, aujourd'hui dans les Jardins Boboli du Palazzo Pitti de Florence, se trouvait, nous l'avons vu, sur la paroi droite du jardin du palais Della Valle, dans une niche, selon la description d'Aldrovandi,⁷⁹ face à la paroi dessinée par Francisco de Holanda dans ses *Antigualhas* (fol. 54r).

Au haut de la composition gravée, l'*Enlèvement de Proserpine* (Ovide, *Fasti*, IV, 393–620) reproduit fidèlement le bas-relief d'un sarcophage romain du II^e siècle à Rome en ce début du XVI^e siècle, où l'a dessiné Falconetto, le reproduisant vers 1515 dans les fresques du Zodiaque du Palazzo di Arco à Mantoue.⁸⁰

Au bas, on trouve la *Mort de Méléagre* (Ovide, *Métamorphoses*, VII, 270–545), d'après un célèbre sarcophage romain [Fig. 8], alors conservé dans l'église de S. Angelo in Pescheria à Rome, qui dès le XV^e siècle inspira Donatello dans les scènes de la *Mise au tombeau* et de la *Lamentation sur le Christ mort* et que copia le pseudo-Bambaia au début du XVI^e siècle.⁸¹

⁷⁹ Aldrovandi, *Di tutte le statue antiche*, 217 : 'A man manca di questa loggia scoperta si vede su nel'ordine superiore prima una Minerva togata in piedi'; Hülsen – Egger, *Marten van Heemskerck* II 64 no. 77.

⁸⁰ Sarcophage aujourd'hui au Palazzo Rospigliosi à Rome. Voir Bober P.P. – Rubinstein R.O., *Renaissance Artists & Antique Sculpture. A Handbook of Sources* (Oxford : 1986) 56–57 no. 9. Le sarcophage est représenté par Falconetto dans la frise au-dessous des mois de novembre et de décembre (signe du Sagittaire), voir Fiocco G., « Le architettura di Giovanni Maria Falconetto », *Dedalo* 16 (1931) 1203–1241.

⁸¹ Sarcophage du II^e siècle, aujourd'hui à Wilton House à Wiltshire. Voir Michaelis A., *Ancient Marbles in Great Britain* (Cambridge : 1882) no. 61 ; Bober – Rubinstein, *Renaissance Artists & Antique Sculpture* 145–146 no. 115. Sur la copie dans le « Bambaia Sketchbook » de Berlin, fol. 11r, voir Dreyer P. – Winner M., « Der Meister von 1515 und das Bambaia-Skizzenbuch in Berlin », *Jahrbuch der Berliner Museen* N.F. 6 (1964) 53–94, en particulier fig. 39.



Fig. 8. La Mort de Méléagre, haut-relief. Sarcophage romain du II^e siècle. Wiltshire, Wilton House.

Accursio ne devait pas être peu fier de la page de titre gravée de ses *Diatribae*, bel in-folio de l'édition romaine, à la pointe de l'actualité artistique de Rome, écho direct du tout nouveau jardin d'antiques du cardinal della Valle.

L'exemplaire des Diatribae offert par Accursio à André de Resende

Le livre des *Diatribae* (Rome: 1524) dut servir à Accursio en quelque sorte de carte de visite et de sésame au cours de son existence gyrovague et de ses périples européens, notamment dans la péninsule ibérique.

Accursio fit ainsi don de son ouvrage à André de Resende (Évora, 1500–1573)⁸² à une date non précisée. Cet exemplaire est conservé aujourd'hui dans la section des *Reservados* de la Biblioteca Pública d'Évora (séc. XVI 4148),⁸³ comme d'autres livres ayant appartenu à

⁸² Sur le don de livres à la Renaissance, voir Zemon Davis N., «Beyond the Market: Books as Gift in Sixteenth Century France», *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society* V Series, 33 (1983) 69–88.

⁸³ Biblioteca Pública de Évora, Séc. XVI 4148, exemplaire à la reliure de cuir du XVI^e siècle, inscription sur la tranche inférieure: 'diatribe Mariangeli'. On trouve sur la page de titre, outre les inscriptions d'appartenance 'Gaspar Barreiros' en haut à gauche et 'Primi gymnassii' en bas, l'autorisation de la Censure: 'Non p[ro]hibetur tuto lege Anno 1584 [ou 74?] mense Augusto' 'Non prohibet', et l'indication du prix à l'achat: 'Custou este a S. S. – 197. rs'. Il y a encore un autre exemplaire des *Diatribae* d'Accursio à la Biblioteca Pública d'Évora (Séc. XVI 1781), ayant appartenu également à Gaspar Barreiros et au Collège des Jésuites: 'Da Livraria p[ub]lica do Collegio de Evora da Comp^a de Jesvs'.

l'humaniste portugais, identifiables par ses annotations manuscrites. Sur cet exemplaire, au verso de la page de titre, face à la dédicace aux deux princes allemands, on trouve l'inscription 'Mariangelus Accursius Aquilanus. L. Andr. Resendis. / Lusitano. D.D.', utilisant l'abréviation D.D. ('dedicavit'), dûment répertoriée dans les *Notae* de Valerius Probus [Fig. 9]. Le livre passa ensuite entre les mains de l'humaniste Gaspar Barreiros, célèbre auteur de la *Chorographia* (Coimbra: 1561), comme l'indique sa signature en haut de la page de titre. André de Resende dut en faire présent à Barreiros, sans doute parce qu'y figurent les *Castigationes* d'Accursio au *Polyhistor* de Julius Solinus, géographe de l'antiquité, une de sources pour les travaux de géographie antique de Barreiros.

Cela dut se passer en 1542, lorsque tous deux se retrouvèrent dans la maison de l'infant D. Henrique qui a pris possession de l'archevêché d'Évora, le 20 novembre 1540. En effet, après les morts successives de ses deux princes, le cardinal-infant D. Alfonso (14 avril 1540) et l'infant D. Duarte (10 octobre 1540), André de Resende n'eut d'autre solution que d'entrer dans la maison de l'infant D. Henrique à Évora, comme frère prêcheur, avec une pension annuelle de trente mille reis, plus deux 'moios de trigo' et deux 'moios de cevada', ceci à partir de 1542, comme en atteste le *Livro da Fazenda* de l'infant D. Henrique. Quant à Gaspar Barreiros, il appartient à la maison de l'infant D. Henrique depuis sa constitution à Braga. Il y figure déjà en tant que chapelain en 1539 à Braga: 'Mestre Gaspar [Barreiros] capellão', ou encore 'Gaspar Barr^{os} capellão'. On le retrouve à Évora en 1542, toujours comme chapelain, à côté d'André de Resende, 'pregador'.⁸⁴

L'exemplaire des *Diatribae* d'Accursio, ayant appartenu à Resende puis à Barreiros, finit à la fin du XVI^e siècle dans la bibliothèque du collège jésuite d'Évora (Colégio do Espírito Santo), pour les classes des 'Primi gymnasii', annotation plus tardive sur la page de titre.

Mais il reste à savoir à quel moment Accursio offrit son ouvrage à Resende. Avant même le voyage d'Accursio au Portugal en 1527, André de Resende dut connaître l'existence d'Accursio à travers l'ouvrage des

⁸⁴ Bibliotheca Pública de Évora, cod. CVII/1-29: 'Livro da Fazenda do Infante dom Amrique que começou em janeiro de quinhentos trinta e oito annos', fol. 61r, 64v: Braga 1539; fol. 82r: 'Livro dos mantimentos e ordenados que sam de pagar pelo rendimento do arcebispado de Evora e oficiaes [...] ano que começa de janeiro 1542 em diante'; fol. 114v: 'Frey André de Resende tomado por pregador. Tem de mantimento 30 000 rs.'; fol. 122v: 'Gaspar Barreiros capellão do cardeal tem de vestuario....[1542]'.

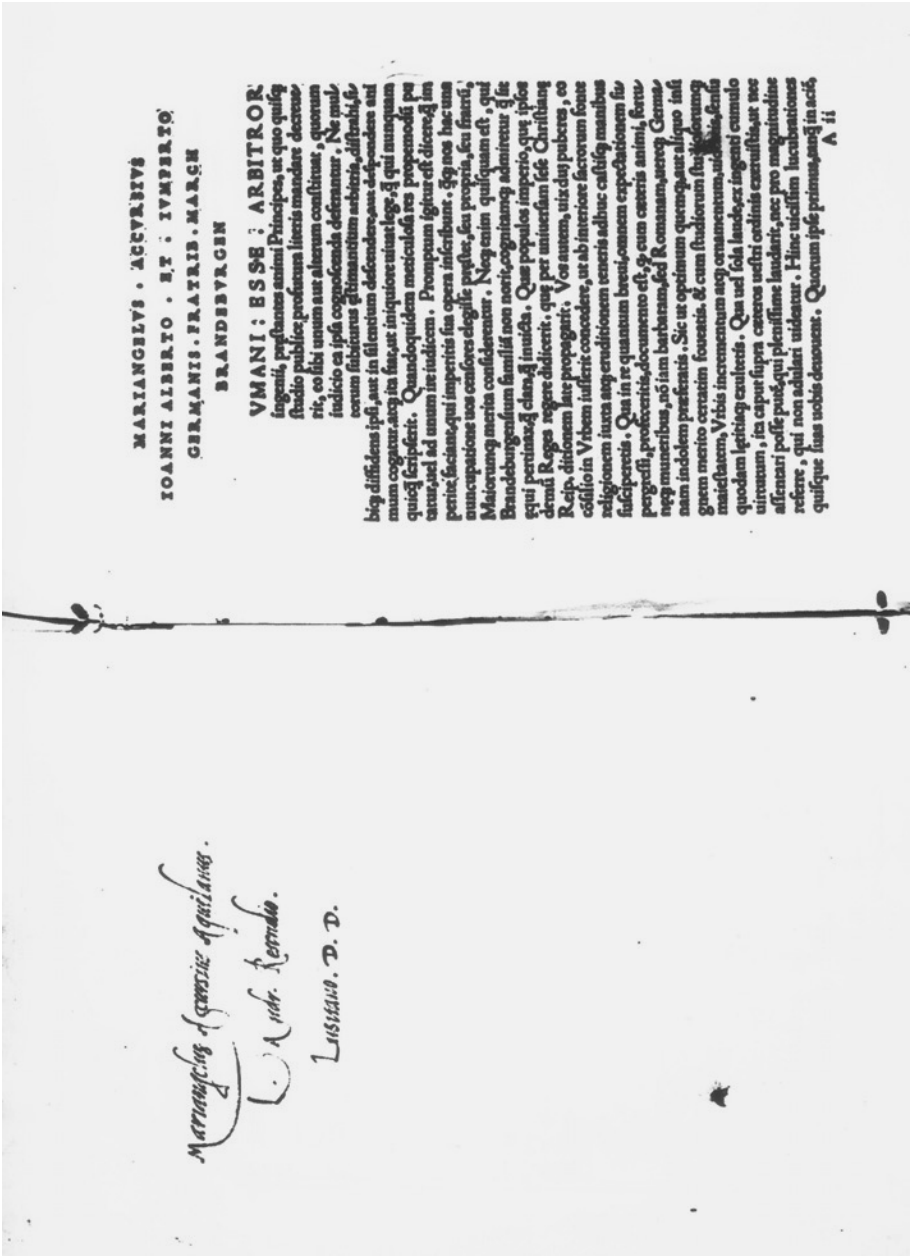


Fig. 9. Dédicace manuscrite de Mariangelo Accursio à André de Resende de ses *Diatribae* (Rome, Marcellus Silber: 1524). Biblioteca Pública de Évora, Séc XVI 4148.

Epigrammata Antiquae Urbis (Rome, Jacopo Mazzocchi: 1521). Les deux hommes se rencontrèrent-ils au Portugal en 1527, ou plus tard en Allemagne ou encore en Italie, au début des années 1530? La question de la rencontre d'Accursio et de Resende est fondamentale pour l'histoire des relations humanistes et antiquaires entre le Portugal et l'Italie au XVI^e siècle. Mais avant de tenter d'y répondre, ou au moins de donner quelques éléments de réponse, il nous faut d'abord évoquer le voyage d'Accursio au Portugal au printemps 1527.

Accursio dans la péninsule ibérique, 1525–1529

Ex Germania per Galliam et Hispaniam septembre 1525

Le 19 septembre 1525, Mariangelo Accursio et le prince Johann Albrecht von Brandenburg-Ansbach, accompagnés sans doute d'une petite suite, partent pour la péninsule ibérique, quittant Onolzpach, l'actuelle ville d'Ansbach en moyenne Franconie, où les Brandebourg avaient leur château.⁸⁵ Il y a dix ans de différence entre le majordome et son prince, l'un a trente-six ans et l'autre vingt-six.

Leur but est de rejoindre la cour de Charles Quint, alors à Tolède, mais dans un premier temps ils doivent aller à Valence en Aragon pour rendre visite à Germaine de Foix, vice-reine de Valence. En effet, à Ansbach, on a appris la mort, le 5 juillet 1525, à l'âge de trente-neuf ans, de Johann von Brandenburg, ce frère aîné qui a veillé, en accord avec Kasimir, à l'éducation de Johann Albrecht, faisant promettre à Charles Quint de l'accueillir quelques années à sa cour en Espagne. Ils descendent ainsi droit sur Valence pour rejoindre la reine Germaine de Foix, à la fois pour la consoler du deuil de son époux et traiter de la succession. La destination et les circonstances initiales du voyage en Espagne ne sont pas explicitement déclarées par Accursio, mais la coïncidence de dates est trop grande pour ne pas y voir une relation de cause à effet et deviner toute cette histoire, qu'il reste à conforter par des recherches d'archives.

Ils partent bien informés sur le chemin à suivre jusqu'à Valence, car Johann von Brandenburg et les gens de sa maison ont dû faire souvent le voyage. Ils sont munis sans doute d'un de ces itinéraires manuscrits,

⁸⁵ Ambrosiana, ms. O 125 sup., fol. 151r bis: 'Ex Germania per Galliam et Hispaniam'.

liste d'étapes avec indication des distances. De tels itinéraires manuscrits, avant que ne se multiplient, à partir des années 1540, les éditions de répertoires ou de guides de chemins,⁸⁶ sont écrits sur de simples feuilles de papier,⁸⁷ ou sur des rouleaux de parchemin conservés dans un étui, couramment utilisés par les marchands dans leurs périples.⁸⁸

Ils traversent la Lorraine, puis la Suisse en passant par Bâle et Genève. Ensuite, ils descendent la vallée du Rhône, Accursio relevant les inscriptions en chemin, l'un des premiers à le faire après Fra Giocondo.⁸⁹ Ils s'arrêtent à Lyon où Mariangelo copie une inscription, à Vienne où il dessine la Meta dans l'amphithéâtre et relève huit inscriptions.⁹⁰ Ils passent par Orange, regardent le théâtre et l'arc de triomphe d'ordre corinthien, orné de sculptures,⁹¹ puis par Avignon, entrent en pays de 'lengua d'ocha', s'arrêtent à Nîmes où ils admirent 'las arenas' et où Accursio relève trente-cinq inscriptions.⁹² Ils traversent Narbonne où ils ne manquent pas d'entrer, comme bien des voyageurs, dans l'église Saint-Just pour voir *La Résurrection de Lazare* de Sebastiano del Piombo ('In ecclesia S<ancti> Justi ubi pictura Lazari quam Sebast. Venetus fecit'),⁹³ comme le fera en 1538 Francisco de Holanda en chemin vers l'Italie. Ils admirent la forteresse de Salses en Roussillon, construite 'il y a trente-neuf ans', unique en son genre, écrit Accursio.⁹⁴ Cette

⁸⁶ Villuga Pero Juan, *Repertorio de todos los caminos de España* (Medina del Campo, Pedro de Castro: 1546); Estienne Charles, *Le guide des chemins de France* (Paris, Charles Estienne: 1552).

⁸⁷ Tels les itinéraires retrouvés parmi les papiers de Johann Maria Warschnitz, secrétaire d'Ottheinrich von der Pfalz, utilisés lors de leur voyage en Espagne et au Portugal, l'hiver 1519-1520. On trouve ainsi un itinéraire intitulé *Camino de Barcelona a Lisboa*. Voir Hellwig K., *Die Reise Ottheinrichs von der Pfalz durch Spanien und Portugal 1519/20 im Spiegel des Reisetagebuchs von Johann Maria Warschitz* (Heidelberg: 2010) 41-42.

⁸⁸ Wolkenhauer A., «Eine Kaufmännische Itinerarrolle aus dem Anfang des 16. Jahrhunderts», *Hansische Geschichtsblätter* 14 (1908) 150-195.

⁸⁹ Fra Giocondo, venu de Naples dans la suite de Charles VIII, séjourna en France de 1495 à 1504. Voir Ciapponi L.A., «Appunti per una biografia di Giovanni Giocondo da Verona», *Italia medioevale e umanistica* 4 (1961) 130-158; Vecce C., *Jacopo Sannazzaro in Francia* (Padova: 1988) 8-13 «Tra Aldo Manuzio e Fra Giocondo».

⁹⁰ Ambrosiana, ms. O 125 sup., fols. 154v-155v; *CIL*, XII, *Inscriptiones Galliae Narbonensis Latinae*, éd. O. Hirschfeld (Berlin: 1888) XIV 'Viennensia'; 220: *CIL* 1809, 1852, 1897, 1904, 1987, 2005, 2013, 2029.

⁹¹ Ambrosiana, ms. O 125 sup., fol. 156v: 'Orangia opidulum [...] celeberrimus locus, cum theatro [...] Arcus triumphalis opere corintho, egregis sculpturis ornato'.

⁹² Ambrosiana, ms. O 125 sup., fols. 156v-160r; *CIL*, XII, 384 'Neamusensia'.

⁹³ Ambrosiana, ms. O 125 sup., fol. 160v: 'Narbona, archiepatus'.

⁹⁴ Ambrosiana, ms. O 125 sup., fol. 161r: 'Salsa, arx munitissima, nonas et triginta iam annis edificata [...] 500 passum procul a mar(i) [...]. Et interim unicum tum castellum occurrit'.

forteresse inspira à Francisco de Holanda le premier dessin 'in bella' de son voyage, beau dessin à la sanguine de son livre des *Antigualhas* (fol. 43v). Enfin, ils entrent en Catalogne, visitent Barcelone où Accursio copie vingt inscriptions,⁹⁵ puis s'arrêtent à Tarragone, riche en antiquités romaines.

Le Docteur Onofre Comes de Tarragone

A Tarragone, Accursio relève trente-et-une inscriptions.⁹⁶ Il est, semble-t-il, aidé dans sa quête épigraphique par Onofre Comes, docteur en droit, un autre passionné d'épigraphie, qu'il a peut-être connu à Rome, sous Jules II. Avant Antonio Agustín, Onofre Comes est en effet le grand antiquaire de Tarragone dans ces années 1520, connu pour ses recueils d'inscriptions antiques qu'Accursio dut consulter attentivement.

On connaît l'existence de ces recueils d'Onofre Comes par les fréquentes allusions qu'y font les épigraphistes et historiens catalans des XVI^e et XVII^e siècles, Lluís Pons de Icart et Hieronymo Pujades. Lluís Pons de Icart (Tarragone 1518–1587) le cite sous le nom de *Mossèn Comes* dans son manuscrit *Epigrammata Antiquae Urbis Tarraconensis*.⁹⁷ Pons l'évoque sans doute encore, mais sans dire son nom, dans son *Libro de las Grandezas de Tarragona*, au chapitre III, lorsqu'il parle d'un 'vieux cahier où il y avait plus de trente pierres écrites de Tarragone, selon les dires de l'auteur des relevés'.⁹⁸ Quant à Hieronymo Pujades, au début du XVII^e siècle, il copie dans son recueil, conservé aujourd'hui à la bibliothèque du Séminaire de Gérone (Ms. 26), des inscriptions de Tarragone d'un recueil de Onofre Comes, dûment cité: 'Ex [...] Comes, utriusque juris doctore, cive tarraconensi, in

⁹⁵ Ambrosiana, ms. O 125 sup., fol. 161v; voir *CIL*, II, éd. Hübner, VII: '2 (XVI) insunt tituli Barcinone [Barcelona] ex lapidibus descripti vinginti' (p. 600).

⁹⁶ Ambrosiana, ms. O 125 sup., fols. 162v–168v; voir Hübner, *CIL* II, VII: '3 (XXV pars II e III) Tarraconenses'.

⁹⁷ Wolfenbüttel, Bibliothèque, ms. 20–11 Aug., fols. 92r–93v, cité par Dupré i Raventós, «Mariangelo Accursio» 49 n. 61–62.

⁹⁸ 'quaderno viejo donde habia más de treynta piedras escriptas y el que la escrivió desia que eran de Taragona'. Voir Duran i Grau E., «Historiografia dels Temps de l'Humanisme», in Balcells A. (éd.), *Història de la Historiografia Catalana* (Barcelone: 2004) 77–92, en particulier 88 et n. 24.

manuscriptis'. Pujades inclut de plus son nom parmi les auteurs épigraphiques dans sa *Coronica universal del Principat de Cathalunya*.⁹⁹

Accursio est ainsi en bonne compagnie et il en tira pleinement profit. Naturellement, rien de tout cela ne nous est dit explicitement, mais on peut le lire entre les lignes d'une courte annotation un peu confuse, qui introduit une inscription encadrée dans un mur de la maison du docteur Onofre, copiée dans sa sylloge (*CIL* II, 4269):¹⁰⁰

Dans la paroi de la maison de Messer Onofre Comes, docteur & qui, très studieux d'antiquités, donna en cadeau son livre au Révérendissime Cesarino.

Ce commentaire mérite d'être examiné de près. Accursio rapporte-t-il ici les propos du Tarraconais ou évoque-t-il un souvenir romain ? Il aurait entendu parler d'Onofre Comes à Rome ou l'aurait même rencontré dans la maison du cardinal Giulio Cesarini et vu le livre que le Docteur Comes de Tarragone avait offert au cardinal. Cela se passerait avant 1510, date de la mort du cardinal. Giulio Cesarini, fait cardinal en 1493 par Alexandre VI, devait en effet être proche du milieu catalan. Les deux papes Borgia, l'oncle Calixte III et son neveu Alexandre VI, sont nés à Játiva, au sud de Valence.

Cette simple remarque d'Accursio dans sa sylloge lève ainsi un coin du voile qui couvre le début de ses recherches épigraphiques dans la Rome de Jules II avant 1510, en particulier dans le célèbre Museo Cesarini, la première collection d'antiques à être ouverte aux *studiosi* en 1500, comme le rappelait une inscription dans sa maison.¹⁰¹

De Tarragone, Accursio et son prince se rendent à Sagonte (*Sagunto*), très ancienne cité ibère alliée de Rome au nord de Valence, où Accursio relève de nombreuses inscriptions, notamment 'extra muros ad Trinitatis', un édicule avec un ensemble d'épigrammes funéraires écrites en 'lettres élégantissimes dans la pierre noire'.¹⁰²

⁹⁹ Pujades Hieronymo, *Coronica universal del Principat de Cathalunya* (Barcelone: 1609) 104. Voir Duran i Grau E. (dir.), *Repertori de Manuscrits Catalans (1470–1620)* 4, éd. M. Toldrà (Barcelona: 2008) 94.

¹⁰⁰ Ambrosiana, ms. O 125 sup., fol. 165v: 'In pariete domus, Domini Honophrii Comis, Doctoris atque antiquitatis studiosissimi librum eius dono dedit Reverendissimo Cesarino'.

¹⁰¹ Voir Lanciani, *Storia degli Scavi*, I, 1902, 133–135; 1989, 175–180: '1500 Museo Cesarini'.

¹⁰² Ambrosiana, ms. O 125 sup., fol. 169v: 'extra muros ad Trinitatis in aedicula [...] omnia supra scripta eius aediculae epigrammata sunt litteris elegantissimis et nigro lapide, quem dicunt blavum'; *CIL* II, p. 513.

De Valencia à la cour de Charles Quint avec Germaine de Foix

Accursio et son prince arrivent enfin à Valence, but premier du voyage. Pendant que Johann Albrecht traite des affaires familiales, Accursio va à la chasse aux inscriptions, faisant des relevés dans la cathédrale, à l'hôtel de ville, dans les maisons de particuliers ainsi qu'au palais royal.¹⁰³

Johann Albrecht s'acquitta de sa visite de consolation auprès de sa belle-sœur, la vice-reine de Valence, Germaine de Foix, âgé de trente-trois ans, veuve pour la seconde fois, suite à la mort de son époux Johann von Brandenburg, le 5 juillet 1525. Il dut traiter aussi des questions de succession et assister, avec la reine, à l'inventaire des biens de son frère. Peu avant de mourir, celui-ci a passé son testament le 3 juillet, veillant à la fortune des siens en Franconie.¹⁰⁴ Germaine de Foix partit pour la cour seulement après avoir signé, devant notaire, l'inventaire des biens de son mari, le 8 janvier 1526.¹⁰⁵

La reine Germaine se met en route vers Tolède début janvier 1526, avec vraisemblablement dans sa suite, son beau-frère accompagné de son majordome. Elle vient pour la célébration des noces d'Éléonore d'Autriche, sœur aînée de Charles Quint et veuve du roi D. Manuel de Portugal, avec François I^{er}, roi de France. Fin juin 1525, peu avant la mort de son époux, Germaine de Foix avait reçu à Valence, avec force fêtes, François I^{er}, fait prisonnier à la bataille de Pavie (24 février 1525), en marche vers Madrid, sous la garde de Hernando de Alarcón.¹⁰⁶ En effet, 'le roi de France, entrant en Espagne, fut reçu partout avec les mêmes démonstrations que s'il marchait d'Orléans à Paris'.¹⁰⁷ Alonso Fernández de Oviedo, dans son dialogue entre Alcaide et Sereno, décrit

¹⁰³ Ambrosiana, ms. O 125 sup., fol. 172r-174v: 'Valentia'. Il relève des inscriptions dans les maisons de Jeronimo Burgherin, de D. Juan de Moncade et de D. Luis Soralles.

¹⁰⁴ Cruïlles, *Germana de Foix* 163, 261-269; *Il·lustración A*, 357 n. 15; Appendice XLI Testament du margrave de Brandebourg, 3 juillet 1525.

¹⁰⁵ Cruïlles, *Germana de Foix* 165 et Appendice XLVIII.

¹⁰⁶ Cruïlles, *Germana de Foix* 162. Sur la marche quasi triomphale de François I depuis son arrivée à Barcelone, milieu juin 1525, et son arrivée à Madrid, le 20 juillet, voir Sandoval, *Historia del Emperador Carlos V*, II, Lib. XIII, cap. X 103-104.

¹⁰⁷ Pacheco Frey Miguel, *Vida de la Serenissima Infanta D. Maria* (Lisbonne, Miguel Manesca: 1675), cap. V «Del Casamiento de la Reina Leonor con el Rey Francisco de Francia, y del desposorio de la Infanta su hija con el Delfin», fol. 13r: Francois I^{er} 'entrando en España fue recidibo en todas partes con las mismas demonstraciones, que si caminara de Oliens a Paris'.

l'arrivée de la reine Germaine à Tolède, 'muy acompañada y con gran casa de caballeros y damas muy enlutada' et l'accueil que lui fit Charles Quint, venu à sa rencontre avec le cardinal Salviati légat du pape, et maints gentilshommes de la cour, au pont d'Alcantara sur le Taje à l'entrée de Tolède.¹⁰⁸

La cour est à Tolède depuis la réunion des *Cortes* convoquées le 1^{er} mai 1525.¹⁰⁹ Charles Quint, encore tout auréolé de la victoire de Pavie, a fait son entrée à Tolède le 27 avril 1525. La sœur préférée de Charles Quint, D. Éléonore, veuve du roi du Portugal D. Manuel, est arrivée à Tolède le 22 avril 1525 avec le nouvel archevêque de Tolède, Alonso de Fonseca (1523–1534).¹¹⁰ La reine Germaine, avec son époux Johann von Brandenburg, y était aussi en ce printemps 1525, avant de s'en retourner pour recevoir François I^{er} à Valence fin juin peu de jours avant la mort de Johann, nous l'avons vu. Charles Quint tenait encore les *Cortes*, quand François I^{er} arriva à Madrid le 20 juillet. C'est à Tolède, durant les *Cortes*, que l'Empereur décida son propre mariage avec D. Isabel de Portugal. La cour continue à résider à Tolède jusqu'au départ pour Séville en février 1526.

Johann Albrecht et Mariangelo Accursio font désormais partie de la cour de Charles Quint, la suivant dans ses déplacements entre Tolède, Séville, Grenade et Valladolid. Ils résident ainsi quatre ans en Espagne, passant en août 1529 de Barcelone à Gênes sur les galères d'Andrea Doria, toujours dans la suite de Charles Quint, qui se rend à Bologne pour son couronnement par le Pape comme Empereur.

Le prince Hohenzollern côtoya, nous l'avons vu, pendant un an, le jeune Ferrante Gonzaga (1507–1557), fils du marquis de Mantoue, qui séjourna à la cour de Charles Quint entre 1523 et 1526. Il vécut sans doute la même vie bien réglée que le jeune prince de Mantoue, avec cependant plus de temps dédié à l'étude du latin et du grec avec son maître Accursio. Pandolfo Pico della Mirandola, le précepteur du jeune Gonzaga, décrit une journée de son protégé à Tolède, dans une lettre à sa mère Isabelle d'Este:¹¹¹ lecture au lever de l'*Office de la Vierge*, exercices de cavalerie et de voltige avec messer Aloysio Piacentino, 'cavacaltore delli cavalli del'Emperatore', messe, lever de l'Empereur,

¹⁰⁸ Cruïlles, *Germana de Foix* 168–169, *Ilustración* A 357–358.

¹⁰⁹ Sur les *Cortes* de Tolède en 1525, voir Sandoval, *Historia del Emperador Carlos V II*, Libro XIII, cap. VII, IX et XI.

¹¹⁰ Fernández Collado A., *La Catedral de Toledo en el siglo XVI. Vida, arte y personas* (Tolède: 1999) 241.

¹¹¹ Tamalio, *Ferrante Gonzaga* 262.

déjeuner, jeu d'échecs, sieste ou lecture d'une *novella* de Bocacce, visite de seigneurs, à nouveau exercices de voltige, dîner, puis promenade à cheval dans la fraîcheur vespérale avec l'Empereur et, au retour, visite avec lui de la reine Éléonore, entourée de ses dames conversant avec leurs cavaliers. 'Mon patron servait lui aussi sa dame [...]' ('Mio patrone anchor lui servia la signora sua' [...]) rajoute Pandolfo.

Johann Albrecht von Brandenburg compta sans doute au nombre des jeunes gentilshommes qui, tous les soirs, accompagnent Charles Quint dans ses promenades vespérales et dans ses visites auprès de sa sœur Éléonore et de ses dames. Quant à Accursio, il put dès Tolède se renseigner sur le Portugal auprès de la reine Éléonore et des gens de sa maison.

Sans doute assistèrent-ils le 14 janvier 1526 au mariage de François 1^{er} et de la reine Éléonore à Illescas, avec Germaine de Foix, qui a un rôle de premier plan dans cet événement. En effet, la reine de Valence joue volontiers à la cour d'Espagne le rôle d'intermédiaire avec la cour de France où elle a grandi.

Mais le grand moment fut certainement le séjour à Séville pour le mariage de Charles Quint avec D. Isabel de Portugal en mars 1526.¹¹² Ils ont assisté aux fêtes du mariage à Séville, puis aux joutes, fin avril, organisées à la venue l'infant D. Luís de Portugal, frère de l'Impératrice Isabel.¹¹³ Accursio put ainsi voir à cette occasion un membre de la famille royale portugaise. Ce fut, ensuite, le 13 mai, le troisième mariage de Germaine de Foix, cette fois avec D. Fernando de Aragon, duc de Calabria, à la veille du départ de la cour de Charles Quint pour Grenade pour y rester six mois, jusqu'en décembre.

Accursio visite Séville, regarde les deux colonnes dites d'Hercule à chapiteaux corinthiens et va bien sûr voir, de l'autre côté du fleuve, l'ancienne Hispalis avec amphithéâtre, théâtre, deux aqueducs, temples.¹¹⁴

Puis il se rend à Grenade, suivant un autre chemin que celui de la cour. Il va par le Sud, visite Tarifa, Cadix (Gades),¹¹⁵ dont il dessine la situation topographique du port de Santa Maria [Fig. 10], Gibraltar et Málaga où 'Ioh. Alberto Parmensi' lui fournit des inscriptions.

¹¹² Ambrosiana, ms. O 125 Sup., fol. 139r: 'Ab Urbe Toletto ad Hispalim': Consuegra / Villa Arta / Sierra Morena / Venta de los Palacios / Córdoba / Carmona / Sevilla.

¹¹³ Voir Deswarte, *Il 'Perfetto Cortegiano'* 75; Deswarte-Rosa S., « Espoirs et désespoir de l'infant D. Luís », *Mare Liberum* 3 (1991) 241-298.

¹¹⁴ Ambrosiana, ms. O 125 sup., fols. 145v-148r: 'Sivilla'.

¹¹⁵ Ambrosiana, ms. O 125 sup., fols. 235r-237v: 'Gades'.



Fig. 10. Mariangelo Accursio, 'Portu S. Mariae ad Gade'. Vue topographique du port de Santa Maria de Gadès (Cadix), page de sa sylloge. Milan, Biblioteca Ambrosiana, ms. O 125 sup., fol. 235r.

À Grenade, Accursio rejoint la cour. D'illustres Italiens s'y trouvent, Andrea Navagero qui écrit lui-même le récit de son voyage en Espagne,¹¹⁶ le comte Baldassare Castiglione, le cardinal Giovanni Salviati, mais aussi des Espagnols, en particulier le tout jeune D. Diego Hurtado de Mendoza (1504–1575), fils de de Don Iñigo López de Mendoza (1442–1515), second comte de Tendilla, qu'Accursio devait connaître de Rome au début des années 1520.¹¹⁷ De Grenade, Accursio a tout le temps d'explorer l'Andalousie, se rendant en août 1526 à Jaen et Ubeda.¹¹⁸ Il profite dans cette exploration épigraphique des conseils de divers antiquaires, certains lui donnant des relevés d'inscriptions, Giovanni Alberto 'vidomino Parmensi', D. Nicolaus Trapolinus Patavinus, et surtout D. Diego Hurtado de Mendoza.

Conversations épigraphiques avec D. Diego Hurtado de Mendoza à Grenade. La préparation du voyage au Portugal

D. Diego Hurtado de Mendoza est chez lui à Grenade, élevé à l'ombre des murs de l'Alhambra. Il sait le latin et le grec et il a appris l'arabe comme une langue vivante. Il aime les livres et les antiquités, il aime aussi écrire. D. Diego, à vingt-deux ans, a déjà une sylloge bien fournie d'inscriptions de la péninsule ibérique.¹¹⁹ 'Après avoir sillonné une bonne partie de l'Espagne pour voir et relever fidèlement les pierres antiques, il passa en Italie', partageant son temps entre la guerre l'été et l'étude l'hiver, à Rome et à Padoue, écrit Ambrosio de Morales dans sa dédicace à D. Diego de ses *Antigüedades de las Ciudades de España*,¹²⁰

¹¹⁶ Navagero Andrea, *Il viaggio fatto in Ispagna, ed in Francia dal magnifico M. Andrea Navagero oratore del Senato Veneto a Carlo V. Imperadore. Con la descrizione particolare de' luoghi, e costumi de' popoli di quelle Provincie* (Venise, Domenico Farri: 1663); Navagero Andrea, *Opera Omnia* (Padova: 1718) 343–397; trad. espagnole *Viaje a España del magnifico Señor Andrés Navagero (1524–1526) embajador de la República de Venecia ante el emperador Carlos V*, éd. José María Alonso Gemo (Valence: 1951). Voir Hübner, *CIL* II VII, no. 8.

¹¹⁷ Selon Erika Spivakovsky (*Son of the Alhambra* 32), durant la guerre des *Comuneros*, D. Diego accompagna à Rome l'un de ses frères, D. Francisco (†1544), qui servait le pape Léon X comme majordome. Il serait ainsi à Rome au début du pontificat de Clément VII.

¹¹⁸ Ambrosiana, ms. O 125 sup., fols. 246r–260r; Hübner, *CIL*, II, 1869, p. VIII (9 XXXII).

¹¹⁹ Emil Hübner met ainsi D. Diego Hurtado au nombre des auteurs des sylloges en *Hispania*. Emile Hübner, dans *CIL* II, 1869, p. VII–VIII.

¹²⁰ Morales Ambrosio de, *Las Antigüedades de las Ciudades de España* IX (Madrid, Benito Cano: 1792; 1^{ère} éd. Alcalá de Henares: 1575) fol. LXIIIr–LXXXr, en particulier

principale source d'information sur ses études. D. Diego Hurtado de Mendoza deviendra l'un des plus grands collectionneurs d'antiquités et le détenteur d'une des plus riches bibliothèques du XVI^e siècle, aux reliures précieuses, agrémentées de plaquettes gravés du grand orfèvre Valerio Belli. Philippe II fera tout pour se faire donner ces trésors pour la Biblioteca de El Escorial à la mort de Diego Hurtado.

Tel est l'interlocuteur d'Accursio pendant ces mois de l'année 1526 passés à Grenade. Avec lui, il regarde les inscriptions de l'Alhambra qu'il relève dans sa sylloge.¹²¹ D. Diego est encore plein de son voyage au Nord du Portugal, sans doute à la fin de l'année 1525, après l'été passé à Tolède pour les *Cortes*. Il en parle, encore vibrant, à Accursio, il lui montre les inscriptions qu'il a copiées à Porto et à Braga, il lui décrit son itinéraire jusque-là, la vallée du Minho et ses antiquités. C'est sans doute là, à Grenade, auprès de D. Diego, qu'Accursio décida de son voyage épigraphique au Portugal.

Accursio recopie à Grenade, le 14 juillet 1526 dans sa sylloge, sur un cahier de six folios, les inscriptions de Braga et de Porto d'après les relevés de D. Diego. Il écrit solennellement en lettres capitales en tête du cahier, sur une page blanche: EXHIBITA AB ILLVSTR. D. DIEGO MENDOZAE FRATRE ILL. D. MARCHIONIS PROREGIS GRANA-TAE QUARTO KAL. JUL. MDXXVI¹²² [Fig. 11].

*Le voyage au Nord du Portugal de D. Diego Hurtado de Mendoza,
fin 1525*

Le voyage de D. Diego Hurtado de Mendoza au Portugal est bien connu des historiens, mais d'une datation incertaine, vers 1530, pense Erica Spivakovsky.¹²³ Néanmoins, le cahier d'inscriptions du Portugal

fol. LXVIIr: 'Habiendo estudiado V. S. las tres lenguas Latina, Griega y Árábica en Granada y en Salamanca, y despues allí los Derechos Civil y Canónico; y habiendo andado buena parte de España para ver y sacar fielmente las piedras antiguas della, se pasó en Italia [...]'.
¹²¹ Ambrosiana, ms. O 125 sup., fol. 243r-244r; Hübner, CIL II, p. 285.
¹²² Ambrosiana, ms. O 125 sup., fol. 176r-179v. Selon E. Hübner (CIL II, p. IX, no. 11), Diego Hurtado de Mendoza dut fournir les mêmes relevés d'inscriptions au Vénitien Benedicto Ramberto (Benedictus Rambertus), comme le montre sa sylloge apographe *Epitaphia a diversis orbis terrae partibus Benedicti Rhamberti Veneti diligentia ac studio collecta atque ab eius dem exemplari nunc manu descripta MDLXI* (Bibliothèque du Séminaire de Padoue).
¹²³ Sur la visite au Portugal de D. Diego Hurtado de Mendoza, voir González Palencia A. – Mele E., *Vida y obras de Don Diego Hurtado de Mendoza*, 3 vols. (Madrid:

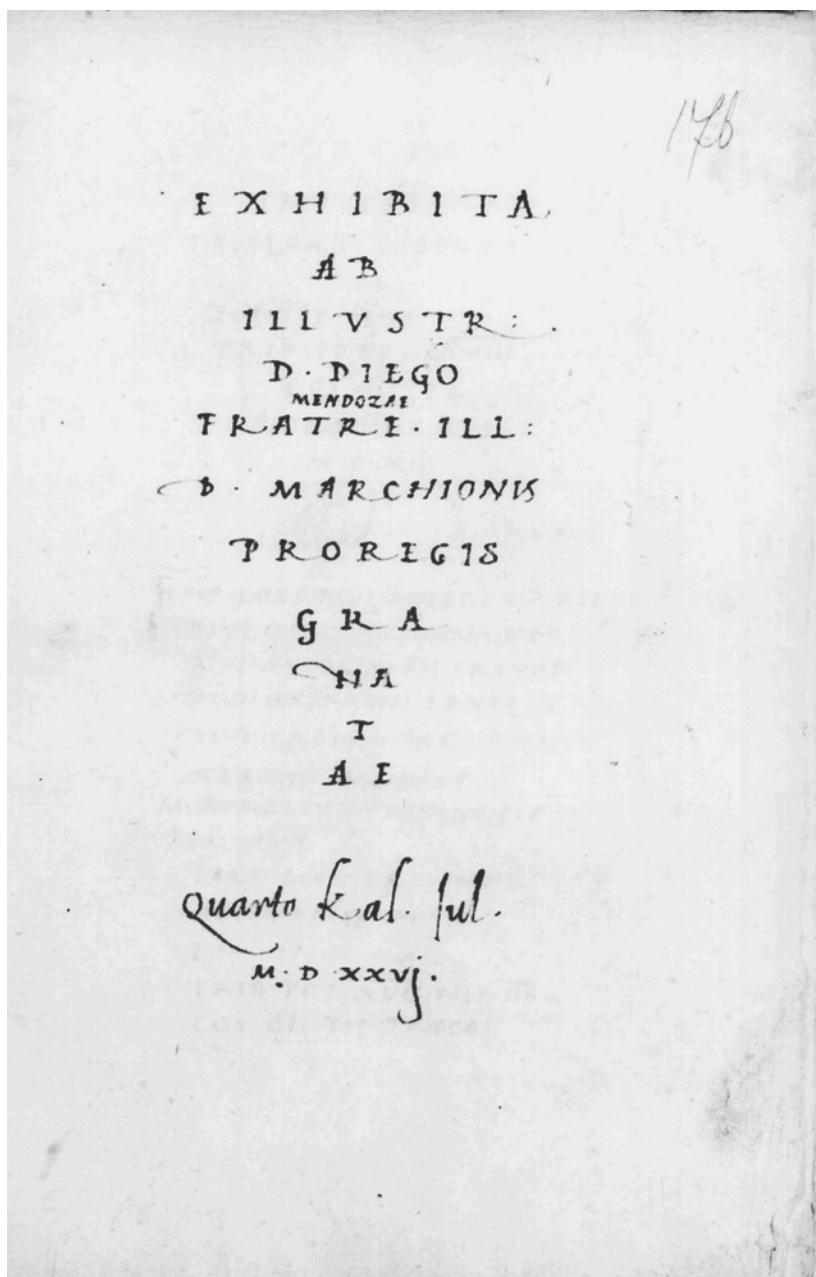


Fig. 11. Mariangelo Accursio, 'EXHIBITA AB ILLVSTR. D. DIEGO MENDOZAE FRATRE ILL. D. MARCHIONIS PROREGIS GRANATAE QUARTO KAL. JUL. MDXXVI', page de sa sylloge. Milan, Biblioteca Ambrosiana, ms. O 125 sup., fol. 176r.

copiées par Accursio d'après les transcriptions de D. Diego à Grenade en juillet 1526, donne un *terminus ante quem* pour ce voyage, bien que l'on ne puisse exclure complètement que D. Diego les aient reçues d'un tiers. Après la bataille de Pavie le 24 février 1525 où il prit une part active, D. Diego de Hurtado est de nouveau en Espagne cet été-là où sa présence est attestée aux *Cortes* de Tolède (mai-juillet 1525).¹²⁴ Il faudrait donc placer le voyage de D. Diego Hurtado de Mendoza au Nord du Portugal vers la fin de 1525 et non pas vers 1530.

D. Diego, en dépit de sa fidélité à l'Empereur, est allé à Porto pour rendre visite à sa sœur D. Maria Pacheco, en exil au Portugal suite à la révolte des *Comuneros* de Castille (1520–1521). Il n'y avait en effet plus d'espoir qu'elle puisse rentrer un jour en Espagne, ayant été exclue de l'absolution générale des *Comuneros* promulguée par Charles Quint le 28 octobre 1525.¹²⁵

D. Maria Pacheco a en effet dirigé la lutte à Tolède suite à l'exécution de son époux Juan de Padilla, après la bataille de Villalar en 1521. Elle s'y gagna le nom de *Valerosa*, écrit Sandoval: 'Doña Maria Pacheco de Mendoza dirigeait cette troupe avec tant de courage, tel un capitaine rompu aux armes, et pour cela on l'appela la *mujer valerosa*'.¹²⁶ Elle dut s'enfuir au Portugal, avec quelques fidèles, pour échapper à la mort, comme le raconte Diego Sigeu qui l'a suivi dans cet exil.¹²⁷

Fuyant Tolède en 1522, déguisée en paysanne (*labradora*), après un périple par Castelo Branco, Guarda, Viseu, Porto, D. Maria Pacheco fut accueillie par l'évêque D. Diogo de Sousa à Braga qui l'hébergea pendant trois ans. Braga vit alors affluer les exilés *Comuneros* qui y

1941–1943) vol. I; Spivakovsky, *Son of the Alhambra* 47. 'D. Diego de Mendoza la visitó en Portugal, sin que sepamos la ficha', écrivent González Palencia et Mele 40.

¹²⁴ Spivakovsky, *Son of the Alhambra* 35.

¹²⁵ Voir Keniston H., *Francisco de los Cobos, Secretario de Carlos V* (Madrid: 1980) 76 «Absolución de los Comuneros».

¹²⁶ 'Sustentaba este bando Doña Maria Pacheco de Mendoza, con tanto coraje como si fuera un capitán cursado en las armas, que por esto la llamaron la mujer valerosa', Sandoval, *Historia del Emperador Carlos V*, I, cap. XXVII «Miserable fin de Doña Maria de Pacheco y de la casa de Juan de Padilla» 443–444.

¹²⁷ Diogo Sigeu, *Relacion Sumaria del comienzo y suceso de las guerras civiles que llamaron las Comunidades de Castilla de cuya causa se recogió la muy ilustre señora Doña Maria Pacheco que fué casada con Juan de Padilla, a Portugal, con quien yo Diego de Sygi vino* (Biblioteca de El Escorial, Cód. ij-V-3 et Londres, British Library, Ms Add 20922, fol. 18r–22v), publiée d'après le manuscrit de l'Escorial par Rodríguez Villa A., «La viuda de Juan de Padilla», in Rodríguez Villa A., *Artículos Históricos* (Madrid: 1913) 57–68; first published *Revista Europa* 13 (Madrid: 1879) 33–36, 55–58, puis d'après le manuscrit de la British Library par Matos L. de, *A Corte Literária dos Duques de Bragança no Renascimento* (Lisbonne: 1956) 37–41.

étaient protégés ouvertement.¹²⁸ Malade, ne supportant pas le climat de Braga, D. Maria Pacheco alla à Porto où elle fut hébergée par D. Pedro de Acosta, évêque de Osma, chapelain de l'Impératrice. 'Ce prélat lui donna ses maisons, sises au plus haut point de la ville, le plus sain, dominant le Douro, jouissant d'une jolie vue sur la mer et la terre', écrit Sigeu.¹²⁹ C'est en ce lieu magnifique que D. Diego Hurtado de Mendoza alla voir sa soeur et, sans doute après lui, Mariangelo Accursio.

Auprès d'elle, on trouve donc l'humaniste Diego Sigeu qui a laissé en Espagne femme et enfants, dont la célèbre Luísa Sigeia.¹³⁰ Diego Sigeu resta jusqu'en 1530 aux côtés de Maria Pacheco qui insista, sentant sa fin prochaine, pour qu'il passe au service du duc D. Jaime de Bragança comme maître de langues classiques à Vila Viçosa.

D. Maria Pacheco, comme son frère, a en effet reçu une éducation soignée. 'C'était une femme docte en latin et en grec comme en mathématiques, versée dans les Saintes Ecritures, en tous genres d'histoire, et par-dessus tout en poésie', écrit Diego Sigeu.¹³¹ Elle ne devait donc pas être aveugle aux inscriptions romaines qui venaient ennoblir les parois de la cathédrale et de la ville de Braga.

D. Diego Hurtado de Mendoza dut rencontrer à Porto l'évêque de Viseu, D. Miguel da Silva, revenu depuis peu de son ambassade à Rome (1515–1525). Parti de Rome fin juillet 1525, D. Miguel da Silva arriva au Portugal l'été 1525 avec en tête l'idée de son grand projet d'embellissement à l'antique de l'embouchure du Douro, inspirée du port antique d'Ostie,¹³² où il multiplia les inscriptions. D. Diego Hurtado fait allusion à sa fréquentation de D. Miguel da Silva et des gens de sa maison lors de sa visite de sa sœur dans une lettre du 30 juin 1541 écrite de Venise au secrétaire de l'empereur, Francisco de Los Cobos. D. Diego écrit cette lettre suite à l'arrivée de D. Miguel da Silva qui a quitté sans autorisation la cour du Portugal et qui est désormais un

¹²⁸ Pérez J., *La Revolución de las Comunidades de Castilla (1520–1521)* (Madrid: 1999) (1^{ère} éd. 1970) 613.

¹²⁹ 'Este prelado no solamente le mandó dar sus casas, que están asentadas en lo más alto y sano de la ciudad y encima del Duero, con vistas muy graciosas para el mar y la tierra', Diego Sigeu in Rodríguez Villa, «La viuda de Juan de Padilla» 66.

¹³⁰ Bourdon L. – Sauvage O., «Recherches sur Luísa Sigea», *Bulletin des Études Portugaises* N. S. 31 (1970) 32–176; Prieto Corbalan, M.R. (éd.), *Luisa Sigea, Epistolario Latino* (Madrid: 2007).

¹³¹ 'Fué mi Sra D.^a María Pacheco muy docta en latín y en griego y mathemática, e muy leída en la Santa Escritura y en todo género de historia, en extremo en la poesía', Diego Sigeu in Rodríguez Villa, «La viuda de Juan de Padilla» 67.

¹³² Deswarte, *Il 'Perfetto Cortegiano'* 74.

banni. Il rassure Cobos qui le met en garde sur le côté trouble du personnage: 'Non seulement l'évêque mais tous ses gens sont de grands français, et je le sais bien, moi qui ait été au Portugal avec ma sœur; il est mon ami pour le grec et pour le latin et je m'en méfie pour cela, et ici il communique avec ceux qui ne nous veulent pas du bien'.¹³³ En effet, D. Miguel da Silva est devenu, durant son ambassade à Rome (1515–1525) un grand ami de Clément VII, ce pape qui est à l'origine de la Ligue avec les Français contre l'Empereur en 1526.

Unis par leur amour de l'antiquité, des livres et de l'épigraphie, on peut imaginer sans mal cette rencontre, la visite de la *Foz do Douro*, D. Miguel lui exposant son grand projet d'aménagement, lui montrant les inscriptions qu'il a préparées pour apposer sur les édifices.

Outre la mise à disposition de ses relevés d'inscriptions au Portugal,¹³⁴ D. Diego Hurtado de Mendoza a sans doute indiqué à Accursio la route à suivre, donné des lettres d'introduction à Braga auprès de D. Diogo de Sousa et à Porto auprès de D. Miguel da Silva et de sa tante, Maria Pacheco. Mais Accursio n'en dit mot.

A Valle Oliti ad Divi Jacobi. *Le pèlerinage*
à Saint-Jacques-de-Compostelle, mars 1527

À la fin 1526, la cour partit de Grenade, s'arrêtant à Ségovie, arrivant le 26 janvier 1527 à Valladolid.¹³⁵ Toute l'année 1527 se passa à Valladolid, marquée par la réunion des *Cortes*, la cérémonie de l'Ordre de Santiago et la naissance du Prince Philippe le 21 mai.

De Valladolid, Accursio se rend en pèlerinage à Saint-Jacques-de-Compostelle, effectuant ensuite son voyage épigraphique au Portugal.¹³⁶ L'année précédente, le jeune Ferrante Gonzaga a lui aussi fait le

¹³³ Archivo Geral de Simancas, Estado, leg. 1.317, fol. 21r: 'No solamente el Obispo mas todos los más de sus deudos son grandes franceses, y esto sé yo de que estuve en Portugal con mi hermana. Es mi amigo por lo griego y lo latino, y guardome dél por esto, y porque aqui comunica siempre con los que no nos quieren bien', publié par González Palencia – Mele, *Don Diego Hurtado de Mendoza* I 61 266 305 Appendice XXIX «Carta de Don Diego de Mendoza a Cobos. En Venecia, último de Junio de 1541».

¹³⁴ Emil Hübner (*CIL* II (1869) VII–VIII, 338, 339, 344, 352, 633) écrit un long développement, faisant l'hypothèse que D. Diego a suivi la route de Galice et qu'il est l'auteur anonyme que Pighius copie (nos. 2537, 2538).

¹³⁵ Ambrosiana, ms. O 125 sup., fol. 260r: 'SEGOVIAE / ET / VALL. OLITI'; fol. 262r: 'Die 26. Jan. 1527. que fuit Saturni, intravimus Vallem Oliti'.

¹³⁶ Ambrosiana, ms. O 125 sup., fol. 198r: 'A Valle Oliti ad / Divi Jacobi'; fol. 216r: 'VALLIS. OLETI'; voir Hübner, *CIL* II (1869) VIII.

pèlerinage lors de la Semaine Sainte, suite à un vœu en mer, envoyant à sa mère Isabelle d'Este, 'un saint Jacques qui lui sera d'autant plus cher qu'il a touché toutes les reliques'.¹³⁷ En effet, on ne séjournait pas en Espagne sans se rendre à l'un des grands lieux de pèlerinage de la péninsule ibérique, Monserrat,¹³⁸ Compostelle ou Guadalupe. Accursio se rendit également à Guadalupe en octobre 1527.¹³⁹ À Saint-Jacques-de-Compostelle, d'illustres voyageurs venus, comme lui, d'Allemagne l'ont précédé, passant par les mêmes lieux, traversant les mêmes fleuves, notant les mêmes singularités. Citons, entre autres, arrivant du Portugal, Hieronymus Münzer en 1494–1495¹⁴⁰ et Ottheinrich von der Pfalz en 1519–1520.¹⁴¹ Nicolas Clénard, lorsqu'il ira enseigner à Braga en 1537, se rendra également en pèlerinage à Compostelle, comme il ira voir Francisco de Sá de Miranda dans sa *Quinta de Duas Igrejas*.¹⁴²

Mais il y a une raison bien précise qui pousse Accursio à faire le pèlerinage à Saint-Jacques-de-Compostelle, un vœu qu'il a fait au saint, comme il le déclare dans la première des épigrammes qu'il lui a dédiées (voir Appendice).¹⁴³ Accursio dut faire ce vœu à Grenade lorsque parvint à la cour de Charles Quint la terrible nouvelle de la mort du jeune roi Louis II de Hongrie ('moço y esforçadeo rrey'), époux de Marie, sœur de Charles, lors de la bataille de Mohacs sur le bord du Danube, le 29 août 1526 face à Soliman (ou Süleyman), tandis que les Chrétiens se faisaient la guerre en Lombardie devant

¹³⁷ '[...] un San Iacomo qual gli serà più caro perché ha tocato tutte queste reliquie'. Lettre de Ferrante Gonzaga à Isabelle d'Este, de Saint-Jacques-de-Compostelle, le 7 avril 1525, in Tamalio, *Ferrante Gonzaga* 240.

¹³⁸ Le 'Fidalgo de Chaves' en chemin vers Rome en 1510 alla à Monserrat, comme Francisco de Holanda en 1538. Plus tard, Holanda se rendra en pèlerinage à Guadalupe et à Saint-Jacques-de-Compostelle.

¹³⁹ Ambrosiana, ms. O 125 sup., fols. 184r–216r: 'Itinerarivm ab Olmedo ad Divam Gvadalpviā et inde ad Emeritam et pleraq. alia loca', en particulier fol. 186v: 'Guadalupe'.

¹⁴⁰ Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Codex Latinus Monacensis 431 (provenant de la bibliothèque de Hartman Schedel): *Itinerarium sive Peregrinatio excellentissimi viri, artium ac utriusque medicine doctoris, Hieronimi Monetarii de Feltkirchen, civis Nurembergis*. Voir Münzer Hieronymus, « Itinerarium hispanicum Hieronymi Monetarii (1494–1495) », éd. L. Pfandt, *Revue Hispanique* 48 (1920) 1–179; Münzer Jerónimo, *Viaje por Espana y Portugal (1494–1495)*, éd. R. Alba (Madrid: 1991). Il passe par Santarém, Tomar, Coimbra, Porto, Barcelos, Ponte de Lima 'avec un beau pont de 18 arches', Valença do Minho 'la dernière agglomération de Portugal', Tuy, Redondela 'sur un bras de mer', Pontevedra 'port de mer', Padrón, l'ancienne Iria où arriva le corps de saint Jacques sur le bateau, et où se trouve la très ancienne église de Santiago, enfin Compostela.

¹⁴¹ Hellwig, *Die Reise Ottheinrichs von der Pfalz* (Heidelberg: 2010).

¹⁴² Braga T., *Sá da Miranda e a Escola Italiana* (Porto: 1896) 320.

¹⁴³ Ambrosiana, ms. O 125 sup., fol. 209r–v.

XX. Martij. 1527. die mercurij,
 a meridie, ad sinist^r Jacobum 198

A VALLE. OLETI. AD. D. JACOBVM

2. Villa subtila, villula.

7β. Villa Garzia, opidulum. Hinc spectus modus
 minahum p^{er}it e cōspectu & ad dexteram,
 q^{ue} sint R^{egni} Legionis. Et planities affuerit
 usq^{ue}, culta, fertilis, & undequaq^{ue} nullis opidisq^{ue}
 plenissima.

3. Villalpando, opidulum. vbi obfides delphini
 Galliarum.

4. Beneuentum, opidum vicinorum circiter. 800.
 ante ad log. : fluvius ELSA, nō multo minor
 q^{uam} Tiberis. & post alius minor ORBIGO,
 iunguntur sub arcē opidij. Ipsū & Orbignum
 legimus. 4. sequimur ad Lynam, idē sit tantū
 ad dexteram. Sed & frequentē riu^s occurrunt
 a Beneuanto ad Africam.

8. ASTVRICA, vrbs. iuge. 600. vicinorū, cū latis
 & minutis muribus, & minutis turribus. 105.
 e q^{uibus} una ad Portum Episcopi, antiq^{ue} fructure.
 Et p^{ar}te paucorū aliāq^{ue} fundamentis. In ipsis

Fig. 12. Mariangelo Accursio, 'XX. Martij 1527. / A VALLE . OLETI. AD. D. JACOBVM', page de sa sylloge. Milan, Biblioteca Ambrosiana, ms. O 125 sup., fol. 178r.

Cremona. Un tel malheur, souligne Pedro Mexía dans son *Historia del Emperador Carlos V*, est la conséquence directe de la discorde entre les princes chrétiens, de la guerre menée par le pape Clément VII et ceux de la Ligue contre l'Empereur : 'Le grand Turc, profitant de l'occasion donnée par les discordes entre les princes chrétiens, vint en personne conquérir le royaume de Hongrie [...] et il y est entré avec deux cent mille hommes de guerre'.¹⁴⁴ Accursio est d'autant plus touché que le jeune roi de Hongrie est le cousin, nous l'avons vu, du prince Johann Albrecht von Brandenburg.

Accursio part de Valladolid le 20 mars 1527 [Fig. 12]. Il suit le chemin habituel des pèlerins : Villanubla, Villagarcía de Campos, Villalpando où il note la présence des 'dauphins de France', c'est-à-dire les fils de François I^{er} gardés en otages, le dauphin François et Henri, duc d'Orléans, mais il ne mentionne pas le nom de l'humaniste Theocrenus, leur précepteur,¹⁴⁵ Benavente 'ville de près de 800 habitants avec le fleuve Esla pas beaucoup plus petit que le Tibre', Astorga où il relève une inscription dans les murailles de la ville (CIL 2651) et note la présence d'une relique de saint Christophe à la cathédrale, Rabanal, Molinaseca, Ponferrada, Cacabelo avec le fleuve Cúa, Villafranca del Bierzo au confluent du Burbía et du Valcarce, Malafada 'villula obscurissima', puis en Galice, El Cebrero, Puerto Marín avec le fleuve Minho, Mellid.

Enfin il arrive à Saint-Jacques-de-Compostelle, 'ville de 1600 habitants'¹⁴⁶ où il dédie à l'apôtre ses quatre épigrammes dont il garde une copie dans sa sylloge [Figs. 13a-b].¹⁴⁷ Ce sont des prières au saint pour

¹⁴⁴ Mexía Pedro, *Historia del Emperador Carlos V* (Madrid : 1945) L. IV, cap. II 447-448 : 'El gran Turco, gozando de la ocasión que le davan las discordias de los príncipes cristianos, vino en persona a conquistar el rreyno de Ungria' et plus loin : 'el gran turco Solimán que oy día rreina, entendiendo la guerra que el Papa y los de su Liga avian movido al Emperador, e cómo todo su cuydado tenían todos puesto en ella, paresciéndole buen tiempo de hazer alguna buena enpresa contra la cristiandad e poniéndolo en efeto, entró por Ungria con dozientos mil hombres de guerra y de cavallo'.

¹⁴⁵ Ambrosiana, ms. O 125 sup., fol. 198r : 'Villalpando, opidulum vbi obsides Delphini Galliarum'. Sur l'emprisonnement des enfants de François I^{er} en Espagne, voir Sandoval, *Historia del Emperador Carlos V* II, Libro XVII (Año 1529), cap. XXIV-XXVII 330-332, cap. XXX 354-356. Les fils de François I^{er}, gardés en otage en Espagne, sont donc à Villalpando dès mars 1527, selon le témoignage d'Accursio, un an avant la date proposée par Pardanaud Chloé, « Plaider, convaincre, entrer en scène : Éléonore d'Autriche et la libération des Enfants de France, d'après sa correspondance inédite », *Seizième Siècle* 4 (2008) 195-216, en particulier 203. Sur Theocrenus, voir Platard J., « L'humaniste Theocrenus en Espagne 1526-1530 », *Revue du seizième siècle* 16 (1929) 68-76.

¹⁴⁶ Ambrosiana, ms. O 125 sup., fol. 200r.

¹⁴⁷ Ambrosiana, ms. O 125 sup., fol. 209r-v. Voir Appendice.

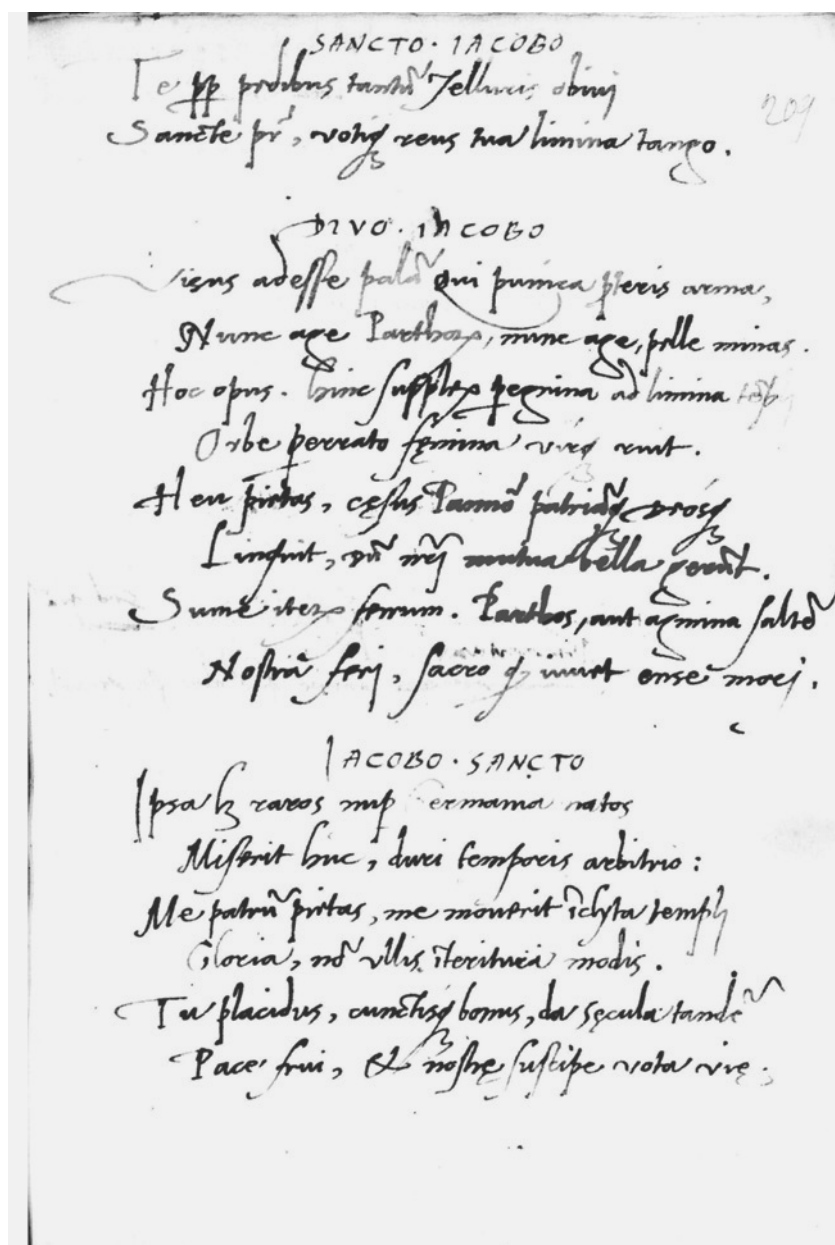


Fig. 13a

Fig. 13a–b. Mariangelo Accursio, *Épigrammes à Saint Jacques*, pages de sa sylloge. Milan, Biblioteca Ambrosiana, ms. O 125 sup., fol. 209r–v. Voir Appendice.

la fin des luttes intestines entre Chrétiens afin d'affronter le péril turc qui a frappé la Hongrie (*Pannonia*), entraînant son roi dans sa ruine. Ce danger 'parthe' menace aussi sa patrie, l'Italie (voir Appendice).

Dix ans plus tard D. Miguel da Silva¹⁴⁸ composa lui aussi une épigramme au saint qu'il fit graver dans une tablette d'argent. Dans cette composition d'épigrammes à saint Jacques, Accursio comme D. Miguel da Silva se retrouvent dans une activité poétique qu'ils avaient pratiquée à Rome sous Léon X, comme en atteste la *Coryciana*, nous l'avons vu. Mais Accursio est à présent animé par une tout autre ferveur.

Après Saint-Jacques, Accursio va à La Coruña, ville impériale et port célèbre ('opidum Cesaris cum portu quem putant Hispaniar<um>. celeberrimum'), Mugía, Finisterre. En effet, le chemin de Saint-Jacques ne s'arrêtait pas à Compostelle et continuait jusqu'à Nossa Señora de Muxía et au sanctuaire de Santo Cristo de Fisterra, centres de dévotion depuis le Moyen-Âge, alors aux confins du monde connu.¹⁴⁹ Accursio passa par Padrón (Patronum),¹⁵⁰ l'antique port de Iria en 'Finister-rae' de Galice où le vaisseau avec le corps de saint Jacques accosta. Il continue par Pontevedra, passe par Tuy, ville de 2500 habitants, avec le fleuve Minho aurifère (Minius aurifer), qui vient de Portugal, chargé de saumons et autres poissons (salmonibus, Lumbricis).

PORTVGALLIA, printemps 1527

Accursio profita du pèlerinage à Saint-Jacques-de-Compostelle pour faire un voyage épigraphique au Portugal durant deux mois, ne descendant pas plus bas que Lisbonne où il arriva le 27 avril 1527 et où il y a la peste, et revenant par la Serra da Estrela.¹⁵¹ Il entra au Portugal par Ponte de Lima, ville aux 'bonnes murailles et au pont magnifique'.¹⁵²

¹⁴⁸ Deswarte, *Il 'Perfetto Cortegiano'* 35, 72, 139–140, Doc. 11, fig. 31.

¹⁴⁹ Singul F., *Historial Cultural do Camiño de Santiago* (Vigo: 1999) 97: 'Fisterra e Muxía'.

¹⁵⁰ Ambrosiana, ms. O 125 sup., fol. 201v: 'Patronum'.

¹⁵¹ Ambrosiana, ms. O 125 sup., fols. 199r–216v. Voir aussi E. Hübner, *CIL* II (1869) VII–VIII.

¹⁵² Ambrosiana, ms. O 125 sup., fol. 202v: 'PORTVGALLIA'. 'Puont de Limja opidulum vicinorum supra 300 cum optimis menibus et ponte optimo, pulcherrimo', pont long de 450 pas et large de sept.

Comme avant lui Hieronymus Münzer qui note les dix-huit arches du pont, Accursio en mesure la longueur : 450 pas sur 7 de large, et déclare que la Lima est plus grande que le Tibre.

Braga, Dies Dominici palmarum, 14 avril 1527

Accursio se dirigea alors vers Braga [Fig. 14], indiquant dans la marge de sa sylloge qu'il y est le dimanche des Rameaux ('Dies Dominici palmarum'), c'est-à-dire le 14 avril 1527.¹⁵³ Bien qu'à Grenade en juillet 1526, il ait copié dans sa sylloge huit des principales inscriptions de la ville d'après les relevés par D. Diego Hurtado de Mendoza,¹⁵⁴ Accursio ne pouvait manquer d'aller voir de ses propres yeux l'ancienne *Bracara Augusta*, capitale des provinces militaires d'Asturia et de Gallæcia, haut lieu de l'épigraphie, et siège du Primat de toute l'*Hispania*. Il dut se mettre aussitôt en quête des inscriptions copiées.

Il commença sans doute par la visite de la cathédrale, à la recherche dans les murs extérieurs de la curieuse inscription d'Isis (*CIL* II, 2416), comme de cette autre parlant de la fondation sous Auguste (*CIL* II, 2421),¹⁵⁵ deux inscriptions aujourd'hui toujours en place [Figs. 15, 16]. L'inscription d'Isis, que publiera plus tard Élie Vinet, professeur bordelais au Colégio das Artes à Coimbra, a beaucoup fasciné, faisant croire en l'existence au Portugal de cultes égyptiens. Accursio dut se rendre aussi à la rua da Travessa où se trouvait la fameuse inscription à Esculape (*CIL* II, 2411).¹⁵⁶

¹⁵³ Ambrosiana, ms. O 125 sup., fols. 202v–203r : 'Braga'. Sur l'antique Bracara Augusta, voir Hübner, *Noticias Archeologicas de Portugal* 69–77 (Braga), en particulier 72. Emil Hübner dans *CIL* II 338 déclare à tort qu'Accursio n'est pas allé à Braga, du fait qu'il a copié les relevés de D. Diego Hurtado de Mendoza. Sur les inscriptions de Braga à Esculape et à Isis, Gimeno Pascual H., « A Historiografia das Religiões Antigas do Ocidente Peninsular », in Ribeiro J. Cardim (éd.), *Religiões da Lusitania. Loquuntur saxa* (Lisbonne : 2002) 333–340, en particulier 335.

¹⁵⁴ Ambrosiana, ms. O 125 sup., fols. 176r–179v. *CIL* II, 2411 [Esculape], 2416 [Isis, Cap. S. Giraldo, Sé de Braga], 2420 [Campo de Santa Ana], 2422 [Campo de Santa Ana], 2424 [Campo de Santa Ana], 2432 [Hospital de S. Marcos], 4752 [borne milliaire Campo de Santa Ana], 4753 [Hospital de S. Lázaro], 4756 [borne milliaire Campo de Santa Ana].

¹⁵⁵ Ambrosiana, ms. O 125 sup., fol. 177v.

¹⁵⁶ Vasconcellos J. Leite, *Religiões da Lusitânia* 3 (Lisbonne : 1913) 342; Alvar J., « Cultos orientais e mistérios na província da Lusitânia », in Ribeiro J. Cardim, *Religiões da Lusitania* 205–210; Gimeno Pascual, « A Historiografia das Religiões » 335.



Fig. 14. Georg Braun, *Nova Bracaræ Auguste descriptio*, 1594, gravure à l'eau-forte, 36.3 × 50.1 cm. Tirée de Georg Braun et Abraham Hogenberg, *Civitatis Orbis Terrarum* 5 (Cologne, Georg Braun: 1598).

Mariangelo Accursio dut aller encore, hors les murs de Braga, au Campo de Santa Ana pour voir les bornes milliaires trouvées sur les voies romaines autour de Braga et réunies là, dont lui avait parlé D. Diego Hurtado de Mendoza, lui en donnant quelques relevés de sa main (*CIL* II, 4752, 4753, 4756)¹⁵⁷ ainsi que l'inscription funéraire encastrée dans le mur de la petite église de Santa Ana (*CIL* II, 2420).¹⁵⁸

¹⁵⁷ Ambrosiana, ms. O 125 sup., fols. 177r–178v; Hübner *CIL* II « Pars Tertia Viae Tarraconensis II. Milierii Bracaræ Servati » 633–636.

¹⁵⁸ Ambrosiana, ms. O 125 sup., fol. 179v.

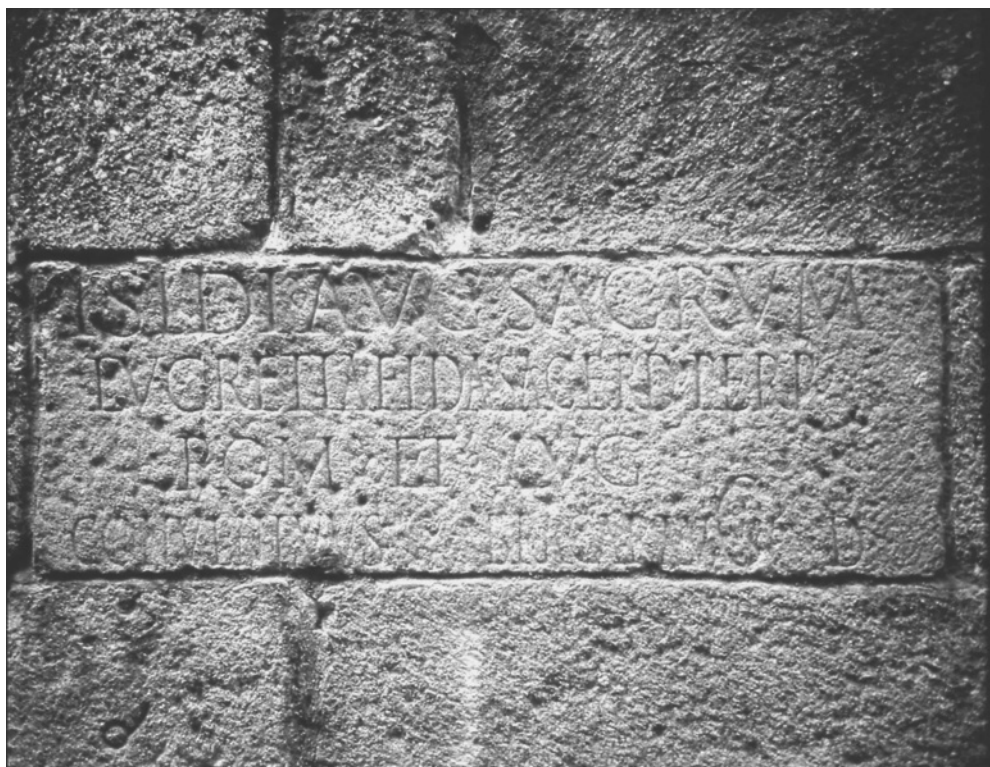


Fig. 15. *Inscription à Isis* (CIL II, 2416), dans les murs de la chapelle de São Gonçalo de la cathédrale de Braga.

Il vit encore deux autres inscriptions, l'une (CIL II, 2432) à l'hôpital de S. Marcos, l'autre (CIL II, 4753) à l'hôpital de S. Lázaro, tous deux hors les murs de la ville.

Accursio découvrit ainsi, chemin faisant, la ville de Braga, profondément restructurée par l'archevêque D. Diogo de Sousa (1505–1532). Alla-t-il rendre visite à l'archevêque? Rien ne permet de l'affirmer. Il avait sans doute entendu parler de cette grande figure de Braga, peut-être dès Rome par D. Miguel da Silva, abbé de Santo Tirso, le neveu de D. Diogo de Sousa, qui avait séjourné à Braga chez son oncle avant de venir en Italie,¹⁵⁹ et ensuite par D. Diego Hurtado de Mendoza à

¹⁵⁹ Comme l'a révélé Correia F. Carvalho, *O Mosteiro de Santo Tirso, de 978 a 1588 I* (Santo Tirso: 2009) 431: 'D. Miguel da Silva, sobrinho de D. Diogo de Sousa, arcebispo de Braga'.



Fig. 16. *Inscription (CIL II, 2421) dans la paroi de la cathédrale restaurée sans doute du temps de D. Diogo de Sousa figurant dans la sylloge d'Accursio.*
Photo Sylvie Deswarte-Rosa.

Grenade. Helena Gimeno Pascual fait l'hypothèse que ce fut D. Diogo de Sousa lui-même qui montra à Accursio l'inscription à Isis dans les murs de la cathédrale.¹⁶⁰

La ville de Braga apparaît à bien des égards comme le berceau de la Renaissance au Portugal, grâce au mécénat de D. Diogo de Sousa, nommé archevêque de Braga lors de son ambassade à Rome de 1505 auprès de Jules II.¹⁶¹ Il faut rappeler ici que D. Diogo de Sousa était

¹⁶⁰ Gimeno Pascual, «A Historiografia das Religiões».

¹⁶¹ Costa Padre A. de Jesus da, «D. Diogo de Sousa, Novo Fundador de Braga e Grande Mecenaz da Cultura», in *Homenagem à Arquidiocese Primaz nos 900 anos*

une figure dont on se souvenait à Rome. Le discours d'obédience de son ambassade par l'humaniste Diogo Pacheco fut un véritable morceau d'anthologie, aussitôt publié par Eucario Silber – le père de l'imprimeur choisi par Accursio pour ses *Diatribae* – avec une évocation vibrante du nouvel Âge d'Or marqué par la propagation de la foi suite à la pénétration des Portugais en Inde.¹⁶²

D. Diogo de Sousa est un passionné d'antiquité. Il est le premier à apprécier le passé romain de la ville. À peine arrivé dans son archevêché en 1505, il décida de l'embellissement de la ville, sauvegardant et mettant en valeur son héritage antique, et lançant un vaste programme 'urbanistique', extrêmement novateur, qui, selon nous, dut inspirer à Francisco de Holanda bien des points de son *Da Fabrica que falece à Cidade de Lisboa* (1571).

Cette œuvre d'envergure est exposée par Gaspar Alvares de Lousada Machado (Braga, 1554 – Lisbonne, 1634), historiographe de l'église de Braga, un de ces fous d'antiquités et d'épigraphie qui a relevé 400 inscriptions dans le diocèse.¹⁶³ D'abord secrétaire de l'archevêque de Braga primat d'Espagne, Frei Agostinho de Castro, à la fin du XVI^e siècle, puis 'escrivão do Archivo Real da Torre do Tombo' à Lisbonne, il a composé une courte vie de l'archevêque de Braga D. Diogo de Sousa, suivie d'une description des travaux promulgués par ce prélat dans la ville et au sortir de la ville ('Titulo das obras que fez nos arrebaldes').¹⁶⁴

da Dedicação da Catedral, 4-5 de Maio de 1990 (Lisbonne: 1993) 99-117; Maurício R., *O Mecenato de D. Diogo de Sousa Arcebispo de Braga (1505-1532)* (Leiria: 2000); Bandeira M.S. de Melo, «D. Diogo de Sousa: o urbanista – leituras e texturas de uma cidade refundada», *Bracara Augusta*, 49, 103 (2000) 19-58.

¹⁶² Pacheco Diogo, *Obedentia potentissimi Emanuelis Lusitaniae regis, etc., per clarissimum iuris utriusque consultum Dieghum Pacettum oratorem ad Iulium II pontificem maximum* (Rome, Eucario Silber: 1505). Sur la publication de ce discours d'obédience de 1505, à Rome sans doute par Eucario Silber, voir Faria F. Leite de, *Estudos Bibliográficos sobre Damião de Góis e sua Época* (Lisbonne: 1977) nos. 204-205. Voir aussi Deswarte-Rosa, «Un nouvel Âge d'Or» 128.

¹⁶³ Lettre de Gaspar Machado à Abraham Ortelius (20 août 1594), in Hessels J.H. (éd.), *Abrahami Ortelii (geographi Antverpiensis) et virorum eruditorum ad eundem et ad Jacobum Colium Ortelianum (Abrahami Ortelii sororis filium) Epistulae* (Cambridge: 1887) 593-595 no. 251.

¹⁶⁴ [Machado Gaspar Alvares de Lousada], «Da Vida e Obras do Arcebispo D. Diogo de Sousa», in Almeida R.V. de, *Documentos inéditos coligidos por Rodrigo Vicente d'Almeida, official da Bibliotheca Real da Ajuda* (Porto: 1883). L'auteur de ce

En cette fin du XVI^e siècle, Gaspar Alvares de Lousada Machado joua un rôle essentiel dans l'élaboration de la carte gravée sur cuivre de la ville de Georg Braun [Fig. 14]. Cette carte a été faite d'après son dessin, comme il le dit dans sa lettre à Abraham Ortelius du 20 août 1594,¹⁶⁵ et 'selon ses conseils en tant qu'historien de l'église de Braga', comme il est explicitement déclaré dans le cartouche de dédicace à l'archevêque de Braga, en haut à gauche de la carte: 'a Consiliis Gaspar Alvarus Machadus Sante Brac<arae> ecclesie historiographus'.¹⁶⁶

La carte gravée sur cuivre de Braga, datée août 1594, incluse par Georg Braun dans le volume 5 de *Civitatis Orbis Terrarum* (Cologne: 1598), donne une image extrêmement précise des améliorations apportées à la ville par D. Diogo de Sousa au début du XVI^e siècle. On y voit encore intacte l'œuvre urbanistique réalisée par l'archevêque: la ville dominée en son centre par la cathédrale en partie reconstruite par D. Diogo avec sa façade enrichie par un 'arco novo' orné de statues et son nouveau sanctuaire ou capela-mor ('primeira capella de abobada de combados de aljaroz de pedraria que se fez em Portugal até aquelle tempo'), la tour de l'horloge, la nouvelle maison du chapitre; les rues nouvellement tracées débouchant sur de vastes places au sortir des portes avec de multiples fontaines, des croix au haut de marches en pierre de Viana ('cruz com seus degrãos e aste de pedra de Viana'); une extension de la ville hors les murs avec la création de larges places

manuscrit conservé à la Bibliothèque d'Ajuda n'est pas déclaré. Il se devine cependant facilement par différentes allusions autobiographiques, comme l'écrit Rodrigo Vicente de Almeida (p. VII), l'éditeur de ces documents: 'da lettra do antiquario Gaspar Alvares de Lousada Machado, como se deduz por allusões de factos de sua vida'.

¹⁶⁵ Lettre de Gaspar Machado à Abraham Ortelius (20 août 1594), in Hessels, *Ortelii Epistolae* 593–595, no. 251: 'Adductus literis viri doctissimi Emanuelis Barbosa meique studiosissimi Bracaram Augustam, quam ad te mitto, delineavi ut in tuum pro tua humanitate theatrum cum aliis Hispaniae urbibus inseratur. Huius autem urbis quanta fuerit nobilitas, et religio, Apostolicaeque doctrinae exordium, ex nostro epitome facile iudicabis'.

¹⁶⁶ Braun Georg (1541–1622), *Nova Bracarum Augustae descriptio*, 1594, gravure à l'eau-forte, 36,3 × 50,1 cm, tirée de Braun Georg – Hogenberg Abraham, *Civitatis Orbis Terrarum* vol. V (Cologne, Georg Braun: 1598). Dédicace: 'Illustrissimo Domino fratri Augustino a Iesu Brac. Archiepiscopo et Illustrissimo Hispaniarum Primati, Lusitaniae Magnati, Regiae Maiestatis a Consiliis Gaspar Alvarus Machadus Sancte Brac. ecclesie historiographus [...] Aug. Idibus Aug. Anno 1594'. On sait par ailleurs que Gaspar Alvares de Lousada Machado remit le 4 avril 1596 un manuscrit sur l'église de Braga à Abraham Ortelius, comme le déclare Jorge Cardoso dans l'*Agiologio Lusitano* 1 (Lisbonne, Officina Craesbeckiana: 1652) 389: '[...] Lousada na descripção da Igreja Bracharense que remettoa a Abrahão Hortelio a 4. de Abril de 1596'.

ou *rossios*, d'édifices de bienfaisance : l'hôpital de S. Marcos, la gafaria, ou encore la douane (alfandega)... À l'est de la ville, hors de la Porte de Souto, sur le chemin menant à l'église de Santa Maria a Branca, s'étend une vaste place, soigneusement agencée, le Campo de Santa Ana, avec au sortir de la porte une fontaine et le pelourinho. Au centre de la place, on trouvait la chapelle de Santa Ana, entièrement reconstruite, de plan centré, autour de laquelle D. Diogo de Sousa a fait disposer en cercle les bornes milliaires romaines trouvées sur les voies romaines menant de Braga à Chaves et au Gerez. De plus, l'archevêque a fait insérer dans les murs de la chapelle de Santa Ana des inscriptions funéraires romaines trouvées dans la ville de Braga.¹⁶⁷

Le Campo de Santa Ana était ainsi une sorte de musée épigraphique à ciel ouvert voulu par l'archevêque. En créant de tels espaces monumentaux hors les murs de la ville, peut-être D. Diogo de Sousa pensait-il à Rome où, passées les portes de la ville, les voies romaines, notamment la via Appia, sont bordées de monuments antiques et de basiliques chrétiennes.

D. Rodrigo da Cunha (1577–1643), dans son *Historia Ecclesiastica dos Arcebispos de Braga* (1634), décrit à son tour les travaux entrepris par son prédécesseur à Braga et s'arrête tout spécialement sur le Campo de Santa Ana, 'la plus belle place du Portugal',¹⁶⁸ où s'élevait l'église de Santa Ana 'près de laquelle il fit dresser en bon ordre les pierres et colonnes que les Romains, quand ils régnaient à Braga, édifiaient à divers Empereurs'.

Tel est le programme mûrement pensé par l'évêque D. Diogo de Sousa, à l'aube du XVI^e siècle, qu'il aurait pu intituler *Da fabrica que falece à Cidade de Braga* (Des monuments qui manquent à la ville

¹⁶⁷ [Machado Gaspar Alvares de Lousada], «Da Vida e Obras do Arcebispo D. Diogo de Sousa»: 'Adiante da Porta do Souto fez de novo a ermida de S. Anna, no mesmo anno de 1506, oitavada, com sua capella e escada ladrilhada e de cantaria, e olivelada, na forma em que agora está; e poz de redor della certas columnas romanas que trouxe da estrada de Chaves e da do Gerez que foram vias militares antigas dos romanos; outras se acharam nesta cidade, em seu tempo, e assim algumas sepulturas dos mesmos, que estão enxeridas na dita ermida.'

¹⁶⁸ Cunha Rodrigo da, *Segunda parte da Historia ecclesiastica dos Arcebispos de Braga, e dos Santos, e Varoes Illustres, que florecerão neste arcebispado* (Braga, Manoel Cardozo: 1634) cap. 71 «Do maes que fes em acrescentamento da cidade de Braga» 295–300: 'Sua he, & edificada por elle, a Igreja de Santa Anna, no mesmo terreiro, junto da qual mandou levantar em muito boa ordem, as pedras, & columnas que os Romanos quando senhoreavão Braga, levantarão a diversos Emperadores: pera que naquellas letras tivessem os curiosos em que gastar tempo, & se fizessem peritos nas antiguidades de sua patria'.

de Braga), titre inventé un demi-siècle plus tard par Francisco de Holanda pour son traité d'urbanisme consacré à la ville Lisbonne en mal de magnificence. C'est cette ville de Braga ainsi rénovée par D. Diogo de Sousa que découvrit Mariangelo Accursio le dimanche des Rameaux de 1527.

Le programme pour Braga élaboré par D. Diogo de Sousa apparaît comme un antécédant direct de celui que proposa Francisco de Holanda pour Lisbonne en 1571 : placer des croix aux portes de la ville, faire des fontaines partout, créer de vastes places ou *rossios*, amener l'eau dans la ville par un *cano* de maçonnerie, mettre en valeur les antiquités romaines en les christianisant. La disposition en cercle des bornes milliaires romaines au Campo de Santa Ana, au milieu d'un vaste espace libre, fut sans doute une source d'inspiration pour Francisco de Holanda, lorsqu'il imagine le sanctuaire au soleil et à la lune de Colares, christiannisé dans *Da Fabrica* (fol. 25r) [Fig. 17].

Ce rapprochement entre les deux programmes urbanistiques est d'autant plus frappant quand on sait que D. Diogo de Sousa demanda au jeune André de Resende dans ces années 1526–1527 un poème épique latin de 300 vers sur la fondation de Braga, *De Bracharensis urbis antiquitate et laudibus poema epicum*, référé par D. Rodrigo da Cunha.¹⁶⁹ Cette commande laisserait penser qu'André de Resende se rendit à Braga, peut-être avant de s'embarquer en Galice. Plus tard, dans les années 1530, Resende sera le professeur de Francisco de Holanda et autres moços fidalgos dans la maison du cardinal-infant D. Alfonso à Évora, devenant ensuite dans les années 1540 l'ami et le collaborateur de l'artiste dans l'élaboration de ses œuvres graphiques et de ses traités. L'«urbanisme» de Braga fut sans doute un de leurs sujets de conversation. Holanda s'est arrêté sans doute lui-même à Braga à l'aller et au retour de son pèlerinage à Santiago de Compostela avec l'infant D. Luís en 1548.

Vila Nova de Famalicão et Porto

Accursio continue son chemin en direction de Porto, car il ne s'attarde jamais longtemps quelque part, comme s'il était pressé de tout voir.

¹⁶⁹ Cunha Rodrigo da, *Historia Ecclesiastica* Parte 2, cap. 71, 297. Cité par Ferreira F. Leitão – Freire A. Braamcamp, *Notícias da Vida de André de Resende* (Lisbonne : 1916) 10, qui situent le poème épique sur Braga vers 1526–1527, lors d'un séjour de Resende au Portugal, entre Salamanque et Louvain.



Fig. 17. Francisco de Holanda, 'Sanctuaire au Soleil et à la Lune à Colares', *Da Fabrica que falece à Cidade de Lisboa* (1571), fol. 25r. Dessin à la plume et au lavis. Lisbonne, Biblioteca da Ajuda.

Entre Braga et Porto, sur la via Bracara – Olisipo, Accursio fait une pause à ‘Vila Nova de Famalicão, village du duc de Bragance qui après le roi est, croit-on, le premier prince de Portugal’.¹⁷⁰ Cette mention du duc de Bragance, comme s’il en avait déjà entendu parler, pourrait être une indication qu’Accursio a connu le ‘Fidalgo de Chaves’, cet homme de la maison du duc D. Jaime de Bragança, qui séjourna à Rome de 1510 à 1517. Accursio dessine là une borne milliaire, ‘columna rudissima’ avec son inscription (*CIL* II, 4738) [Fig. 18].

La prochaine étape fut à Porto, à cinq lieues de là. Comme avant à Braga, Accursio se contente d’écrire un paragraphe sur cette ville de trois mille habitants, sise non loin de la mer et de l’embouchure du Douro.¹⁷¹ Il ne relève pas d’inscriptions dans sa sylloge, car il a déjà copié à Grenade les deux inscriptions de Porto qui se trouvaient près de la maison de D. Maria Pacheco, la sœur de D. Diego Hurtado de Mendoza (*CIL* II, 2371, 2372).¹⁷² On peut supposer cependant qu’Accursio alla les voir lorsqu’il rendit visite à D. Maria Pacheco sur la recommandation de D. Diego, comparant les lettres inscrites dans la pierre avec celles transcrites dans sa sylloge quelques mois auparavant. Il ne dit rien de D. Miguel da Silva, ni de ses travaux à l’embouchure du Douro.

Accursio poursuit son voyage en direction de Coimbra, notant en chemin les fleuves Vouga et Agada.

*Coimbra, 18–19 avril 1527. Rencontre de Sá de Miranda
et du chanoine Manuel*

Arrivé à Coimbra le Jeudi Saint, 18 avril 1527, Accursio en repart dès le lendemain midi. Accursio, qui a peu de temps, ne perd pas une minute. Il va tout droit frapper à la porte du poète Francisco de Sá de Miranda qu’il connaît de Rome. C’est ainsi qu’il visite la ville avec Francisco de Sá et le chanoine Manuel, dont il écrit les noms dans la

¹⁷⁰ Ambrosiana, ms. O 125 sup., fol. 203: ‘Villa Nova de Familicon, aldea Ducis de Braganza qui post regem primus creditur principum Portugallie. Referenda, quod hic extat columna rudissima ex eo genere lapidis quo montes huius regni pleni sunt cum hac inscriptione’. Voir Hübner, *CIL* II, 1869, p. 632–633: ‘Via Bracara Olisiponem’.

¹⁷¹ Ambrosiana, ms. O 125 sup., fol. 203v: ‘5. Portus, Civitas cum suburbiis vicinor. trium millium, cum episcopatum d. 5000. procul a mari mill. pass. Raditur fluvio Durio [...]’.

¹⁷² Ambrosiana, ms. O 125 sup., fol. 179v; Hübner, *CIL* II 331–332.

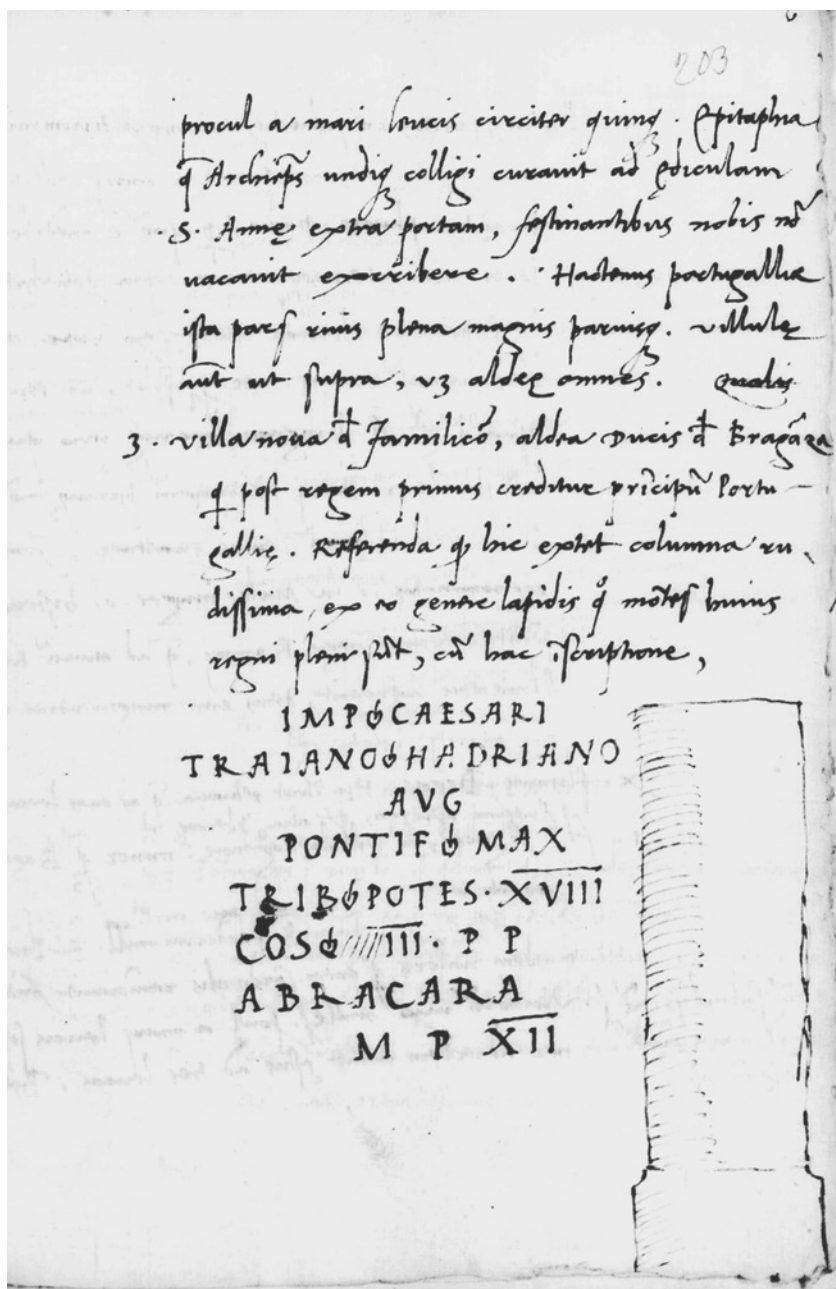


Fig. 18. Mariangelo Accursio, *Borne milliaire à Villa Nova de Famalicão* (CIL II, 4738), page de sa sylloge. Milan, Biblioteca Ambrosiana, ms. O 125 sup., fol. 203r.

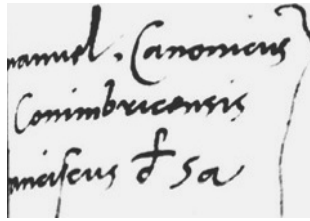


Fig. 19b

Francisco de Sá de Miranda, qui à cette époque est couramment appelé 'Francisco de Sá',¹⁷⁴ vient juste de rentrer de son séjour à Rome en février 1527.¹⁷⁵ Accursio l'a certainement rencontré à Rome dans la maison de l'ambassadeur D. Miguel da Silva, alors que le jeune poète et dramaturge était occupé à composer, à la manière de Plaute et de Térence, sa comédie en portugais *Os Vilhalpandos*, située dans la Ville Éternelle dans les années 1520.¹⁷⁶ Accursio n'eut donc pas à se présenter à lui en sa qualité d'éminent antiquaire, mais en lui parlant plutôt de leur ami D. Miguel da Silva qu'il venait sans doute de voir à Porto.

Manuel, chanoine de Coimbra ('Manuel Canonicus Conimbriensis'), s'est joint à eux, pour la visite de la ville. Nous ne sommes pas parvenu à identifier avec certitude qui est ce personnage. Ce Manuel doit à la fois être chanoine, appartenir à l'entourage du poète et, éventuellement, mais pas nécessairement, avoir été à Rome où il aurait connu Accursio. La dénomination de 'Canonicus Conimbicencis' ne nous aide guère, car elle peut indiquer aussi bien un membre du *Cabido* de Coimbra qu'un chanoine de Santa Cruz de Coimbra.¹⁷⁷

¹⁷⁴ Jusqu'à ce qu'il se retire dans la Quinta da Tapada. Ensuite il rajoutera 'de Miranda' pour se distinguer du poète Francisco de Sá de Menezes. Voir Braga, *Sá de Miranda* 157.

¹⁷⁵ Comme le montre le document de 1527 publié par António Domingues de Sousa Costa, O.F. dans *Chartularium Universitatis Portugalensi (1288-1537)* XIII (1526-1529) (Lisbonne: 1999) 215-217, no. 56634 (23.2.1527). Sur Sá de Miranda, voir l'édition, toujours précieuse, de Carolina Michaëlis de Vasconcelos, *Poesias de Francisco de Sá de Miranda* (Halle: 1885; éd. facsimilée Lisbonne: 1989) 214-215 et 792-793.

¹⁷⁶ Earle, «Sá de Miranda's Roman Comedy» 156.

¹⁷⁷ Comme l'a remarqué Américo da Costa Ramalho lors d'une conversation durant le colloque de Braga en 2005.

Parmi les Manuel à être allés à Rome, il y a le chanoine Manuel de Figuerido qui a séjourné à Rome comme procureur de l'église de Coimbra en 1514–1515, sur la question du tiers des revenus ecclésiastiques de Portugal accordés par Léon X au roi D. Manuel suite à l'ambassade de Tristão da Cunha.¹⁷⁸ Il reste à prouver que ce Manuel 'chanoine de Coimbra' s'y trouvait à Pâques en 1527.

Dans l'entourage de Sá de Miranda, il y un Manuel, son beau-frère, Manuel Machado de Azevedo¹⁷⁹ dont il a épousé la sœur D. Briolanza de Azevedo. On conserve une lettre que lui a écrit le poète. Diogo Barbosa Machado lui consacre une notice dans sa *Bibliotheca Lusitana*. Mais ce Manuel n'est pas chanoine, à notre connaissance.

Enfin, si l'on consulte la série, d'ailleurs incomplète, des *Livros de Acordo* du Chapitre de Coimbra, le seul 'Manuel' à apparaître est 'Manoel de Melo mestre escolas' en 1545.¹⁸⁰

Accursio tient ainsi ses informations sur Coimbra de ses compagnons. Cependant, dans la petite notice qu'il consacre à Coimbra,¹⁸¹ Accursio ne note pas le nom antique de la ville, Aeminium. Il écrit que Coimbra a un évêché valant douze mille ducats et un prieuré de même valeur auquel le cardinal [D. Alfonso] a renoncé, que la ville compte mille habitants avec les faubourgs. Il admire sur le Mondego le 'pont long et magnifique', relève l'existence d'un arc antique connu sous le nom de Porta Belcuzi. Cet arc, aujourd'hui disparu, compte au nombre des édifices romains qui 'anoblissent' la ville de Coimbra, évoqués par Sá de Miranda dans la *Fabula do Mondego*, composée en 1528, peu après la visite d'Accursio: 'Un arco triunfal, / Las grotas i edificios romanos, / los luengos aquedutos, ia mal sanos, / que la han

¹⁷⁸ Le 'Fidalgo de Chaves' consacre un chapitre à la venue des procureurs des églises et monastères portugais et cite pour Coimbra les chanoines Manuel de Figuerido et João Baixo. Voir Fidalgo de Chaves, fol. 202r–v.; éd. Boni, *Un Portoghese* 142.

¹⁷⁹ Sur Manuel Machado de Azevedo, voir Montebelo Marquês de, Felix Machado de Silva, Castro y Vasconcelos, *Vida de Manuel Machado de Azevedo, señor de las casas de Castro, Vasconcelos y Barroso* ([Madrid], Pedro Garcia de Paredes: 1660); Machado Diogo Barbosa, *Biblioteca Lusitana* III 1752, 300–301; Vasconcelos C. Michaelis, *Poesias de Francisco de Sá de Miranda* 524–525, 859, no. 153 (lettre à Manuel Machado de Azevedo).

¹⁸⁰ Voir Arquivo da Universidade de Coimbra, *Cartório do Cabido de Coimbra, Livros de Acordo*, vol. III (1544–1555) (III, 1^oD, 1, 1, 3), fol. 20v.

¹⁸¹ Voir Hübner *CIL* II 40–44: 'Conimbriga (Condeixa a velha, Condeixa a nova, Coimbra)'.

de antiguedad enoblecida'.¹⁸² Accursio ne transcrit à Coimbra qu'une seule inscription insérée dans les murailles de la ville (*CIL* II, 380), avec l'annotation suivante: 'Ad portam regiae domus, olim murorum arcis, in marmore intra parietem et litteris concinnis'.

Lorsqu'Accursio visite Coimbra, la cour de D. João III vient de s'installer à Almeirim,¹⁸³ fuyant la peste en recrudescence à Lisbonne. Elle ne passera à Coimbra qu'en juin pour y rester jusqu'en décembre.¹⁸⁴ C'est là que naîtra la princesse D. Maria le 15 octobre 1527. Coimbra connut alors une intense effervescence théâtrale et littéraire, où s'illustrèrent Gil Vicente comme Sá de Miranda, chacun dans sa veine, en une célèbre émulation. Mais, tout est calme, ce Jeudi Saint 1527. Les rumeurs de la cour n'animent pas encore la ville.

Accursio ne cherche à aucun moment, durant son voyage, à rejoindre la cour de D. João III. Il craint très probablement que l'on se souvienne de lui quand, quinze ans auparavant, il prétendait se faire donner par Jules II le monastère de São João de Tarouca. De plus, il ne peut pas trop s'attarder, devant rejoindre son prince à la cour de l'Empereur.

Condeixa-a-Nova et Condeixa-a-Velha (Conimbriga)

Accursio quitte donc Coimbra le Vendredi Saint 1527, à midi, suivant toujours la voie romaine Olisipo – Braga. Il est pressé d'aller à Condeixa-a-Nova, riche en inscriptions, lui a-t-on dit. C'est effectivement là, à deux lieues de Coimbra, que sa récolte d'inscriptions fut exceptionnellement abondante, en deux endroits de la petite ville, au Ponte da Atadoa, et à l'église de Santa Cristina dont la façade était couverte d'inscriptions antiques, agencement aujourd'hui disparu, un autre véritable musée lapidaire à ciel ouvert. Comme l'écrit Accursio, ce riche matériel épigraphique, incorporé dans ces deux édifices,

¹⁸² Vasconcelos C. Michaelis, *Poesias de Francisco de Sá de Miranda* 268 (v. 36–40) et commentaire 815–819.

¹⁸³ Andrada Francisco de, *Crónica de D. João III*, éd. M. Lopes de Almeida (Porto: 1976) II, cap. 20; Freire A. Braamcamp, *Vida e obras de Gil Vicente: trovador, mestre da balança* (Lisbonne: 1944, 2^e éd. corr.) 215.

¹⁸⁴ La cour arriva à Coimbra le 10 juin 1527 où Gil Vicente représente l'*Auto da Divisa da Cidade de Coimbra*. Il y a aussi Sá de Miranda. Voir Freire, *Gil Vicente* 226–227.

provenait des murailles de Condeixa-a-Velha ('ex muris condesciae veteris'), l'antique Conimbriga, à 15 kilomètres au sud de Coimbra. En effet, à l'approche des invasions barbares au IV^e siècle, ces murailles avaient été édifiées à la hâte pour protéger Conimbriga, y jetant cippes, statues, morceaux d'aqueducs et autres fragments divers.¹⁸⁵

Dès le XVI^e siècle, les antiquaires savaient que l'oppidum de Conimbriga était à Condeixa-a-Velha, et non pas à Coimbra, comme le pensent certains, dont Emil Hübner en 1869 (*CIL* II), avant qu'il ne se corrige dans le *Supplementum* de 1892.¹⁸⁶ En effet, l'on pouvait lire le nom de Conimbriga dans l'une des inscriptions du Ponte da Atadoa (*CIL* II, 391), provenant de Condeixa-a-Velha. Gaspar Barreiros, dans sa *Chorographia* (1561), dans une de ses précieuses digressions, écrit:¹⁸⁷

On trouve encore aujourd'hui dans le dit lieu de Condeixa des murs, des aqueducs, des sépultures, des pierres écrites de lettres romaines, où l'on trouve le nom de Conimbriga. On voit présentement dans le Ponte da Atadoa certaines de ces pierres qui, pour la noblesse du dit pont, furent apportées de la voisine Condeixa-a-Velha [...] où l'on en trouve bien d'autres [...].

Accursio, avant Barreiros, a copié cette inscription avec le nom de Conimbriga dans sa sylloge. Bien qu'il ne le dise explicitement, il ne pouvait donc ignorer que ce qu'il voyait à Condeixa-a-Nova provenait de Conimbriga. Il pouvait trouver encore le nom de Conimbriga dans l'*Histoire Naturelle* (IV, 11) de Pline l'Ancien, le premier auteur de l'Antiquité à le référer, ainsi que dans l'*Itinéraire d'Antonin* comme

¹⁸⁵ Correia V., *Obras IV Estudos Arqueológicos* (Coimbra: 1972) 320: 'Desde o séc XVI os antiquários portugueses falaram das antigüidades visíveis na cidade morta; muralhas, pontes, aquedutos, restos de construções diversas; o que tudo, pela coesão da blocagem e perfeições de aparelho, resistiu até nossos dias'.

¹⁸⁶ *CIL* II, *Supplementum* 815-817: 'XVI Conimbriga et Aeminivm (Condeixa a velha et Coimbra p. 40, 695, XXXIX)'. Mais Mário de Sá dans son ouvrage sur les voies romaines refusa l'évidence. Voir Sá M. de, *As grandes vias de Lusitania* II (Lisbonne: 1959) 222-230.

¹⁸⁷ Barreiros, *Chorographia* 48-53: 'Talavera de la Reina', en particulier fol. 48v: 'Achase tambem inda oje no dicto lugar de Condexa muros, aquæductos, sepulturas, pedras scriptas de letras Romanas, em que sta o nome de Conimbriga, algumas das quaes stam ao presente na Ponte da Atadoa, que por star perto de Condexa a velha ali foram trazidas por nobreza da dicta ponte, como por esta se pode ver que fiz trasladar indo de caminho ver as dictas ruinas antigas de Condeixa a velha. A qual deve escusar outras muitas que no dicto lugar se acham, por nam occuparmos tempos & papel'.

une étape en venant d'*Olisipo*, entre Sellium (Tomar) et Aeminium (Coimbra), sur la via *Olisipo-Bracara*. L'*oppidum* de Conimbriga, dont on a commencé les fouilles à la fin du XIX^e siècle, est aujourd'hui l'une des villes romaines les mieux étudiées du Portugal.¹⁸⁸

Accursio s'arrêta longuement au Ponte da Atadoa¹⁸⁹ (aujourd'hui disparu, détruit au début du XVII^e siècle) où il releva quatre épitaphes (*CIL* II, 383, 385, 387, 391), 'marbres quadrangulaires aux lettres très ornées', sur deux pages en vis-à-vis, prenant le temps de dessiner la décoration curieuse de deux de ces cippes montrant les instruments du scribe (*CIL* II 391, 383) [Figs. 20a–b].

Il commença par l'épitaphe de Valerius Avitus (*CIL* II, 391),¹⁹⁰ la plus impressionnante par la longueur de l'inscription, dont une partie est en vers, et par la décoration figurant les outils de l'homme instruit (*instrumentum scriptorium*). Il fait bien la distinction dans sa copie entre l'invocation aux Dieux Mânes en capitales et la partie en vers en lettres plus petites, 'lettere minore quam dimidio breviores superioribus', comme il écrit dans la marge de droite, tandis que dans celle de gauche, il relève le mot 'versuculos'. Il dessine soigneusement la décoration latérale, sur le côté droit un volumen ouvert et une boîte à roseaux pour écrire; sur le côté gauche, un volumen ouvert et une autre boîte à calames; une abaque à trente trous et, au-dessous de l'inscription en vers, un stylet, la boîte à calames et la guirlande suspendue. Sur la page suivante, Accursio relève une autre inscription, celle de Quintus Lucius Rufinus (*CIL* II, 383), avec une décoration analogue.¹⁹¹

Accursio s'est arrêté ensuite longuement devant l'église Santa Cristina à Condeixa-a-Nova, dont la façade était couverte d'inscriptions en beaux caractères, provenant également des murs de Condeixa-a-Velha ('marmorei quadrati et concinnis caracteribus, effossi ex muris

¹⁸⁸ Alarcão J. – Robert É. (éds.), *Fouilles de Conimbriga*, 7 vols. (Conimbriga – Paris: 1976–1979).

¹⁸⁹ Ambrosiana, ms. O 125 sup., fols. 204r–205r. '2. Ponticulus in rivulo qui fluit ad Condescia la Nuova, prius autem ad Condescia veterem notandus pons propter quatuor epitaphia, quae utrinque nunc sunt, effossa ex muris Condesciae veteris marmore quadrato, omnia et litteris ornatissimis'. Voir Hübner, *CIL* II 40.

¹⁹⁰ Voir la belle analyse de cette inscription par Robert Étienne et George Fabre, «Épigraphie et sculpture», in Alarcão – Fabre, *Fouilles de Conimbriga* II (1976) n° 71.

¹⁹¹ On trouve au Museu Machado de Castro de Coimbra trois piédestaux avec le même type de décoration. Voir Encarnação J., *Sociedade Romana e Epigrafia* (Setúbal: 1979) 55 photo 10.



Fig. 20a

Fig. 20a-b. Mariangelo Accursio, *Inscriptions sur le Ponte da Atadoa à Condeixa-a-Nova*, page de sa sylloge. Milan, Biblioteca Ambrosiana, ms. O 125 sup., fols. 204v-205r.

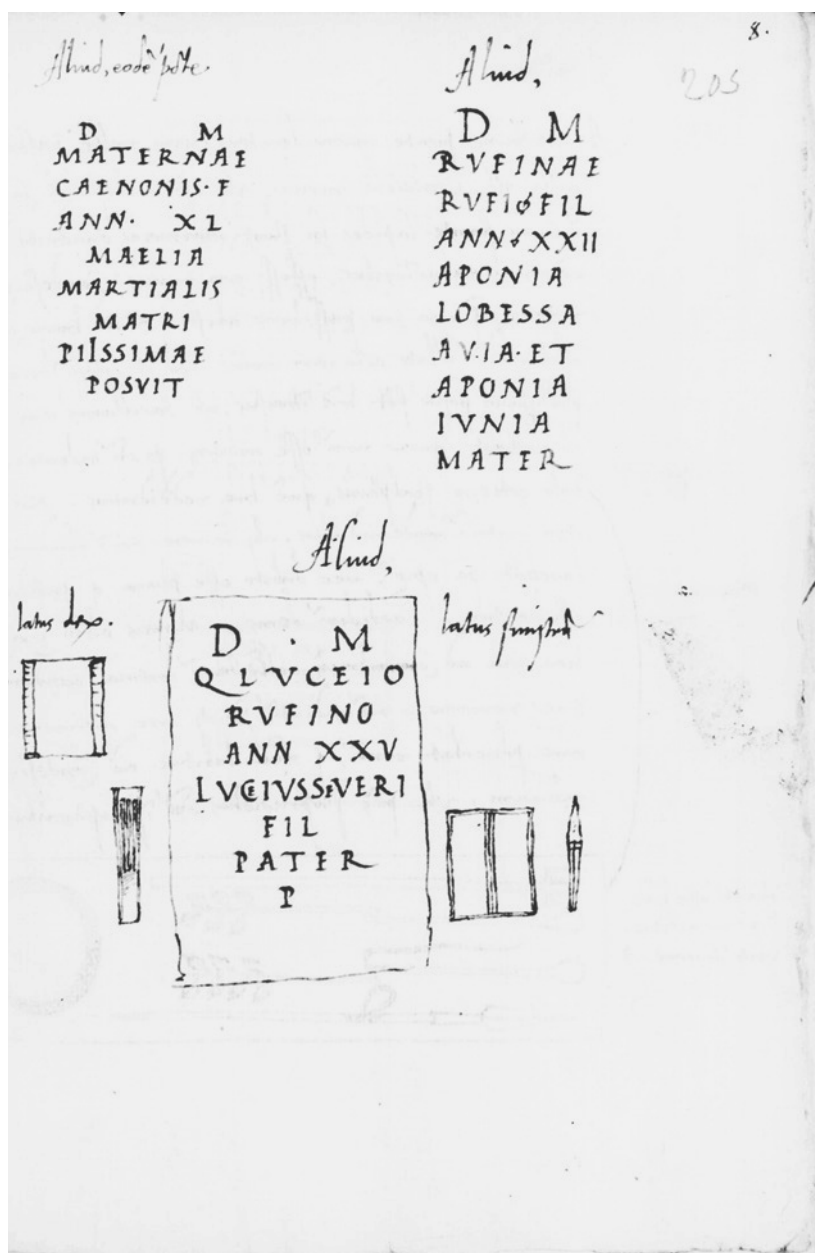


Fig. 20b

Condesciae veteris'). Cette église manuéline nouvellement édifiée – huit ans plus tôt, précise Accursio, c'est-à-dire en 1519 – n'existe plus. Mise à sac en 1811 durant les guerres napoléoniennes, elle est remplacée aujourd'hui par une église du XIX^e siècle. Dans sa sylloge,¹⁹² Accursio relève sur la façade de l'église onze inscriptions, dont l'une avec la représentation d'un trident, témoignage précieux d'un patrimoine perdu, car toutes ces inscriptions, sauf une, ont disparu. Ce réemploi de matériel épigraphique dans la façade de Santa Cristina est significatif d'un goût manifeste pour l'antique à l'époque de D. Manuel, dans l'orbe de la cour. Une telle exposition lapidaire, qui proclamait l'antiquité du lieu, se rencontrait d'habitude plutôt sur la façade des hôtels de ville, que ce soit à Brescia, à Évora ou à Lyon.

Ces inscriptions provenant des murailles de Condeixa-a-Velha, utilisés en réemplois à Condeixa-a-Nova, attirèrent l'attention de plus d'un humaniste, surtout celle en vers de Valerius Avitus (*CIL* II, 391). Elle est relevée vingt ans plus tard par le Français Élie Vinet, professeur à Coimbra de mars 1547 au 2 juillet 1549, qui la reproduira dans ses *Adnotationes ad Florum* (1576).¹⁹³ Elle avait de quoi fasciner par sa décoration comme par le simple fait d'être écrite en partie en vers. On y voit ce Valerius Avitus, natif de Conimbriga, fier de 'scribere versiculos', même médiocres, exhibant sa culture dans la reprise de poncifs littéraires tirés des grands auteurs classiques, la brutalité de la mort, l'exaltation de la vie terrestre (note virgilienne *Aen.* IV, 556), l'avertissement aux vivants de vivre leur vie, car la mort les menace...¹⁹⁴

André de Resende dut regarder lui aussi, comme l'a fait Accursio, avec une attention extrême ces inscriptions funéraires, que ce soit l'été 1527 lorsqu'il est, semble-t-il, à la cour à Coimbra, ou plus tard. Il a certainement examiné lui aussi au Ponte da Atadoa l'épithaphe en vers de Valerius Avitus, extrêmement rare en Lusitanie. Sa décoration avec les attributs de l'homme de lettres (*volumen* ouvert, stylet, calame, etc.) ne pouvait qu'attiser sa curiosité. On connaît sa recherche obsessionnelle des épithaphes en vers dans l'exemplaire des

¹⁹² Ambrosiana, ms. O 125 sup., fols. 205v–207; *CIL* 366, 369, 370, 371, 375, 377, 379, 388, 389, 390, 392. Voir l'analyse de ces inscriptions par Étienne R. – Fabre G., «Épigraphie et sculpture», in Alarcão – Étienne, *Fouilles de Conimbriga* II (1976) 61–96. Une seule de ces inscriptions a été retrouvée en réemploi dans la ville et est aujourd'hui au musée de Conimbriga (*CIL* II, 379).

¹⁹³ Vinet Elie, *Adnotationes ad Florum* (Paris, Jérôme de Marnef – Guillaume Cavellat: 1576) 88. Il relève aussi une autre inscription de Conimbriga, l'épithaphe de Lobessa Aponia (*CIL* II 381; Etienne – Fabre, «Épigraphie et sculpture» no. 56).

¹⁹⁴ Voir Etienne – Fabre, «Épigraphie et sculpture» no. 71.

Epigrammata Antiquae Urbis (Rome, Jacopo Mazzocchi: 1521), qui avait appartenu à Luís Teixeira, sans doute en quête de modèles pour la composition de l'épithaphe de sa mère [Figs. 2, 3]. Cette étude de ces épigrammes funéraires antiques ne fut pas sans influence sur le style de la poésie latine de Resende. José V. de Pina Martins a justement relevé dans son édition du *Vincentius Levita et Martyr* la 'construction épigrammatique' de sa poésie, résultant de son travail sur les inscriptions romaines qu'il collectionnait et compilait dans ses sylloges.¹⁹⁵

En chemin vers Lisbonne: Tomar, Santarém, Vila Franca de Xira

Accursio reprend la route. Il 'célèbre Pâques' à Alvaizere ('Albaeza'), le dimanche 21 avril 1527, assistant sans doute à la messe dans l'église du village.¹⁹⁶ Il s'arrête à Tomar, 'ville de 600 habitants, traversée par le fleuve Nabão, tête de l'Ordre du Christ dont le maître est le Roi de Lusitanie. Sur la colline, le monastère et un sanctuaire de grande beauté. Sur l'autre rive, un édifice antique. Là est née Sancta Erena [Santa Iria] [...] qui a donné son nom à la ville de Santarém, l'ancienne Cabelistrato'.¹⁹⁷ Accursio ne relève aucune inscription à Tomar. Il poursuit par Torres Novas, 'plus petite que Tomar', et arrive à Santarém,¹⁹⁸ 'ville sur le Tage de trois mille habitants, autrefois nommée Cabelicrasto [Scalabi Castro]', où il relève deux inscriptions, l'une à l'église de Santa Maria de Alcaçova, marbre carré aux 'cultissimis literis' (*CIL* II, 327, 330). Almeirim, où réside la cour, n'est pas loin, à sept kilomètres au Sud-Est, mais Accursio ne cherche pas à s'y rendre.

Puis il continue sa route vers Lisbonne en longeant le Tage, durant quatorze lieues, zone déserte sans villages, écrit-il. Il s'arrête à Vila Franca de Xira d'où l'on voit de l'autre côté du Tage la petite ville

¹⁹⁵ Martins J.V. de Pina (éd.), *André de Resende. Vincentius Levita et Martyr* (Braga: 1981) 92.

¹⁹⁶ Ambrosiana, ms. O 125 sup., fol. 207v: '6. Albaeza, villa in qua Pasca celebramus'.

¹⁹⁷ Ambrosiana, ms. O 125 sup., fol. 208r: '4. TOMAR opidum vicinor. 600 sine muris. fluvius Naban. [...] Caput est ordini Christi cuius magister est Rex Lusitanus. In Colle pulcherrimum monasterium et sacellum. Altera ripa [...] antiqua edificia. Hic nascitur Sancta Erena quae interfecta in flumine demersa, [...]'.
¹⁹⁸ Ambrosiana, ms. O 125 sup., fol. 208r-v: 'Santarena, opidum ad ripas Tagi, vicinorum triummillium et celeberrimum Lusitaniae [...] Olim nominatum [...] Cabelicrasto. Pro foribus ecclesiae S. Marie de Alcazova marmore quadrato cultissimis literis [...]'; Hübner, *CIL* 35-36: 'XIV Scallabis (Santarém)'.

de Benavente, et où il retrouve une connaissance, 'Giorgio Cozero, autrefois familier de l'évêque de Pistoia', écrit-il dans la marge.¹⁹⁹ Cet évêque de Pistoia n'est autre qu'Antonio Pucci, futur cardinal Santi-quattro, protecteur de Portugal, qui deviendra l'ami de l'ambassadeur D. Pedro Mascarenhas à Rome, qu'a côtoyé Francisco de Holanda à Rome dans les années 1538–1540. Antonio Pucci connaît bien le Portugal, car il y a été légat, sous Léon X, entre août 1514 et mai 1515.²⁰⁰ C'est sans doute alors que ce 'Giorgio Cozero' devint son familier et le suivit à Rome, où Accursio dut faire sa connaissance, d'où l'italianisation de son nom.

Lisbonne, 27 avril 1527

Accursio arrive à Lisbonne le 27 avril 1527,²⁰¹ mais ne s'y attarde pas, car il y a la peste. La cour n'est pas là, mais à Almeirim, nous l'avons vu. Il y a en effet une épidémie endémique de peste à Lisbonne depuis 1523 qui durera jusqu'à fin 1527.²⁰² D. João III avait tenté un retour à Lisbonne début 1527, organisant l'entrée de la reine D. Catarina en janvier de cette année. Mais début avril 1527, il y eut une recrudescence de peste à Lisbonne et la cour dut fuir de l'autre côté du Tage, à Lavradio,²⁰³ arrivant à Almeirim le 15 avril 1527 après être passé par Benavente.

Accursio consacre trois pages de sa sylloge à Lisbonne,²⁰⁴ qu'il appelle *Ulysipo* en latin, mais qui s'écrit aussi *Olisipo*, *Olissipo* ou même *Ulisseia*. Il commence par une courte présentation. C'est une ville,

¹⁹⁹ Ambrosiana, ms. O 125 sup., fol. 208v: '4. Ab Sancterena ad urbem ULYSIPONEM leucas intersunt quattuordecim, semper ad ripas Tagi [...] Villafranca. et trans fluvium [...] Beneventum'. Dans la marge: 'GIORGIO COZERO, familiaris olim epi<scopi> Pisterien<sis>.'

²⁰⁰ De Witte Ch.-M., *La correspondance des premiers nonces permanents au Portugal 1532–1553 I* (Lisbonne: 1980) 11 et note 37.

²⁰¹ Accursio note la date du 27 mai 1527 dans sa sylloge (fol. 210v), certainement par lapsus, car plus loin sur le chemin de retour, il indique la date du 4 mai alors qu'il est dans la *Serra da Estrela*.

²⁰² Sur l'épidémie de peste à Lisbonne entre 1523 et 1527, voir Freire, *Gil Vicente* 217.

²⁰³ Freire, *Gil Vicente* 217, 224.

²⁰⁴ Ambrosiana, ms. O 125 sup., fol. 210r–211r: 'Ulyssipo vicinorum dicitur 20 000 Archiepiscopatus [...]. Distat ab Oceano Leucis duabus. Ad leucam unam turris in mare, et contra ipsam in continenti monasterium Belen & inferius ad oceanum (ut aiunt) fluvius Belas, hyacinthos generans, quem ab eo dicant, Jacintos de Belas,

écrit-il, de 20.000 habitants, avec archevêché. Elle est à deux lieues de l'Océan. À une lieue, il y a une tour dans la mer – la fameuse *Torre de Belém* – et tout près, sur terre, le monastère de Belém, connu comme *Os Jerónimos*. Il évoque le Cabo da Roca, la pointe la plus occidentale de l'Europe continentale, il cite Pline et Solinus.

En dépit de la peste, il parvient à relever cinq inscriptions:²⁰⁵ à une lieue de Lisbonne, à Xabregas, devant São Francisco 'ad mare' (*CIL* II, 186); à Lisbonne, à la porte *da Alfofa* ('Alfossa') dans la *cerca moura* du Castelo de S. Jorge (*CIL* II, 252 et 189); à la cathédrale (*CIL* II, 201); enfin, 'Pro foribus gubernatoris urbis / ingenti marmore quadrato / subrusso litteris cultissimis' (*CIL* II, 182) [Fig. 21]

Comme le souligne Emil Hübner,²⁰⁶ Mariangelo Accursio fut le premier à relever les inscriptions de Olisipo, avant même André de Resende qui ne le fit qu'après son retour au Portugal en 1533, comme en attestent les relevés d'inscriptions de Lisbonne et des alentours donnés à ses amis espagnols. Resende n'a pas inclus dans *De Antiquitatibus Lusitaniae* ces inscriptions, hormis celles du temple au soleil et à la lune à Colares,²⁰⁷ qu'il conservait dans sa sylloge. Luiz Marinho de Azevedo, en 1652, fait référence à un 'caderno' d'inscriptions 'que foy do Mestre André de Resende', alors en possession du licenciado Jorge Cardoso.²⁰⁸ On peut se faire une idée de cette collection à travers les relevés d'inscriptions que Resende donna à Honorato Juan, un veil ami du temps de ses études à Louvain, lors de sa venue à Lisbonne en 1564, appelé pour l'éducation de D. Sebastião par la reine D. Catarina en 1564.²⁰⁹ Ces relevés d'inscriptions du Portugal romain sont conservés dans le *Codex Valentinus* (Madrid, BN, ms. 3610), signalé déjà par Emil Hübner et aujourd'hui étudié exhaustivement par Helena Gimeno

prestantiores indicis et qui persimiles sunt granatis. Inde Promontorium, vulgo, Capo de la Rocca [...]' ; voir Hübner, *CIL* II 23–35.

²⁰⁵ *CIL* II 186, 252, 189, 201, 182.

²⁰⁶ Hübner, *CIL* II 23.

²⁰⁷ Resende André de, *De Antiquitatibus Lusitaniae a Lucio Andrea Resendio olim inchoati et a Iacobo Menætio Vascondello recogniti atque absoluti* (Évora, Matinho de Burgos: 1593) 38–40; trad. *As Antiguidades da Lusitânia*, éd. R.M. Rosado Fernandes (Lisbonne: 1996) 98–99.

²⁰⁸ Azevedo Luiz Marinho de, *Primeira parte da fundação, antiguidades e grandezas da mui insigne cidade de Lisboa, e seus varoens illustres em sanctidade, armas, & letras: catalogo de seus prelados, e mais cousas ecclesiasticas, & politicas ate o anno 1147* (Lisbonne: Officina Craesbeckiana, 1652) III, cap. V: 'De outras pedras de cidadãos da tribu Galeria e da geração das Amenas' 222.

²⁰⁹ Matos L. de, «O ensino na corte durante a dinastia de Avis», in *O Humanismo Português 1500–1600* (Lisbonne: 1988) 499–592, en particulier 502, 503, 573 n. 49.

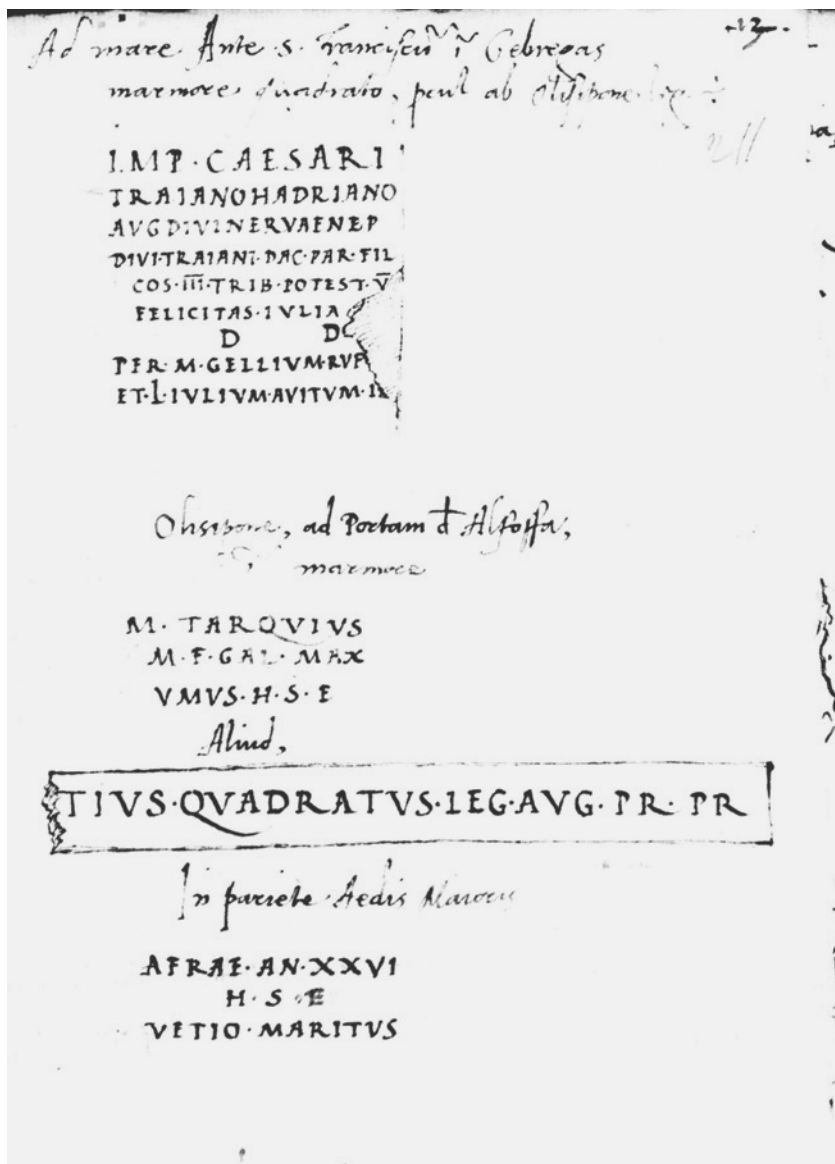


Fig. 21. Mariangelo Accursio, *Relevés de quatre inscriptions à Lisbonne*, le 27 avril 1527, page de sa sylloge. Milan, Biblioteca Ambrosiana, ms. O 125 sup., fol. 211r.

Pascual.²¹⁰ Ainsi, André de Resende releva, après Accursio, l'inscription à la *Porta da Alfoba* (CIL II, 252) que reproduit Luiz Marinho de Azevedo.²¹¹

Par leur précocité, les quelques relevés épigraphiques faits par Accursio à Lisbonne marquent ainsi une date dans les recherches antiques sur l'ancienne Olisipo. Un seul épisode, bien connu, celui de la fausse inscription de la Sibylle, prédisant les navigations portugaises en Orient, 'découverte' en 1505 à Colares, près de Sintra, au Promontoire de la Lune, au Cabo da Roca, et aussitôt envoyée par Valentim Fernandes à Conrad Peutinger et à Hieronymus Münzer, témoigne d'une activité épigraphique à la cour portugaise, que la fausse inscription soit d'Henrique Caiado comme le dénonce Gaspar Barreiros²¹² ou qu'elle soit de Cataldo Sículo, comme on le pense aujourd'hui.²¹³ De retour en Italie, Accursio put lire cette inscription de la Sibylle avec la lettre de Valentim Fernandes dans le nouvel ouvrage épigraphique, *Inscriptiones Sacrosantae Vetustatis* de Petrus Apianus et Bartholomeus

²¹⁰ Madrid, BN, ms. 3610 [ancien L 242]: *Colección de inscripciones antiguas, principalmente romanas recogidas en España y Portugal, coleccionadas por Gaspar Galcerán de Pinós y Castro, Conde de Guimerá y sacadas de diversos autores, en especial de Jerónimo Zurita, Florian de Ocampo, Honorato Juan, Martín Velasco Pérez de la Torre, Luis [sic] de Resende, Albiano de Rojas, Juan Alonso Franco, Juan Ginés de Sepúlveda [...]* s. XVI y XVII, 335 ff, 315 x 215. Voir en particulier les inscriptions concernant le Portugal fols. 45r-52r, 130r-136v, 256r. Hübner, CIL II, XIV no. 28 pensait que ces transcriptions étaient de Florian Docampo, mais Marcel Bataillon («Sur Florian Docampo», *Bulletin Hispanique* 25 (1923) 33-58, en particulier 53) a démontré de façon définitive qu'une telle attribution n'était pas possible, car ce n'est pas son écriture. Helena Gimeno Pascual, dans son étude du Codex Valentinus, a reconnu dans ce matériel l'écriture de Honorato Juan, avec aussi divers relevés de la main de Resende. Voir Gimeno Pascual H., *Historia de la Investigación Epigráfica en España en los siglos XVI y XVII a la luz del recuperado manuscrito del Conde de Guimerá* (Zaragoza: 1997) 225-228 «Honorato Juan».

²¹¹ Azevedo Luiz Marinho de, *Primeira parte da fundação [...] de Lisboa*, III, cap. V, 222-223. Voir n. 208.

²¹² Barreiros Gaspar, *Censuras de Gaspar Barreiros sobre quatro liuros intitulados em M. Portio Catam De Originibus, em Beroso Chaldaeo, em Manethon Aegyptio & em Q. Fabio Pictor Romano* (Coimbra, João Alvares: 1561); idem, *Censura in quendam auctorem qui sub falsa inscriptione Berosi Chaldaei circumfertur Gaspare Barreiros autore* (Rome, [Antonio Blado]: 1565) 23-25.

²¹³ Sur la fausse inscription de la Sibylle, voir Momigliano A., «Enrico Caiado e la falsificazione di CIL II, 30», *Athenaeum. Studi periodici di letteratura e storia dell'antichità*, N. S. 42, fasc. I-IV (1964) 3-11; Deswarte-Rosa, «Un nouvel Age d'Or» 129-130, fig. 1; Ribeiro J. Cardim, «Soli Aeterno Lunae. O santuário», in idem, *Religiões da Lusitania* 235-239, en particulier 235.

Amantius (Ingolstadt, 1534)²¹⁴ financé par Raymond Fugger, dont il s'empresse de corriger les erreurs comme en attestait son exemplaire, autrefois conservé à la Bibliothèque Ambrosienne.

Accursio, à cause de la peste, n'explora pas plus avant la zone de Lisbonne et ne put découvrir la richesse en vestiges épigraphiques de la zone de Sintra, dont témoigne aujourd'hui le Museu Arqueológico de São Miguel de Odrinhas.

Le chemin de retour. De Lisbonne à Valladolid, mai 1527

Accursio prend le chemin de retour vers Valladolid, par Santarém, suivant les rives du Tage, puis du Zêzere, traversant la Serra da Estrela et entrant en Castille par Ciudad Rodrigo.²¹⁵ Il écrit que le fleuve Zêzere, qui se jette dans la Tage, prend sa source dans la Serra da Estrela comme également l'Alva et le Mondego. Accursio atteint la Serra da Estrela le 4 mai 1527. Il note au pied de la montagne la ville de Covilhã, mais c'est surtout à deux lieues de là, Capinha et ses alentours, qui le retient et où il relève cinq inscriptions,²¹⁶ à commencer par une inscription gravée dans une roche qu'il dessine (*CIL* II, 453) [Fig. 22]; puis il relève une épigramme (*CIL* II, 454) dans un édifice entièrement construit avec des fragments antiques de dalles et de colonnes, provenant, lui a-t-on dit, de sépulcres sur la voie romaine menant à Emerita (Mérida);²¹⁷ dans un village voisin, 'Sancto Stephano de Villalupi' (Santo Estevão est près de Vale de Lôbo), il relève une inscription (*CIL* II, 455 et 456) dans les parois de l'église S. Maria, puis une borne milliaire; enfin il inspecte encore une chapelle Sancta Marigna, à demi détruite, également faite de fragments antiques provenant de la voie romaine, copiant une inscription (*CIL* II, 457).²¹⁸ Il arrive enfin à Sabugal, 'opidulum ultra montes', puis 'Villa de Puonte'

²¹⁴ Apianus Petrus – Amantius Bartholomeus (eds.), *Inscriptiones Sacrosanctae Vetustatis non illae quidem Romanae, sed totius fere orbis summo studio ac maximis impensis terra marique conquistatae feliciter incipiunt* (Ingolstadt, Petrus Apianus: 1534).

²¹⁵ Ambrosiana, ms. O 125 sup., fols. 211v–213v; *CIL* II, 453 à 457.

²¹⁶ Ambrosiana, ms. O 125 sup., fols. 212r–213v: '2. Cappignia, villa'.

²¹⁷ Ambrosiana, ms. O 125 sup., fol. 212v: 'Hinc [villa Cappignia] per iter nostrum fere ad mille passus, in aedicula confecta ferme tota ex lapidibus et fractionibus columnarum vetustarum ex eodem lapide, epigramma est lapide quadrato [...]. nobis dixerunt, collecta ex sepulchris que fuerunt hac Romana via tendente ad Emeritam urbem'.

²¹⁸ Ambrosiana, ms. O 125 sup., fol. 212r–v: 'Procul hinc [villa S. Stephani] circiter mille passus non procul a via manu laeva in aedicula S. Marignae semidiruta et tota

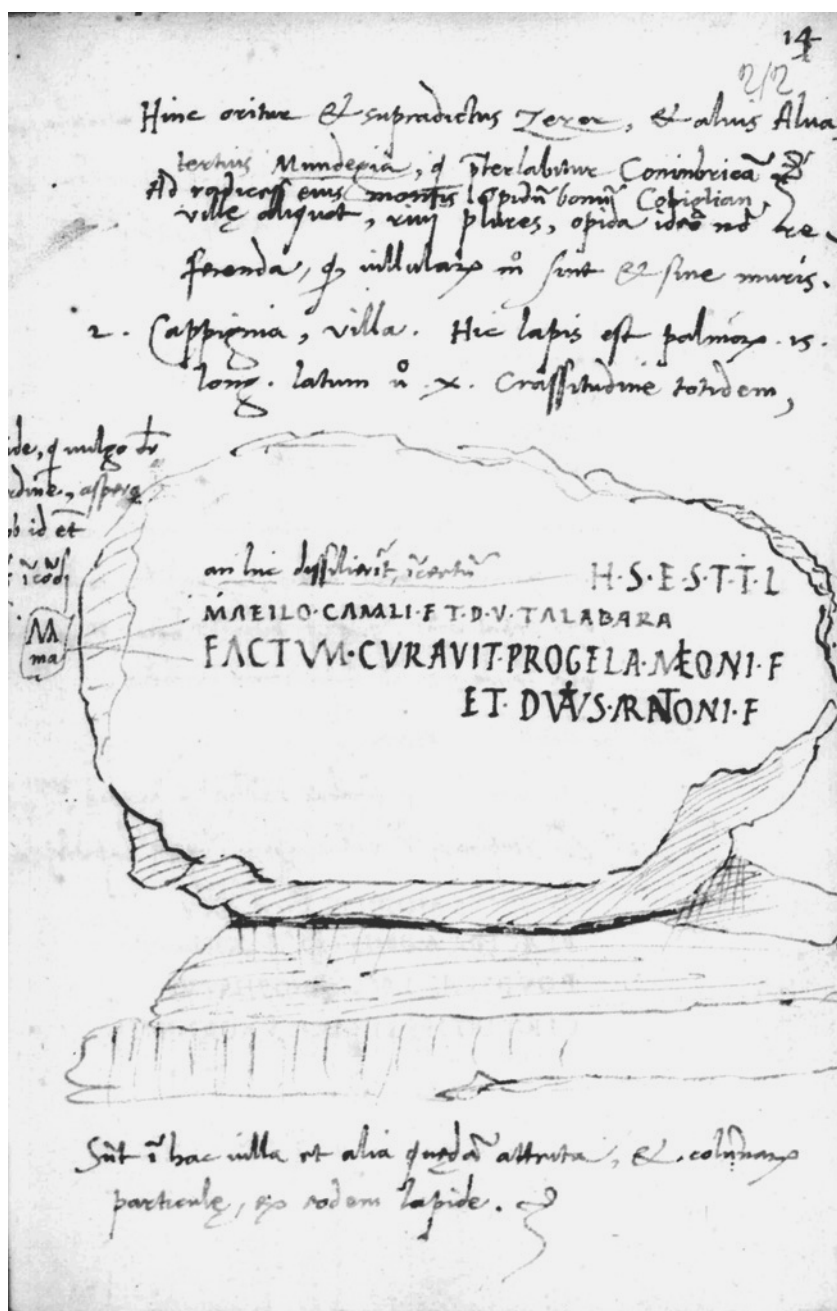


Fig. 22. Mariangelo Accursio, *Inscription sur une roche à Capinha* (CIL II, 453), page de sa sylloge. Milan, Biblioteca Ambrosiana, ms. O 125 sup., fol. 212r.

(Aldeia da Ponte), ‘dernière ville de Portugal’. Il entre dans le ‘Roy-aume de Castille’ et fait escale à Ciudad Rodrigo, ville de 2000 habitants, avec évêché, l’antique Augustobriga ou Drobiga, selon Melendes, ‘l’antiquaire de la ville’. Il dessine dans sa sylloge les trois colonnes romaines,²¹⁹ encore aujourd’hui conservées, devenues l’emblème de la ville [Fig. 23], et relève une inscription dans le pavement de l’église S. Bartolomeo (*CIL* II, 865). Accursio passe ensuite par Salamanque, ville de 6000 habitants, relevant cinq inscriptions dont une borne milliaire (*CIL* II, 4684) qu’il dessine, enfin Medina del Campo, ville de 3000 habitants, traverse le Douro sur un ‘très beau pont’, arrive enfin à Valladolid.

De retour à Valladolid. La nouvelle du Sac de Rome

C’est seulement de retour à la cour de Charles Quint à Valladolid, à la fin mai 1527, que Mariangelo Accursio apprit la terrible nouvelle du Sac de Rome, survenu au début du mois de mai. La nouvelle arriva alors que les fêtes battaient leur plein pour célébrer la naissance du prince Philippe, le futur Philippe II, le 21 mai 1527.²²⁰ Elle venait ébranler tout un mode de vie, elle mettait fin à bien des certitudes et elle le touchait personnellement. Accursio lut certainement dans le *Ciceronianus* paru en 1528 les pages d’Érasme sur la fin de Rome, avec la fameuse formule ‘Roma Roma non est’ qui dénonçait la fascination pour l’Antiquité et pour le paganisme.²²¹ C’était son activité d’humaniste et sa raison de vivre qui étaient mises en cause. À cela s’ajoutera l’année suivante la nouvelle de la mort de Gumbrecht von Brandenburg, son ancien élève et frère cadet de Johann Albrecht, mort à Naples en 1528, des suites de ses blessures lors du Sac de Rome.

confecta ex particulis columnarum et lapidibus sumptis ex publica via ut supra quadrato lapide eiusdem generis’.

²¹⁹ Ambrosiana, ms. O 125 sup., fols. 213v–214v, avec dessin des trois colonnes au fol. 214r. Voir Hübner, *CIL*, II, 107–109 ‘XXVIII Mirobriga (Ciudad Rodrigo)’.

²²⁰ Mexía Pedro, *Historia del Emperador Carlos V*, éd. J. de Mata Carriazo (Madrid: 1945) IV, cap. VII, 470: ‘Como nació el principe de España don Felipe e de los cumplimientos e justificaciones que el Emperador hizo, sabido el saco de Roma [...]’; voir Redondo A., «Le Sac de Rome vue d’Espagne: les discours des historiographes espagnols de Charles Quint», in idem (éd.), *Les Discours sur le Sac de Rome de 1527. Pouvoir et littérature* (Paris: 1999) 23–35. Surtout voir Deswarte-Rosa S. (Lisbonne: 1992) 119–122.

²²¹ Magnien M., «Roma Roma non est: échos humanistes au Sac de Rome», in Redondo, *Les Discours* 151–168.



Fig. 23. Mariangelo Accursio, *Les trois colonnes de Ciudad Rodrigo en Castille*, page de sa sylloge. Milan, Biblioteca Ambrosiana, ms. O 125 sup., fol. 214r.

Quel souvenir Accursio laissa-t-il à la cour d'Espagne? Il est difficile de le dire. Cependant en 1545, Juan Cristobal Calvete de Estrella choisit d'acquérir ses *Diatribae* pour la bibliothèque privée du prince Philippe, dans le lot de livres achetés à Salamanque ou à Medina del Campo, ensuite luxueusement reliés, exemplaire aujourd'hui conservé à la Bibliothèque de San Lorenzo de El Escorial.²²²

La rencontre d'Accursio et Resende au Portugal en 1527?

Il nous reste à répondre à la question laissée en suspens. Accursio fit-il à l'occasion de ce voyage au Portugal au printemps 1527 la connaissance d'André de Resende et lui offrit-il alors en main propre son ouvrage des *Diatribae*?

Accursio n'inscrit nulle part le nom d'André de Resende dans les pages de sa sylloge consacrée au Portugal. Mais une telle rencontre n'est pas impossible. Si l'on suit la chronologie établie dans les *Notícias da Vida de André de Resende* de Francisco Leitão Ferreira, annotées par Anselmo Braancamp Freire, Resende pourrait se trouver au Portugal en 1526–1527, au retour de l'université de Salamanque, avant de s'embarquer pour l'université de Louvain depuis la Galice.²²³ Il y a en effet deux indices qui nous font penser que Resende séjourna au Portugal en 1527, avant de partir pour Paris et Louvain.

Le premier de ces indices est donné par Resende lui-même dans la *Vida do Infante D. Duarte*, au chapitre 5 où il se met en scène à Coimbra, lorsque la cour y séjourna de juin à décembre 1527, peu après le passage d'Accursio. 'Alors que le Roi, que Dieu ait son âme, et la Reine étaient à Coimbra, où naquit la princesse leur fille [D. Maria, 15 octobre 1527], le cardinal [D. Alfonso] résidait avec les Infants dans une partie des Palais'.²²⁴ Resende raconte comment il intervint suite à une dispute entre l'infant D. Duarte et Fernão Barbosa, fils d'Aires

²²² Bibliothèque de San Lorenzo de El Escorial, 37-III-18 (no. 1). Voir Sánchez-Moreno J.L.G., *La 'Liberia rica' de Felipe II. Estudio histórico y catalogación* (San Lorenzo de El Escorial: 1998) 167, no. 6.

²²³ Ferreira – Freire, *Notícias da Vida de André de Resende* 10 et n. 16.

²²⁴ Resende André de, *Obras Portugesas*, éd. J. Pereira Tavares (Lisbonne: 1963) 92: 'estando el-Rei que Deus tem, e a Rainha, nossos senhores em Coimbra, onde lhe nasceu a Princesa, sua filha, pousava o Cardeal com os Infantes em uma parte dos Paços'.

Barbosa, maître du cardinal infant D. Alfonso²²⁵ et s'en vint rapporter les faits à D. Alfonso : 'Je m'en fus auprès du cardinal qui recevait une leçon et je lui racontais l'incident pour l'amuser' ('Fui-me ao Cardeal que estava em lição, e contei-lhe o caso por graça').

Un deuxième indice est donné par D. Rodrigo da Cunha dans la *Segunda Parte da Historia Ecclesiastica dos Arcebispos de Braga* (Braga : 1634) dans les chapitres qu'il consacre à D. Diogo de Sousa:²²⁶

Ne se contentant pas d'ennoblir la ville [de Braga], [D. Diogo de Sousa] chercha quelqu'un pour conter sa première fondation, la rendant ainsi célèbre par la plume et par son style. Celui-ci fut le grand Frei Angelo André de Rezende (c'est ainsi qu'il se nommait et non Frei Lucio André de Rezende, comme il ressort de cette œuvre) de l'Ordre des Prêcheurs. Très savant sur l'Antiquité, il était consulté, tel un oracle, par les plus grands lettrés de son temps et l'Empereur Charles Quint lui écrivait. L'archevêque lui commanda cette œuvre et Resende [...] dans un délai de dix jours lui envoya un poème de plus de trois cent vers sur la fondation de Braga, si parfait et si abouti, si plein d'érudition et d'autres élégances poétiques, qu'il était digne du meilleur poète vénéré de nos jours. C'est le chantre d'Évora Manoel Severim de Faria, si riche et curieux de telles antiquités, qui nous l'a communiqué.

Francisco Leitão Ferreira, dans ses *Notícias da Vida de André de Resende*, place la composition de ce poème sur la Fondation de Braga lors d'un court séjour de Resende au Portugal, entre Salamanque et son départ pour les Flandres qui se situerait peu avant la mort de sa mère en 1527.²²⁷

²²⁵ Aires Barbosa, professeur à l'Université de Salamanque, est rappelé à la cour portugaise en 1523 comme maître du cardinal-infant D. Alfonso, occupant cette fonction pendant sept ans jusqu'en 1530, comme il le déclare dans la dédicace de *Antimoria* (Coimbra : 1536). Après 1530, il se retire de la cour, vivant à Esgueira, près d'Aveiro, où il meurt le 20 janvier 1540.

²²⁶ Cunha Rodrigo, *Historia Ecclesiastica*, cap. 71, 297–298 : 'Não contente com assi emnobrecer a sua cidade, buscou quem tambem, com pena, & estilo, a fizesse famoza, dando noticia aos presentes, & vindouros de sua primeira fundação. Foi este o grande fr. Angelo Andre de Rezende (assi se intitula, & não fr. Lucio Andre de Rezende, na obra, que logo diremos) da Ordem dos Pregadores, a quem por doutissimo em todo o genero de antiguidade, consultavão, como a oraculo, os mayores letrados de seu tempo, & escrivía o Emperador Carlos V. Encomendoulhe o Arcebispo esta obra, & elle como quem o tinha por fautor, & Mecenaz de todas as boas letras, dentro em dez dias, lhe mandou hum poema de maes de trezentos versos da fundação de Braga, tão polido, & apurado, tão cheyo de erudição, & outras elegancias poeticas, qual o podia fazer o melhor poeta, dos que hoje veneramos. Comunicounolo o Chantre d'Évora Manoel Severim de Faria, como tão rico, & curioso de semelhantes antiguidades'.

²²⁷ Ferreira – Freire, *Notícias da Vida de André de Resende* 10 : '[...] de Salamanca, [Resende] veyo a este reino, só para embarcar-se para Flandres, e na demora que fez

De Salamanque, [Resende] vint en ce royaume dans le seul but de s'embarquer pour les Flandres. Dans l'attente de s'embarquer, il composa en l'espace de dix jours, à la prière de D. Diogo de Sousa, Archevêque primat, le poème latin de plus de trois cents vers sur la fondation de Braga, référé par l'illustrissime D. Rodrigo da Cunha dans l'*Historia Bracharense*. [...] Pour cette raison, il n'y pas de doute que Resende vint de Salamanque en ce Royaume. Avant de partir, il composa le poème référé par D. Rodrigo, dans lequel il se donne le prénom d'Angelo et non de Lucio, car il porta ce prénom d'Angelo du vivant de sa mère qui s'appelait Angela et qui vint à mourir en 1527.

Accursio aurait ainsi pu rencontrer Resende lors de son voyage au Portugal. Mais la chronologie de la vie de Resende en cette fin des années 1520 est peu claire.²²⁸ Leitão Ferreira, peu après, déclare en effet de façon contradictoire qu'André de Resende est à Paris, lorsque meurt sa mère en 1527.

À ce stade de la recherche, aucune conclusion définitive n'est possible. La rencontre entre les deux humanistes put se faire également dans les années 1531–1532, lorsqu'Accursio est en Allemagne toujours au service du margrave de Brandebourg en 1530–1532 et que Resende est à la cour itinérante de Charles Quint, aux côtés de l'ambassadeur D. Pedro Mascarenhas, d'abord à Bruxelles, puis le suivant dans l'expédition de l'empereur jusqu'à Vienne, enfin à Bologne en Italie, avant le retour en Ibérie.

Resende a beaucoup fait parler de lui à la cour de Charles Quint et dans les milieux érasmiens, suite à la publication, à l'initiative d'Érasme, de son poème au vitriol contre les détracteurs d'Érasme, *Carmen eruditum et elegans Angeli Andreae Resendii Lusitani, adversus stolidos politioris literaturae oblatratores* (Bâle, Froben: 1531).²²⁹ En 1533, Accursio quitte le service du margrave de Brandebourg pour

então em se aparelhar, compoz dentro do espaço de dez dias, à instancia de Dom Diogo de Souza, Arcebispo primas, o Poema Latino de mais de trezentos versos, da fundação de Braga, de que o illustrissimo dom Rodrigo da Cunha [...] da Historia Bracharense, dá noticia [...] a razão por onde não ha duvida, que Resende veyo de Salamanca a este Reino, e antes de partir, compoz o Poema referido, he por dizer o dito illustrissimo D. Rodrigo, que nelle se intitulava com o prenome de Angelo, e não Lucio, do qual prenome Angelo parece que usou em quanto teve viva sua May por se chamar Angela, que lhe faleceo no ano de 1527, como abaixo mostrarei, porque depois della falecida mudou o dito prenome no de Lucio, de que no anno de 1529, ja usava'.

²²⁸ Ferreira – Freire, *Notícias da Vida de André de Resende* 11, 12, 24, 103.

²²⁹ Voir Sauvage O., *L'itinéraire érasmien d'André de Resende (1500–1573)* (Paris: 1971) 175.

aller à Augsbourg, grand centre d'imprimerie et d'étude de l'antique, profitant du mécénat du riche marchand et banquier Anton Fugger. Il y publie deux textes inédits de l'Antiquité tardive, les *Histoires* d'Ammien Marcellin (Ammianus Marcellinus), une source qu'utilise Resende, et les *Variae* et le *De anima* de Cassiodore.²³⁰

Mais il faut aussi envisager que la rencontre entre Accursio et Resende n'eut pas lieu. Accursio, rentré définitivement à L'Aquila l'été 1533, aurait pu fort bien faire parvenir son livre à Resende depuis Rome. Il aurait pu le confier au jeune Francisco de Holanda à Rome en 1538–1540 pour le remettre à son maître et ami. Formé à l'épigraphie par Resende à la cour à Évora, Holanda aurait pu chercher à rencontrer Accursio par l'entremise de Blossio Palladio, qui le connaissait du temps des réunions dans les jardins de Göritz et qui savait bien que c'était le plus grand épigraphiste du temps. Accursio était alors en pleine activité épigraphique à Rome comme en attestent ses sylloges où il mentionne la découverte en août 1539 d'une statue avec sa base porteuse d'une inscription à côté de l'arc de Septime Sévère, devant l'église des Santi Sergio e Bacco (Saints-Serge-et-Bacchus).²³¹ Holanda aurait montré à Accursio son exemplaire de l'*Epigrammata Antiquae Urbis* (Rome, Jacopo Mazzochi: 1521),²³² l'exemplaire ayant appartenu au grand Luís Teixeira, précepteur du prince D. João, le futur roi D. João III. Il lui raconterait comment il y a appris, guidé par André de Resende, à développer les abréviations s'aidant de l'opuscule de Valerius Probus, édité par Accursio au début de l'ouvrage, et comment maintenant il recherchait les inscriptions sur les monuments de Rome et des alentours, dessinant de petits croquis dans la marge, quand il les trouvait ('ipse vidi'). Néanmoins, cette hypothèse, des plus séduisantes, reste à démontrer. De plus, Accursio dans ces années aurait confié au jeune artiste ses dernières publications d'Augsbourg plutôt que les *Diatribae*.

²³⁰ *Ammianus Marcellinus a Mariangelo Accursio mendis quinque millibus purgatus et libris quinque auctus ultimis, nunc primum ab eodem inventis* (Augsburg, Silvanus Otmar: 1533), dédié à Anton Fugger le 1^{er} avril 1533; *Cassiodorus Magnus Aurelius, Variarum libri XII, item de anima liber unus, recens inventi, et in lucem dati a Mariangelo Accursio* (Augsburg, Henricus Siliceus: 1533), dédié le 1^{er} mai 1533 au cardinal Albrecht von Brandenburg, archevêque de Mayence.

²³¹ *CIL VI, I Inscriptiones Urbis Romae Latinae*, éd. W. Henzen (Berlin: 1876) no. 1730.

²³² Deswarte, « Contribution à la connaissance »; Deswarte, « Francisco de Holanda », *XVII Exposição de Arte*.

La rencontre de Resende et d'Accursio, si elle eut lieu, dut être riche en échanges de toutes sortes. Les deux hommes ont maints intérêts en commun, l'étude philologique des classiques, la passion des inscriptions épigraphiques et leur implication dans l'art de l'imprimerie. Par delà l'étude des auteurs classiques, l'ouvrage des *Diatribae* d'Accursius était aussi un modèle en matière d'art du livre, nous l'avons vu. C'était la démonstration du rôle qu'un humaniste pouvait jouer dans l'introduction de nouvelles formes et d'un style à l'antique dans le livre imprimé. Érasme, qui ne craignait pas de pénétrer dans les officines des imprimeurs,²³³ fut certainement pour Resende un autre modèle. Resende réalisa lui-même, vingt ans plus tard, une telle rénovation de l'imprimerie au Portugal, alors encore dominée par les impressions en caractères bâtarde d'un Germão Galharde. Avec la publication de son poème *Vincentius Levita & martyr* chez Luís Rodrigues en décembre 1545, Resende introduisit au Portugal un style complètement nouveau à l'antique, avec une page de titre, reprise d'un modèle vénitien,²³⁴ en caractères romains et l'adoption de l'italique pour le texte du poème.

Conclusion

Voir de ses propres yeux, telle est la règle d'or, apprise auprès des auteurs de l'Antiquité, que ne se lasse de répéter Gaspar Barreiros dans sa *Chorographia*. L'exigence de 'voir par expérience' a lancé Accursio sur les chemins, comme elle avait déjà poussé les Anciens à visiter les pays lointains, Polybe l'Afrique, les Espagnes et les Gaules et Strabon l'Égypte, comme l'écrit Barreiros.²³⁵

²³³ Voir Vanautgarden A., *Érasme typographe. La mise en page, instrument de rhétorique au XVI^e siècle*, thèse de doctorat Bruxelles ULB – Lyon Université Lumière Lyon 2, dir. S. Deswarte-Rosa, 2008.

²³⁴ Luís Rodrigues reprend ici, en l'adaptant, un frontispice vénitien, paru neuf ans plus tôt, dans l'ouvrage de Amico Giovanni Battista, *De motibus corporum coelestium* (Venice, Giovanni Padovano – Venturino Ruffinalli: 1536). Voir Martins, *André de Resende. Vicentius Levita et Martyr*, III «Typographie et Iconographie».

²³⁵ Barreiros, *Chorographia*, 1561, Dédicace de Gaspar Barreiros au cardinal-infant D. Henrique: 'E por esta causa quis Polybio ver pessoalmente Africa, as Espanhas & Gallias, para emendar (segundo elle diz) a ignorancia dos antigos, é dar a entender aos seus a verdadeira noticia d'estas partes. A mesma razam levou Strabam Cappadocio ao Ægypto'.

Mariangelo Accursio parcourt ainsi le Portugal au printemps 1527, à l'âge de 38 ans, depuis la Galice jusqu'à Lisbonne, revenant par la *Serra da Estrela*. Pendant cette chevauchée lusitanienne, ponctuée de quelques rencontres, Accursio, animé par sa seule passion de l'épigraphie, découvre cette extrémité occidentale de l'Europe, cette périphérie océane, battue par les vents, couverte de fleurs en cette saison de l'année.

Épisode précoce de la latinité au Portugal, une latinité non pas gardée entre les pages des manuscrits et des livres imprimés, mais gravée dans la pierre, dans sa saveur pristine. En effet, comme l'écrit André de Resende, les inscriptions épigraphiques, à condition de les bien choisir et de 'ne prendre ni les très anciennes ni les plus récentes, c'est-à-dire celles qui furent gravées après l'invasion gothique', sont d'une tout autre fiabilité que les textes légués par les manuscrits, au latin corrompu par les copistes.²³⁶

Accursio transcrit dans sa sylloge, suivant son itinéraire, lieue après lieue, les bornes milliaires sur l'ancienne voie romaine Olisipo-Bracara Augusta, et autres inscriptions trouvées en chemin. Il est guidé dans cette quête épigraphique au Portugal par quelques connaissances, certaines faites à Rome : D. Diego Hurtado de Mendoza à Grenade pour le Nord du Portugal ; Francisco de Sá de Miranda et le chanoine Manuel à Coimbra pour les antiquités de l'ancienne Aeminium et celles de Condeixa-a-Velha, l'antique Conimbriga ; sans doute ce 'Giorgio Cozero', vivant à Vila Franca de Xira, pour la zone de Lisbonne.

Il y a donc déjà au Portugal un intérêt manifeste pour l'épigraphie et pour l'antique. Cette engouement remonte à ceux qui se sont formés en Italie sous D. João II, dans la Florence de Laurent le Magnifique, tels les frères Teixeira, élèves de Poliziano, et aussi à ceux qui, au Portugal, ont eu pour maître Cataldo Sículo. Puis, il y a tous ceux qui sont allés étudier à l'université de Salamanque, tels André de Resende et Pedro Nunes, à l'école d'Antonio Nebrija ou de son disciple portugais Aires Barbosa. Nebrija, qui a passé dix ans en Italie et qui a introduit la connaissance de l'*Itinéraire d'Antonin* en Espagne, a composé, outre sa célèbre grammaire, la *Muestra de la istoria de las antigüedades de España* (Burgos : 1499), qui marque le début de l'étude des Antiquités de l'*Hispania*.²³⁷

²³⁶ André de Resende, Lettre au cardinal D. Alfonso datée d'Évora le 1^{er} octobre 1533, publiée au début de ses *De Antiquitatibus Lusitaniae* (Évora : 1593 ; trad. port. Lisbonne : 1996).

²³⁷ Gimeno Pascual, *Historia de la Investigación Epigráfica* 37.

Un premier regard sur la richesse épigraphique du Portugal est ainsi manifeste dès l'époque de D. Manuel et le début du règne de D. João III, que ce soit dès 1505 à Braga, grâce à l'action précoce de l'archevêque D. Diogo de Sousa, ou à la cour du roi du Portugal. L'épisode de la fausse inscription de la Sibylle à Sintra cette même année 1505 est révélateur de cet intérêt, tout comme la construction en 1519 de l'église de Santa Cristina à Condeixa-a-Nova, exhibant sur la façade les inscriptions trouvées dans les murailles de Condeixa-a-Velha. L'acquisition par Luís Teixeira, l'ancien précepteur du prince héritier D. João, de l'ouvrage des *Epigrammata Antiquae Urbis* (Rome: 1521), puis d'autres ouvrages d'épigraphie édités en Allemagne, vient confirmer cet intérêt à la cour et une première étude de ce patrimoine.

Le voyage d'Accursio peut certes paraître un épisode mineur dans l'histoire de l'humanisme au Portugal. Néanmoins, par sa précocité, il gagne en importance et en signification, surtout si on le replace dans son contexte. De cette histoire que l'on fait traditionnellement débiter en 1485, date de la venue du Sicilien Cataldo Sículo, appelé par le roi D. João II pour enseigner le latin au prince héritier D. Alfonso et au prince D. Jorge, et autres moços fidalgos, on peut déjà feuilleter quelques pages brillantes, lorsqu'Accursio arrive au Portugal en avril 1527: l'action urbanistique de D. Diogo de Sousa dans son archevêché de Braga au retour de Rome en 1505; l'enseignement de Luís Teixeira, qui a étudié le grec et le latin à Florence auprès d'Angelo Poliziano et qui, à son retour au Portugal en 1515, devint précepteur du prince D. João, futur D. João III; l'ambassade à Rome de D. Miguel da Silva (1515–1525) et les travaux mis en œuvre à son retour à l'embouchure du Douro près de Porto pour en faire une nouvelle Ostie antique; le dialogue *De Platano* de Francisco Rodrigues de Sá, mis en scène en 1527 dans les jardins du monastère de Santo Tirso, avec pour interlocuteurs D. Miguel da Silva et Jorge Coelho. Accursio entre en scène à ce moment précis de l'histoire de l'humanisme au Portugal, juste avant que ne sonne le glas du Sac de Rome.

L'équipée lusitanienne de Mariangelo Accursio, apparemment insouciant, tout au plaisir des découvertes épigraphiques et des nouveaux paysages, n'est pourtant pas dépourvue de nuages. C'est comme une chevauchée, le temps d'une éclaircie, entre deux orages, toujours plus violents. Elle est encadrée par deux désastres frappant la Chrétienté, la victoire en Hongrie de Soliman le Magnifique à la bataille de Mohacs en août 1526 et le Sac de Rome en mai 1527, conséquences directes des guerres intestines des chrétiens en Lombardie. À cela s'ajoute

la menace d'une fracture de la chrétienté avec la Réforme. Accursio en est bien conscient, lui qui vient d'Allemagne où, depuis déjà une dizaine d'années, Luther a enclenché le mouvement de Réforme. La famille de Brandebourg-Ansbach, fidèle au catholicisme et alliée des Habsbourg, donne l'image de cette fracture avec Georg, l'un des frères aînés de son protégé, qui passera du côté de la Réforme. C'est à tout cela que pense Accursio à Saint-Jacques-de-Compostelle.

Accursio commença ainsi, en mars 1527, son voyage lusitanien par une prière à l'apôtre Jacques à Saint-Jacques-de-Compostelle pour demander au 'plus clément des saints', sa protection face au péril turc, suite à la bataille de Mohacs et à la mort de Louis II de Hongrie. Mais un nouveau traumatisme allait profondément ébranler la Chrétienté : le Sac de Rome-Babylone par les mercenaires lansquenets luthériens de l'armée de Charles Quint, Empereur du Saint Empire romain germanique, en mai 1527, alors qu'Accursio est sur le chemin de retour vers Valladolid, où il apprit la nouvelle. En vérité, le Sac de Rome de 1527 relève entièrement d'un conflit entre catholiques, mais beaucoup d'érasmiens et de protestants le verront comme une juste punition de la corruption de la Curie romaine.

Accursio, séjournant en Allemagne pour traiter des affaires de sa ville de L'Aquila, assistera en personne à la consommation de la rupture de la chrétienté lors des réunions de Spire et de Ratisbonne en 1541, 'per cercar alcuna concordia con lutherani'.²³⁸ 'Je crois que tout sera vain' ('credo che sarà tutto vanno'), écrit-il, sans illusions, de Mayence en novembre 1540. En effet, après cette date, on renonça définitivement à tout essai de conciliation, à cette voie médiane chère au cardinal Gaspere Contarini à laquelle on croyait encore à Rome lorsqu'arriva Francisco de Holanda en 1538 et qu'il fréquenta le cénacle de Vittoria Colonna, dominé par la grande figure de Michel-Ange, à San Silvestro al Quirinal.²³⁹

²³⁸ Voir les lettres d'Accursio à son beau-frère Giovanbattista Lucentino de Piccolomini, Mayence, 17 novembre 1540, et Ratisbonne, 13 mars 1541, publiées par Pansa G., «Otto lettere inedite del celebre umanista Mariangelo Accursio», *Bolletino della Società di Storia Patria Anton Ludovico Antinori negli Abruzzi* 5 [serie 2, puntata IV] (1903) 3–60, en particulier 44 et 50.

²³⁹ Deswarte-Rosa S., «Vittoria Colonna und Michelangelo in San Silvestro al Quirinale nach den Gesprächen de Francisco de Holanda», in *Vittoria Colonna, Dichterin und Muse Michelangelos*. Catalogue of an Exhibition held at the Kunsthistorisches Museum of Vienna (Vienna: 1997) 349–380, en particulier 350.

Après Accursio, bien autres partiront à leur tour sur les anciennes voies romaines en ce XVI^e siècle curieux d'antiquité: André de Resende œuvrant à la rédaction de son grand œuvre, *De Antiquitatibus Lusitaniae*; Francisco de Holanda, formé par Resende, emportant à Rome en 1538 dans ses bagages le livre des *Epigrammata Antiquae Urbis* et élaborant son livre de dessins des *Antigualhas*; Élie Vinet, professeur à Coimbra au milieu du siècle, regardant, après Accursio, les pierres de l'ancienne Conimbriga au *Ponte da Atadoa* et, à l'instigation de son ami Pedro Nunes, poussant jusqu'à Évora, riche en antiquités;²⁴⁰ ou encore Gaspar Barreiros, en chemin vers Rome en 1546, notant en Espagne 'tous les lieux sur son chemin, tout sur leurs fondations, leurs noms antiques et leurs transformations',²⁴¹ à la demande de son oncle João de Barros en vue de sa *Geographia de Todo o Universo*; Honorato Juan, maître du prince D. Carlos, appelé par la reine D. Catarina au Portugal en 1564 pour l'éducation de D. Sébastien, regardant avec André de Resende les inscriptions autour de Lisbonne et à Évora; enfin, à la fin du XVI^e siècle, en 1581, un autre passionné d'épigraphie, Bartholomé Bourdelot, venue dans l'ambassade vénitienne de Vincente Tron et Hieronimo Lippomano, faisant le voyage de Lisbonne à Saint-Jacques-de-Compostelle, regardant les mêmes inscriptions qu'Accursio.²⁴² Ceci pour nous limiter à ceux qui ont humé l'air de Lusitanie.

²⁴⁰ Élie Vinet évoque les antiquités d'Évora dans *L'antiquité de Bourdeaux et de Bourg* (Bordeaux: 1565).

²⁴¹ Barreiros, *Chorographia* V: 'todos os lugares d'este meu caminho, com tudo o que acerca de suas fundações, nomes antigos, & mudança d'esses podesse saber'.

²⁴² Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, ms. Regin. Lat. 949; voir Vallejo Girvés M., «Bourdelot: Un viaje diplomatico anticuarista por la península ibérica a finales del siglo XVI», sur le site *CIL* II².

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*Appendice**Quatre épigrammes de Mariangelo Accursio à saint Jacques*Transcription et traduction de Martine Furno.²⁴³*Épigramme 1, fol. 209r*

Sancto Iacobo

Te propter pedibus tantum telluris obivi
 Sancte Pater, votique reus tua limina tango.

A Saint Jacques

Pour toi, j'ai parcouru à pied tant de terres,
 Père Saint, et, débiteur de mon vœu, je touche ton seuil.

Épigramme 2, fol. 209r

Divo Iacobo

Visus adesse pater, qui punica praeteris arma,
 Nunc age, Parthorum, nunc age, pelle minas.
 Hoc opus. Hinc supplex peregrina ad limina templi
 Orbe pererrato femina virque ruit.
 Heu pietas, cesus Pannonis patriamque deosque
 Linqvit dum nempe mutua bella gerunt.
 Sume iterum ferrum. Parthos, aut agmina saltem
 Nostra feri, sacro quod ivuat ense mori.

Au divin Jacques

Père qui as montré ta présence, toi qui négliges les armes puniques,
 Agis maintenant, agis, des Parthes repousse les menaces.
 Tel est ton devoir. C'est pourquoi l'épouse et son époux, en suppliants,
 En pèlerins, après avoir parcouru le monde, se jettent au seuil de ton temple.
 Hélas, pitié! Pannonis abattu abandonne sa patrie et ses dieux,
 Tandis que, n'est-ce pas, on mène des guerres intestines.
 Lève de nouveau le fer. Frappe les Parthes, ou au moins notre armée,
 Car il est bon de mourir sous l'épée sainte.

²⁴³ Nous remercions Martine Furno pour son aide et sa disponibilité.

Épigramme 3, fol. 209r

Iacobo Sancto

Ipsa heu raros nuper Germania natos
 Miserit huc, duri temporis arbitrio.
 Me patrum pietas, me moverit inclyta templi
 Gloria, non ullis interitura modis.
 Tu placidus, cunctisque bonus, da secula tandem
 Pace frui, et nostrae suscipe vota viae.

A Saint Jacques

D'elle-même, hélas, la Germanie aura envoyé rarement de ces fils ici,
 Ces derniers temps, à cause de la dureté de notre époque.
 Pour moi, c'est la piété envers mes pères qui m'aura mis en marche,
 c'est du temple
 la gloire éclatante, qui ne peut périr d'aucune façon.
 Toi le paisible, bon envers tous, donne à notre siècle enfin
 De jouir de la paix, et accomplis le vœu de notre pèlerinage.

Épigramme 4, fol. 209v

Iacobo divorum clementissimo

Dum cadit (heu) Thracum ferro flammisque furentum
 Pannonia, et regem tanta ruina rapit,
 Quos ego pro patria implorem? Quae numina poscam?
 Ni tua, magne parens, spesque decusque hominum.
 Hinc supplex venio per tot discrimina, saltem
 Ne pereat Divorum cum patria pietas.

A Jacques le plus clément des saints

Tandis que tombe, hélas, sous le fer et les flammes des Thraces en fureur
 la Pannonie, et que son roi est entraîné dans une telle ruine,
 Qui puis-je implorer pour ma patrie? Quelle puissance invoquer,
 Si ce n'est la tienne, père immense, espoir et ornement du genre
 humain?
 Ainsi je viens en suppliant, à travers tant de périls, pour au moins éviter
 qu'avec la patrie ne disparaisse le culte des saints.

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BUILDING UP NETWORKS OF KNOWLEDGE:
PRINTING AND COLLECTING BOOKS IN THE AGE OF
HUMANISM IN THE UNIVERSITY CITY OF COIMBRA

Ricarda Musser

The introduction of the printing press in the middle of the 15th century led to easier access to books and a considerable increase of the stocks, both in private and institutional libraries. The purpose of this article is to show the first recorded instances of the introduction of this new technique in Portugal and to investigate how printing, selling and collecting books took place in the 16th century at the University City of Coimbra. Coimbra was chosen as an example because in this city, the diversity of libraries and library types was especially high due to the University and the large number of scholars working there, on the one hand, and the number of convents and religious institutions located there, on the other hand. Although in the last years some studies on the book and printing history have been published, fundamental studies on the Portuguese library history of the early modern period are still due.¹ For this reason, the present article is meant as an invitation to engage in further research in this area.

The Age of the Incunabula

Compared to other European Countries, letterpress printing was established relatively late in Portugal.² Printed books, however, were introduced somewhat earlier. Alfonso V (1432/1449–1481) was probably the first Portuguese king who included printed books in his library. In Portugal, the first printed book which has survived was produced by Samuel Gacon in Faro on 30th June 1487.³ It was a Pentateuch in

¹ Cf. Anselmo A., *Estudos de História do Livro* (Lisbon: 1997); Hendrich Y., *Valentim Fernandes – Ein deutscher Buchdrucker in Portugal um die Wende vom 15. zum 16. Jahrhundert und sein Umkreis* (Frankfurt a.M.: 2007).

² From Germany, printing spread over the whole of Europe, reaching Italy in 1464, France in 1470 and Spain in 1473.

³ Cf. Anselmo A., “Os primeiros impressores que trabalharam em Portugal”, *Revista da Biblioteca Nacional* 2 (1987) 7.

Hebrew script. Both Lisbon and Leiria housed Jewish printing presses.⁴ The texts produced in these workshops were above all intended for Jewish religious education: biblical texts, commentaries on the Pentateuch and the Talmud, prayer books and liturgical books for synagogues. These printing shops are not known to have produced any works of original Portuguese literature or historical description. A decade after the introduction of printing, more than 15 works had been printed of a remarkably high quality. However, due to the expulsion of the Jews from Portugal in 1496, Jewish printing was soon brought to a brutal end and a decree in 1497 even forbade the use of Hebrew characters for printing.⁵

The first book printed in Latin script in Portugal dates from the year 1489.⁶ It was discovered in a private library as recently as 1965 and later acquired by the National Library. It is a treatise on confession, *Tratado de Confissom*, and its colophon states that it was completed on 8th August 1489 in the town of Chaves: 'se acabou na uila de chaues aos oyto dias do mes de agosto. Ano mill e quatroçêtos e oytenta e noue anos'.⁷ This is the only known *incunabulum* from Chaves, a small city in the north of Portugal situated on the pilgrim trail to Santiago de Compostela. The name of the printer is unknown. He was probably a wandering printer from Spain, in all likelihood from the Salamanca area, as the Gothic script he used, suggests.⁸

Another Portuguese *incunabulum*, however, may be even older than the *Tratado de Confissom*: the *Sacramental* composed by Clemente Sanchez de Vercial between 1421 and 1423. A copy from possibly the earliest print run is preserved in the National Library in Rio de Janeiro. Inocêncio Francisco da Silva's referred to this or a similar sacramental in his *Dicionário Bibliográfico Português* from 1876. According to the details given by da Silva, a print with this title existed, which was released on 18th April 1488.⁹ Whether or not the volume which is to be found in the National Library of Brazil is a copy from this print

⁴ Cf. Anselmo, "Os primeiros impressores" 8.

⁵ Ibidem 10.

⁶ Cf. Pina Martins J.V., "O primeiro livro impresso em Portugal (Tratado de Confissom, 1489)", *Revista da Biblioteca Nacional* 2 (1987) 161.

⁷ Pina Martins J.V., "O primeiro incunábulo português", *Diário de Notícias* (25.05.1965) 7.

⁸ Cf. Hendrich, *Valentim Fernandes* 66–67.

⁹ Cf. Horch R.E., "O primeiro livro impresso em português, um depoimento: os caminhos percorridos para comprovar a sua existência", *Revista da Biblioteca Nacional* 2 (1987) 35.

run cannot be stated with certainty as the last few pages, and thus the colophon, are missing.

Surprisingly, among the surviving Portuguese *incunabula* editions only nine are in Latin. The first of them, the *Breviarium Bracarense*, was produced in 1494. Apart from religious texts, works on astronomy, grammar and literature also were printed in Latin. At the workshop of Abraão d'Orta in Leria the *Almanach Perpetuum* appeared, which was written originally in Hebrew (1478) by the astronomer Abraham ben Schmucl Zacuth, who came to Portugal after the expulsion of the Jews from Spain in 1492.¹⁰ The work, first translated into Spanish in the 80s, was of major importance for seafarers of the countries of the Iberian Peninsula.

The three parts of the *Grāmatica Pastrane* were published in 1497 in the workshop of Valentim Fernandes in Lisbon.¹¹ They were conceived for the teaching of Latin.¹² The latest *incunabulum* in the Latin language are the *Epistole et Orationes quedam Cataldi Siculi*, published in 1500 which also were produced in the workshop of Valentim Fernandes. They contain several correspondences, including some letters written by Giovanni Cataldo for the Portuguese kings João II and Manuel I (addressed to foreign monarchs), as well as several speeches of the Sicilian humanist.

The small number of *incunabula* in Latin language may indeed seem surprising.¹³ One should bear in mind, however, that the market for writings in Latin was relatively small and the books that some scholars might have needed could also be imported from other countries. This market situation could have led to the decision in favour of printing in Portuguese, rather than in Latin. In the first part of the *Vita Christi*, published in 1495, Valentim Fernandes, the most significant printer at the turn of the 15th to 16th century, writes on the patroness Queen Leonor's preference of the vernacular language:

Since [...] she recognises that there are in the kingdoms many more of those who only understand the popular language, than of those who

¹⁰ Cf. Anselmo, A., "Incunábulo português em Latim (1494–1500)", *Humanitas* 31–32, 171.

¹¹ The place and year of printing are missing from the first part of the *Grāmatica* (= *Thesaurus pauperum siue Speculum puerorum*), in the other two parts, the year 1497 is mentioned in the colophon.

¹² Further editions were published in 1502 and 1512.

¹³ Of course, the possibility that other printings were produced in the 15th century is not excluded. However, there is no reliable evidence about it so far.

understand Latin [...] she ordered, involving large expenditures from her possessions, to print the four volumes of the *Vita Christi* in the Portuguese mother tongue, in service of our Lord and for the general welfare.¹⁴

Among those who benefited from the publication of works in Portuguese were also numerous clerics. Clearly there were only a few priests who mastered Latin. They numbered so few, in fact, that from the 14th century onward the Archbishop of Braga added a clause to the Diocesan Ordinances that freed priests from the obligation of understanding the Latin prayers and hymns of the Holy Mass.¹⁵ Most of the religious texts printed in the 15th century appeared in the vernacular.

The majority of printed works were financed by those commissioning them, church authorities, the crown or private individuals. In this context, the earliest surviving contract between an author and a printer relating to the production of a text dates back to 1497 and was made between Valentim Fernandes and Pedro Rombo. Printing shops in the 15th century also took on the function of bookbinders and book shops, while some printers also worked as block-cutters or engravers.

The most significant geographical centre of non-Jewish printing activity in the age of the *incunabula* was Lisbon, where financially strong customers lived, for example members of the royal house and university scholars. Although substantially less significant, another centre of printing in the 15th century was the Archdiocese of Braga, to which the city of Chaves belonged. An example of a Braga print is the *Breviarium Bracarense* by João Gherlinc. Also the first book printed by a Portuguese printer, Rodrigo Álvares, was ordered by the Diocese of Braga and it was a Church Ordinance (1497).¹⁶

Printing in the 16th Century

During the 16th century, the number of printed books steadily increased. The most important fields were theology, law, grammar,

¹⁴ 'E visto como nestes regnos som muyto mais os vulgares que os que a lingua latina conhecem [...] mandou estâpar e de forma fazer em lingoa materna e portuges linguagem [...] com muyta dispesa de sua fazenda: por seruiço de nosso senhor e porueito comuõ', see Hendrich, *Valentim Fernandes* 75.

¹⁵ Cf. Anselmo, "Os primeiros impressores" 9.

¹⁶ Ibidem 11. Up to this point, printing workshops, with exception of the Jewish printing establishments, had been run exclusively by foreigners.

mathematics, medicine and literature. In addition information about the New World discovered by Portuguese and Spanish explorers spread quickly thanks to the printed word, and the same is true for the exploration of Africa and Asia. Already by the end of 1506, for example, a work with the title *Gesta Proxime per Portugalenses in India, Ethiopia et aliis Orientalibus Terris*, describing Francisco de Almeida's expedition to India (25th March 1505–23rd May 1506), appeared in the workshop of Johann Besicken in Rome. In the following year, the work was published in German in Cologne and Nuremberg.¹⁷ There are other examples of books on the discoveries, which appeared sooner abroad than in Portugal; such is the case with the compilation *Paesi Novamente Retrovati* by Francanzio da Montalboddo, which drew on several expedition reports and was first published in Vicenza in 1507, and by 1508 had already been translated into Latin, German and probably into French too.¹⁸ Nevertheless, the printers' workshops in Portugal also contributed to the increased distribution of knowledge about the New World. An example is the grammar of the Tupi language by Father José de Anchieta – *Arte de Grammatica da lingoa mais usada na Costa do Brasil* – printed in 1595 in Coimbra, which was an important tool for the Jesuit mission in Brazil. Without doubt, Latin, as the *lingua franca* of the time, contributed to the rapid spread of the new findings among Europe's scholars. In the preface of the first Latin edition of his work *De duobus problematis circa navigandi artem* (1566), the cosmographer and mathematician Pedro Nunes explains why he had his work translated into Latin: in order to safeguard that scientific discussion on his book could take place also outside the borders of his country.¹⁹

It was only from the middle of the 16th century onwards that Printers' and Booksellers' Guilds began to diverge. Until then printing and selling books had mostly been in the same hands. Luís Rodrigues, for example, had earned the money to open a printshop as the King's Bookseller, and it was in this role that he was mentioned for the first time in 1533 in a decree of King João III.²⁰ As the King's Bookseller he

¹⁷ Cf. Anselmo A., *Livros e Mentalidades* (Lisbon: 2002) 49.

¹⁸ Ibidem 52.

¹⁹ Cf. Silva L.P., "A primeira edição dos tratados latinos sobre a Arte de Navegar, de Pedro Nunes", *Anais das Bibliotecas e Arquivos* 6 (1921) 99.

²⁰ Cf. Anselmo A., "O livreiro Luis Rodrigues", *Cadernos de Biblioteconomia, Arquivística e Documentação* 1 (1992) 89.

had the right to publish and distribute the decrees and orders of the kingdom, *Ordenações do Reino*. These comprised print runs of some 1,000 copies each.²¹ Rodrigues charged Germão Galharde's printing shop with the task of producing the 1533 edition, and Johann Cronberger in Seville received the commission for the 1539 edition. The unaltered print run of the newest editions of the *Corpus Juris* can be explained by the fact that whenever the Royal house decided to reprint the *Ordenações* it ordered the destruction all older editions.²² By around 1539, Luís Rodrigues was printing the administrative regulations of the county courts, *Regimento [dos] Contadores das Comarcas*, already in his own workshop. His printer's shop was to become one of those which would contribute most to the progress of the art of printing in Portugal. The approximately 50 works which it produced included a considerable number of items with a clear humanist signature, written for example by João de Barros, André de Resende, Damião de Góis, or Desiderius Erasmus.²³

Royal concessions for the printing and distribution of books were bestowed from the beginning of the 16th century in Portugal. In the case of *The Travels of Marco Polo*, printed in 1502 in Lisbon, the royal concession dictated, for example, that no-one was allowed to reprint or sell the book without the permission of Valentim Fernandes, without further statements on the period of validity of the concession.²⁴

Since the appointment of Cardinal Dom Henrique as Grand Inquisitor on 22nd June 1539, the Inquisition practiced both prior- and post-censorship and exerted thereby considerable influence on the intellectual life²⁵ of Portugal.²⁶ Concerning religious works, the Inquisition was not content with determining whether a work was unobjectionable with regard to religion and good morals, but also made recommendations for individual works with respect to their usage.

²¹ The 1st and 2nd editions of the *Ordenações* were printed from 1512 to 1514 by Valentim Fernandes. King Manuel I paid for the work in nutmeg and pepper.

²² Cf. Anselmo, "Luís Rodrigues" 90.

²³ Cf. *ibidem* 93.

²⁴ Cf. Anselmo, *Livros* 72.

²⁵ About the possibilities of influencing the university cf. Dias J.S. d. S., *A Política Cultural da Época de D. João III* (Coimbra: 1969) 964–969.

²⁶ In the course of the 16th century, two more instances of censorship came along: from 1564 onwards an Episcopal permission had to be obtained before printing and according to a law by King Sebastião from 4th December 1576 it was also necessary to have permission to print from the Desembargo do Paço.

Such was the case, for example, with the *Imagem da Vida Cristã* by Heitor Pinto, the Portuguese book which experienced the biggest number of print runs in the 16th century.²⁷ Unfortunately, there are no statistics for the number of works rejected by the Inquisition. On the orders of the Grand Inquisitor Cardinal Dom Henrique, the first printed list of forbidden books appeared in Portugal in 1551.²⁸ The first part of this Index refers to a print from Leuven in 1546. In its second part, 12 books in Portuguese are listed, which were forbidden to be read or printed. All in all, the prior censorship seems to have been implemented with great 'success', since there are very few titles printed in Portugal and its colonies among the above mentioned or among those in the following Indices of 1561, 1564 and 1581.²⁹ From 1580 onward there are several indications showing that the Commissions operating in Spain and Portugal were interested in consistent decision-making. Nevertheless, numerous works that had been placed on the Index in Spain circulated in Portugal, some of them even with the permission of the Portuguese Inquisition authorities.³⁰

*Printing, Selling and Collecting Books in the University
City of Coimbra*

The art of printing found its way to Coimbra relatively late. The printer Germão Galharde,³¹ a Frenchman by origin, who worked since 1519 in Lisbon, installed the city's first printing press in the monastery of Santa Cruz in the year 1530.³² The first print produced on his press was the *Repertório para se acharem as materias no livro Espelho da*

²⁷ There are 19 known Portuguese editions of this two-volume work, of which 13 were printed in 16th century.

²⁸ A first Index from 1547 remained in hand-written form.

²⁹ According to Bujanda J.M. de (ed.), *Index de l'Inquisition Portugaise* (Sherbrooke: 1995) 778, 780, 782 there where 11 titles printed in Lisbon, 5 in Coimbra, 4 in Évora and 1 in Goa.

³⁰ Cf. Bujanda J.M. de, "Censura portuguesa y censura española", in Barreto L.F. et alii (eds.), *Inquisição Portuguesa. Tempo, Razão e Circunstâncias* (Lisbon-São Paulo: 2007) 457.

³¹ Also Germam Galhardo, probably both Portuguese versions of the name Germain Gaillard.

³² Cf. Pina Martins J.V. de, "Um opúsculo de medicina desconhecido pelo bibliógrafo editado em Lisboa por Germão Galharde: Modus curandi cum balsamo, Lisboa, c. 1530", *Revista da Biblioteca Nacional* 2 (1987) 18.

Conciência. In 1531 it was followed by the *Breuiarium secundum usum ecclesiae sanctae colimbriensis*. Printing activities were continued by the monks of the monastery of Santa Cruz in the years to follow until 1577 when the press was removed to the São Vicente de Fora monastery in Lisbon.

As a result of the permanent location of the University in Coimbra in 1537, the need for books in this city greatly increased, and there were good opportunities for printers to earn a living there. After Galharde, some of the first printers were João de Barreira and João Álvarez. The latter received the commission from the Rector of the University, Diogo de Murça, to collect the printing press which had been approved by King João III from Lisbon and install it in Coimbra. This press produced works such as the first volume of the *Historia do descobrimento e conquista da Índia pelos portugueses* by Fernão Lopes de Castanheda in 1551.³³

Another printing workshop which achieved importance was that of António de Mariz, who produced more than 90 works between 1556 and 1599 in addition to the large number of dissertations for which, as official university printer, he held the royal concession.³⁴ He took over this position from his father-in-law João de Barreira. The clarity and accuracy of his typesetting demonstrate that he was one of the best Portuguese printers of the 16th century.

As was the case with printing, bookselling in Coimbra also experienced a boom from the 1530s onwards. As early as 30th June 1531, Afonso Gonçalves made a delivery of books worth 100 Cruzados to the prior of Santa Cruz monastery, for which he received in exchange 300 brevaries with the condition that he was to undertake the necessary accounting within a period of five years and to pay to the monastery any proceeds from the sale over and above the amount of 100 Cruzados.³⁵ This bartering with books remained for a long time the most important form of trading in Europe. It was only in the 19th century that it was fully brought to an end by the system of nett trade. The booksellers of the city who held a royal concession were obliged to

³³ Cf. Anselmo, *Livros* 58.

³⁴ Cf. Bandeira A.M.L., "Contrato com António de Mariz para impressão da obra do P.e Sebastião Barradas. Um caso de parceria de edição em 1597", *Cadernos de Biblioteconomia, Arquivística e Documentação* 3 (1995) 45.

³⁵ Cf. Carvalho T., "Livraria do Mosteiro de Santa Cruz de Coimbra", *Boletim Bibliográfico da Biblioteca da Universidade de Coimbra* 3 (1916) 79.

keep in their shops at all times a stock of the texts which were needed for university teaching.

Books produced abroad were also of great importance for the university tutors, which can be taken as evidence that the Portuguese academics of the time were well connected with the European network of knowledge exchange. Many of them had studied in France, Spain, Italy or the Netherlands and corresponded with scholars beyond the borders of their own country, both by private correspondence and reading the newest books. There seems to have been a messenger who travelled regularly between Salamanca and Coimbra and supplied the professors of each city with books from the other.³⁶ From Italy, where he had been sent to recruit new teaching staff for Coimbra, the University Secretary, Diogo de Azevedo Coutinho, reported on 26th October 1546 that the humanists with whom he had come into contact had encouraged him to travel home via Lyon and Bordeaux in order to purchase books in both cities.³⁷

In the age of handwritten manuscripts, it was generally necessary to limit the number of books necessary for study at university to a minimum. In the age of Humanism, the spirit of studying changed fundamentally. The humanists regarded the printed book as an important means to broaden and refresh their range of knowledge and they started to study individually, outside the university curricula.

Up to the beginning of the 16th century, there is no definite evidence that the University of Lisbon had its own library.³⁸ There are only some notes on the private libraries of the professors who here and there had requested help from the King or the University authorities to transport their books to the place at which they were to lecture.³⁹ Only in the year 1513 do we find the first sign of the existence of a library for students. On 17th February of this year, a document records the receipt of 58 volumes bequeathed by the tutor for Canon Law, Diogo Lopes, who had been active at the university from 1506 to

³⁶ Cf. Madahil A.G. de R., "A Biblioteca da Universidade de Coimbra e as suas marcas bibliográficas", *Boletim da Biblioteca da Universidade de Coimbra* 10 (1932) 177.

³⁷ Ibidem 178.

³⁸ The University was founded in 1288 by King Dinis in Lisbon and licenced in 1290 by Pope Nicholas IV, after several changes of location, between Lisbon and Coimbra, it was finally established in 1537 in Coimbra.

³⁹ Cf. Carvalho T., "Pedro de Mariz e a Livraria da Universidade de Coimbra", *Boletim Bibliográfico da Biblioteca da Universidade de Coimbra* 1 (1914) 398.

1508.⁴⁰ His library – relatively substantial for the time – was added to the 70 volumes the library already possessed. The unsatisfactory housing of this library – in a ground-level building with insecure walls and a leaky roof – would continue to be a topic of discussion until 1535.⁴¹ Despite this situation, extensive and permanent improvements do not seem to have been forthcoming in Lisbon.

On 1st June 1536, an inventory of this library was made in order to list the books that were to be transferred to Coimbra.⁴² The majority of the listed works were then manuscripts, with only a few printed books. In terms of subject matter, they were mostly writings and commentaries in the field of Canon Law.

The library in Coimbra is first mentioned again in 1541, when King João III commanded, in a letter dated 17th June, that shelves should be built for it, and that a building should be selected to house the books. It is, however, not certain whether all the books from the Lisbon collection actually arrived in Coimbra. It is assumed that the library at the Santa Cruz monastery was also in use by professors and students at this time, the more so since part of the university teaching took place in the monastery. Teixeira de Carvalho highlights, for example, the monasteries wealth of 16th century books in the field of Mathematics.⁴³

On 25th April 1545 King João III appointed by royal edict Fernão Lopes de Castanheda, Beadle of the Liberal Arts Faculty, to the position of Supervisor of the University Writing Room and Library.⁴⁴ He seems to have been the first to be appointed to this position. In 1548 he also took over the supervision of the university printing press. Teófilo Braga postulated that the 1544 university statutes (missing nowadays) once contained, for the first time, a description of the daily routine of the library. However, there is no actual proof of this. Surviving statutes from that time from other universities, such as Bologna, Leuven, Montpellier and Paris, do not give such information.⁴⁵

Throughout the 16th century, books bequeathed in wills and gifts from professors remained the most important factor for the expansion

⁴⁰ Braga T., *Historia da Universidade de Coimbra nas suas relações com a instrução pública portuguesa. I: 1289–1555* (Lisbon: 1892) 418.

⁴¹ Cf. Carvalho, “Pedro de Mariz” 535–539.

⁴² Cf. Braga, *Historia da Universidade* 420–429.

⁴³ Cf. Carvalho, “Livraria do Mosteiro de Santa Cruz” 73.

⁴⁴ Cf. Madahil, “A Biblioteca da Universidade de Coimbra” 170.

⁴⁵ Cf. Madahil, “A Biblioteca da Universidade de Coimbra” 181.

of university library stocks. Thus it is most probable that the private library of the Italian Law professor Fabio Arca, who had taught at Coimbra since 1547 and died on 10th June 1554, was acquired by the University. The Rector Diogo de Murça suggests this in any case in a letter to King João III, writing:

The said Doctor had a very good library and in it there are some books on jurisprudence which are not even available yet in our country, and of which it is said that they are most important: they should be purchased for the university library, they would not cost much, but would be useful.⁴⁶

Via other important professors at Coimbra, it can quite reasonably be assumed that other books also found their way into the library in a similar manner. However, we do not possess documentary evidence of this process. Some private libraries of professors such as the one owned by the rector Diogo de Murça, passed into the possession of religious orders of which the scholars were members.

Diogo de Murça took his vows on 22nd May 1513 at the Hieronymite monastery of Penha Longa in Sintra. He studied at the Universities of Salamanca, Paris and Leuven and gained his doctorate in theology at the latter on 27th May 1533. After his return to Portugal he was initially active at the monastery of Penha Longa and later at the monastery of Santa Marinha da Costa in Guimarães. At both locations he led the monastic colleges, where he worked together with (Portuguese) humanists who had also studied abroad. Between 1543 and 1555 he was Rector at the University of Coimbra. He died in 1561. A very limited inventory of his private library has survived; Joaquim de Carvalho was able to provide bibliographical identification for a number of the works listed.⁴⁷ The inventory consists of a total of 284 entries. Diogo de Murça seems to have been a fervent admirer of Desiderius Erasmus having in his library copies his works, commentaries and translations. He – Diogo de Murça – also appears to have had great interest in the works of Guillaume Budé and Juan Luis Vives and in those of the polemicists Jacques Lefèvre d'Étaples, Josse van Clichtove and Noël Béda. The presence of the works of John Major in his

⁴⁶ 'Ficou do dito doctor hua livreria muito boa e nella há alguma livros de leis que ainda não vyerão a esta terra e dizem que são dimportancia: parece que estes se deviam de comprar para a livreria da Universidade que nom custarão muito e serão proveitosos', see Madahil, "A Biblioteca da Universidade de Coimbra" 179.

⁴⁷ Cf. Carvalho J., "A Livreria dum letrado de século XVI: Frei Diogo de Murça", *Boletim da Biblioteca da Universidade de Coimbra* 8 (1927) 4–26.

collection shows that he also came in contact with Nominalism. The writings of the Church Fathers are also present in several editions in his library. By way of contrast scholastic works are hardly represented, Albertus Magnus, Thomas Aquinas, Guilielmus Durandus and John Duns Scotus being the only exceptions. Grammars and commentaries from the first quarter of the 16th century show Diogo de Murça's preoccupation with Hellenic studies. The years, dates and places of printing indicated show that Diogo de Murça had collected the biggest part of his library during his study abroad; the places of printing include Paris, Antwerp, Leuven, Basel and Cologne. Once back in Portugal, he participated in the development of science in his homeland. He was interested, for example, in the writings of Pedro Nunes; Nunes' *De crepusculis liber unus*, printed in 1542 by Luís Rodrigues in Lisbon, formed part of his private collection.

Unfortunately no inventory survives of the private library of the well known mathematician and cosmographer Pedro Nunes, but it is known that he must have owned a significant collection of books. Pedro Nunes studied Mathematics and Medicine until 1526 in Lisbon and then continued his studies at Salamanca and Alcalá de Henares. After his return to Portugal, he engaged in teaching Moral Philosophy and Logic at the University, from January 1530, and from 1531 on he taught also Metaphysics. After obtaining his doctoral degree in Medicine in 1532, he was Teacher of Mathematics to the King's younger brothers. In 1544 he took up teaching at the University again. Until 1562, he taught Mathematics at Coimbra. After his death in 1578, his library and estate were dispersed. Nowadays, only four volumes survive which bear his mark. These include one copy each of the *Tabule directionum profectionumque* by Johannes Müller from Königsberg (Regiomontanus), *De astrolabo catholico* by Jemme Reinersz, the *Ephemerides* by Giovanni Battista Carelli and a collective volume with *De motu octavae sphaerae* by Agostino Ricci and *Adversus novam Marci Beneventani Astronomiam* by Albertus Pighius. Nunes' library must, however, have contained a large number of books that were required for his study:

Although the Portuguese cosmographer never hesitated to express his dissatisfaction about many things [...] he never complained of a lack of books or of the difficulty of acquiring them.⁴⁸

⁴⁸ 'De facto, embora o cosmógrafo português nunca tenha hesitado em deixar expresso o seu descontentamento face a muitos aspectos [...] curiosamente nunca

It may be assumed that mathematicians and cosmographers sent him their works, and also that booksellers and publishers offered him new releases which were of specific interest. Henrique Leitão makes an interesting attempt to reconstruct Nunes' library through the quotations, commentaries and reviews that are found in his works. Although it is impossible with this method to reconstruct Nunes' entire library, certain trends can be demonstrated. While he hardly ever quotes the works of Scholastics, with exception of some brief mentions of Albertus Magnus, he preferred antique and humanistic texts of the 15th and 16th centuries. Most frequently he quoted Euclid's *Elements* and Ptolemy's *Almagest*. In his study of Astronomy, he was most influenced by the "Nuremberg School" and consulted the works of Georg von Peurbach and Johannes Müller as well as Johannes Werner, Johannes Schöner and Johannes Stöffler. With regard to Algebra he mostly made use of the works of his Italian contemporaries. Introductory and popular works seem to have played no part in his reading.⁴⁹

As the University Library did not achieve more significance throughout the 16th century, scholars had to rely on their private collections. In 1573 King Sebastião repeated the wish to establish a library which would be worthy of a university.⁵⁰

The statutes of the University from 1591 finally made an attempt to implement in the library a kind of systematic order. The chapter "On the University library and its Supervision" determines, amongst other things, that the supervision of the library should be undertaken by a person who knew Latin, Greek and Hebrew.⁵¹

The library should be open each teaching day in the summer from 7 am to 10 am and from 3 pm to 6 pm, in the winter from 8 am to 11 am and from 2 pm to 5 pm, and accessible also to other persons than university professors and students. The books should be ordered on the shelves and in the bookcases according to faculty; to prevent theft, they were to be chained to the reading lecterns.

Once a year the library would be inspected by the Rector of the University and by the tutors; every third year, 100 Cruzados should

se queixou de falta de livros ou de dificuldade em adquiri-los', see Leitão H., "Pedro Nunes, leitor de textos antigos e modernos", in Nascimento A.A. (ed.), *Pedro Nunes e Damião de Góis. Dois rostos do humanismo português* (Lisbon: 2002) 33.

⁴⁹ Cf. *ibidem* 49.

⁵⁰ Cf. Carvalho, "Pedro de Mariz" 393.

⁵¹ Cf. Madahil, "A Biblioteca da Universidade de Coimbra" 186.

be spent for the acquisition of new books.⁵² The 1597 Statutes of the University mostly repeat the provisions of 1591. No changes are to be made to the operation or the organisation of the library. However there is an addition to the guidelines above whereby the Rector is made responsible for the acquisition of new books every three years.⁵³ An inventory of the library from this time would be an excellent source of information for the history of ideas and for showing the links between Portuguese science and that of the rest of the European continent. Unfortunately no such catalogue of the Coimbra University Library in the 16th century has survived.

From the beginning of the 17th century, accounting records show evidence of the extensive acquisition of books from abroad. Shortly after the university was reopened following the devastation of the plague, an acquisition contract of this kind was signed with the Scholar of Canon Law, Pedro de Mariz, proof-reader at the university printing press and library supervisor, on 19th May 1601.⁵⁴ So as not to lose touch with scientific developments in Europe, he was charged with acquiring books in Italy – Venice is explicitly mentioned. The expenditure was to come to a total of 500 Milréis.

Although the contract determined that the books should arrive at the University within a year – or that after a year the University would no longer be obliged to take the books off Pedro de Mariz's hands – their arrival in Lisbon and the completion of a part of the bookbinding work is only announced by the agent António Pinheiro on 25th September 1602. On 19th October of the same year, their receipt at the University is registered but there is unfortunately no list of titles. It is also impossible to say with certainty where exactly the books were bought, although Venice and Lyon are mentioned.

Despite the clear provisions laid out in the University Statutes, the further development of the library was not an unqualified success. Due to the growing book stocks and increased numbers of students, the question was raised again and again whether it would not be better if the library were housed in a building of its own. In 1597 the Rector of the University, Afonso Furtado de Mendonça, for the first time

⁵² Similar regulations from this time also existed for other European universities. In Salamanca too the library was open in the morning and evening while the university was in session and book stocks were inspected annually by the rector.

⁵³ Cf. Madahil, "A Biblioteca da Universidade de Coimbra" 191.

⁵⁴ Cf. Madahil, "A Biblioteca da Universidade de Coimbra" 196–199.

turned to King Philip II with a request for money for a new library building. This request was expressed repeatedly throughout the whole of the 17th century but it was not until 17th July 1717 that work on the construction of a library building began.

The example of the University Library of Coimbra in the 16th century illustrates how difficult it apparently was to get a systematic and continuous collection development under way, even though the number of printed books was constantly growing and access to them was relatively easy. In the 16th century, the most important means of increasing the university libraries were still donations and the professors' legacies. This also means that the libraries of the scholars were of major importance. In the 16th century, private libraries of the scholars clearly benefited from the new technique and their stocks increased substantially. European networks, in which Portuguese university graduates were involved by pursuing studies abroad, by their teaching and research activities, and scholarly correspondences, led to a continuous circulation of new knowledge, assisted by their usage of Latin as *lingua franca* of scholarship and science. As the example of the University Library of Coimbra demonstrates, institutional libraries profited from these scholarly networks.

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DIOGO DE TEIVE'S *INSTITUTIO SEBASTIANI PRIMI*
AND THE RECEPTION OF ERASMUS' WORKS IN PORTUGAL

Catarina Barceló Fouto

Erasmianism in Portugal has been the subject of research by prominent scholars. Their work was understandably influenced for many years by Marcel Bataillon who, in his (still important) books, tended to overestimate the influence of Erasmus.¹ The two volumes of Silva Dias' *Correntes de Sentimento Religioso* are a good example of this. Nonetheless, the complex nature of Erasmianism and its reception in Portugal was demonstrated by Pina Martins, Moreira de Sá and J. Osório. Yet, a lot remains to be done. Namely, a revised overview of Erasmianism in Portugal, based on factual evidence and in-depth analysis, is much needed, and to this task both historians and scholars of literature and religion should actively contribute. It would be relevant to assess to what extent the practicalities of managing the overseas Empire and the empirical experiences of the aristocratic and cultural elite may have decisively contributed to the difficulty of accepting and promoting certain aspects of Erasmus' ecumenism in Portugal. A different, but yet also important, field of research is that of understanding the reception of Erasmus in Portugal in the wider context of European culture. Was Portugal's peripheral location in any way determinant? And what was the real importance of personal contacts between Portuguese and European humanists and of the international book market to the reception of Erasmus in Portugal?

A recent and good example of the interest in Erasmianism in Portugal is Ramada Curto's article on a Portuguese translation of Erasmus' *Moriae Encomium* of the turn of the seventeenth century.² In his article, Ramada Curto analyses the way in which the *Moriae Encomium* was read in Portugal, as well as the mechanisms and ideological guidelines that limited the production of translations into Portuguese.

¹ Bataillon M., *Erasmus y el erasmismo* (2nd ed., Barcelona: 1983); also, idem, *Érasme et l'Espagne, recherches sur l'histoire spirituelle du XVI^e siècle* (new revised ed. Geneva: 1991).

² Ramada Curto D., "Os Louvores da Parvoíce", *Revista Península* 1 (2004) 191–200.

In this paper, a different but similarly interesting example of the reception of Erasmus in Portugal will be presented: Diogo de Teive's *Institutio Sebastiani Primi*. The humanist Diogo de Teive is one of the most renowned Neo-Latin authors of sixteenth-century Portugal, and his *Institutio Sebastiani Primi* is a poem in iambic trimeters offering advice to the tutor of the prince on how to educate the future king (Sebastião, 1554–1578). Although the title may suggest so, Teive did not translate Erasmus' *Institutio principis Christiani*, but used it as a guideline for the structural organisation of his *Institutio Sebastiani Primi*. I will argue, however, that despite the similar structure of the two works and the obvious coincidences in the order of appearance and use of classical authorities and similes, Teive should not be called an Erasmian. The differences in tone and in content between the two texts are significant. Instead of the highly polemical and heterodox content of Erasmus' work, Teive presents to his reader the image of an orthodox Catholic monarchy at a time when the winds of Counter-Reformation were blowing in Europe. If Teive complies with orthodoxy, why did he choose Erasmus' *Institutio principis Christiani* as his textual model? There was abundant literature in Portugal at that time on the topic of the education of princes and on the idea of good government.³ In this article, it will be argued that Erasmus was accepted by the Portuguese cultural elite as a prestigious literary and linguistic model, despite being criticised for his heterodox religious views. In order to demonstrate the acceptance of Erasmus as a literary and philological model in Portugal, different material will be discussed: the liminary texts of the editions of Erasmus published in Portugal; the exemplars of sixteenth-century editions of Erasmus' works nowadays preserved in Portuguese libraries; and the Latin-Portuguese dictionary of Jerónimo Cardoso. The Portuguese case will be compared to the Spanish and the Italian ones, so as to ascertain any similar or different trends in the reception of Erasmus in Portugal.

³ Buescu A., *Imagens do príncipe: discurso normativo e representação (1525–49)* (Lisbon: 1996).

Diogo de Teive

Teive's *Epodon sive Iambicorum libri tres* confirms the return of the Portuguese humanist to Lisbon, to the very heart of the political scene of the court. Like so many humanists of his day, Teive travelled extensively during his life. The young Diogo left his motherland at the age of twelve to study abroad at the Collège de Saint-Barbe, where Portuguese scholars were educated thanks to the grants awarded by King João III. Teive's father was keen that his son should not read Theology, and against the wish of the principal, Diogo de Gouveia Senior, Teive headed to Salamanca to study civil Law between 1532–34. He was disappointed – he felt there was insufficient knowledge of Greek at the University, and decided to return to France: in Toulouse he continued the study of Law but met with financial difficulties for he was no longer entitled to his scholarship. The growing tension between Charles V and Emperor Francis I led to the persecution of Spaniards in Toulouse. Since Portuguese and Spaniards were often confused, Teive felt endangered, and he gladly accepted André de Gouveia's (1497–1548) invitation to teach at the Collège de la Guyenne, in Bordeaux, in 1536, of which he was the principal. Teive taught both grammar and rhetoric at the highest level, while continuing his studies of Greek and Law. In 1538 he went to Paris, where he made contact with the *lecteurs royaux* of the Collège Royal. After a short trip to Gascony, where Teive prepared the sons of two noblemen for entry to the University, he returned to Paris, but soon left for Montauban (in the summer of 1541), again to teach in the university. This teaching post allowed him to pay for his future studies of Law at the University of Poitiers (1542). A year later, André de Gouveia invited Teive to return to Bordeaux, to the Collège de la Guyenne. Then, in 1544, Teive was invited by King João III to teach at the Colégio das Artes, prior to which he was expected to help André de Gouveia to organise the team of staff to go from France to Portugal.

The monarch's long planned institute of higher education was finally coming into being in order to form the new intellectual and administrative elite of the Portuguese Empire. Finally, Teive returned to Portugal in 1547. Amongst the group of international scholars who were his colleagues were George Buchanan, Elie Vinet, Nicholas de Grouchy, Guillaume de Guérente and Arnould Fabrice. Well-known Portuguese academics included André de Gouveia, João da Costa and

Teive himself, who was responsible for the teaching of both Latin and Greek. King João III's plan of creating an institute of higher education capable of competing with the European universities was celebrated in the dedicatory of Teive's first book: the *Commentarius* on the second siege of Diu (Coimbra, 1548), which also included liminary epigrams by Costa and Buchanan.

However, power struggles soon affected the daily life at the Colégio das Artes, and after the sudden death of André de Gouveia (the first principal), King João III succumbed to the pressure of the conservative group led by Diogo de Gouveia the elder. Humanists such as Teive, Costa and Buchanan were under suspicion for their liberal religious views, and an investigation was opened into their activities in France; this investigation would lead to a *processo* before the Inquisition in Lisbon, and in the meantime, Teive, Costa and Buchanan were removed from the Colégio. They were all accused of Protestantism. In particular, Teive was accused of possessing a copy of Calvin's *Institutio Christiani Religionis*, and of being a Lutheran: at this point in the trial, Teive's dangerous personal relations with unorthodox persons were recalled. Teive, Costa and Buchanan were convicted, deprived of their posts, and imprisoned: Teive was released after a short period. His fall from grace was a short one, because he soon moved to Braga to start an ecclesiastical career, where the Archbishop Baltasar Limpo was very pleased with his commitment to his new way of life. Teive's conviction had done little harm to his relationship with the royal family either, and soon he was appointed principal of the Colégio das Artes by King João III (1552). Eventually, Teive handed the institution over to the Jesuits in 1555 when the monarch made his final decision regarding it.

Teive was effectively barred from teaching at the Colégio das Artes, above all because he was not a Jesuit.⁴ From Coimbra he went to Lisbon to seek the help of the royal family. He was successful in becoming one of King João's many chaplains, and was given the benefice of the royal priory of Vila Chã da Braciosa in Miranda do Douro. It has been argued that Teive was sent away from the court due to his past

⁴ For a detailed account of what happened to Teive, Costa and Buchanan, see: Brandão M., *A Inquisição e os Professores do Colégio das Artes*, 2 vols. (Coimbra: 1948–1969).

problems with the Inquisition, but that is, in fact, incorrect. Vila Chã was a wealthy parish, and the only royal priory available.

In Vila Chã, life so far away from the court and the *convivium* with other humanists proved to be hard for Teive. His isolation would only be partially relieved with the publication of the *Opuscula aliquot* (Salamanca, 1558). The work was dedicated to Cardinal Henrique (1512–1580), and included official speeches, epistles, a tragedy based on the death of Prince João (1537–1554), and the above-mentioned *Institutio Sebastiani Primi*. From the contents of the *Opuscula aliquot* it becomes clear Teive was addressing an international audience in the hope he would regain his privileged status by publishing a book almost entirely dedicated to the important events which took place at the Portuguese court.

Teive returned to Lisbon, probably in 1563, as a result of his acquaintance with Julián de Alba, the Spanish bishop of Miranda, who was highly influential at court and a member of the council of state. In that year and the next, Teive published several minor religious works, dedicated to the members of the most important Portuguese aristocratic families and the most prominent ecclesiastical figures of his day at court. It is precisely in this period that Teive also published his last printed work, the *Epodon sive Iambicorum libri tres*, a miscellaneous compilation in three books dedicated to the most important political figures of that time in Portugal, namely Julián de Alba, the future King Sebastião, and Cardinal Henrique, the regent. Book I of the *Epodon sive Iambicorum libri* includes the second edition of the *Institutio Sebastiani Primi*. In the revised second edition Teive made changes which reveal his concern with his status at court and with the image of the Portuguese royal family.

Diogo de Teive's Institutio Sebastiani Primi

The *Institutio Sebastiani Primi* is little known, but in 1988 David Bigalli dedicated two chapters to it in his extensive study of the political thought of Diogo de Teive. There, Bigalli identified the 'affinità'⁵ and

⁵ Bigalli D., *Immagine del principe* [...] (Milan: 1985) 177.

the 'adesione del testo teviano all' Institutio erasmiana'⁶ in occasional *passus* of Teive's *Institutio Sebastiani Primi*. However, Bigalli did not prove his statements by comparing the two texts, and thus did not succeed in establishing Erasmus' *Institutio principis Christiani* as an important source of Teive's poem. In her published review of Bigalli's book, Nair Castro Soares⁷ was not convinced, claiming it was impossible to determine whether Teive had used Erasmus' work. Her reasoning is the existence of similar ideas and quotations in a variety of works by European humanists which makes it impossible to trace a particular influence. This is an important point: it would be simplistic to undervalue the role played by memorisation and involuntary reminiscence, given the nature of teaching methods in Renaissance education.

Nonetheless, the textual evidence cannot be denied: in both Erasmus' *Institutio* and Teive's *Institutio* there are a number of coincidences in the sources, similes and quotations, which occur in exactly the same order. Moreover, there is evidence that Teive had Erasmus' text in mind in the prologue of the *Opuscula aliquot* when he refers to the purpose of writing on the education of the prince. I have selected some examples of relevant textual evidence that demonstrate that Teive drew from Erasmus' *Institutio principis Christiani*.⁸

Similarly to Erasmus in his *Institutio*, Teive addresses the tutor of the prince in his poem, giving him advice on how to carry out this important mission. In 1558, it was expected that the tutor of the future King Sebastião would be João Rodrigues de Sá de Meneses, who had tutored his father. Addressing the prince's tutor, Teive says:

While the prince is not aware of his condition, he should be instructed in matters worthy of his princely status, so that he may learn to govern his kingdom before he understands that he is a king.⁹

⁶ Ibidem 176.

⁷ Soares N., "Davide Bigalli: *Immagine del Principe: ricerche su politica e umanesimo nel Portogallo e nella Spagna del Cinquecento*", *Humanitas* 37–38 (1985–86) 372–75.

⁸ Erasmus Desiderius, *Institutio principis Christiani*, in *Opera omnia Desiderii Erasmi Roterodami: recognita et adnotatione critica instructa notisque illustrata*, Ord. IV. T. I, ed. O. Herding (Amsterdam: 1974).

⁹ Teive Diogo, *Epodon sive Iambicorum libri tres* (book III) f. 53v: 'Cum se ipse princeps principem nondum capit,/ digna est docendus princepe, ut discat prius/ regna moderari, se esse quam regem putet'.

Erasmus had stated in rather similar terms:

No other time is so suitable for moulding and improving the prince as when he does not yet understand that he is the prince.¹⁰

As for the relationship between tutor and pupil, according to Erasmus, the future educator of the prince must, as Seneca elegantly puts it, be a man who knows how to reprimand without abuse and how to praise without flattery; let the prince at once respect him for his disciplined life and like him for his agreeable manner.¹¹

Teive expresses the same idea and advises as follows:

May he know how to reprimand him with no scandal, and to praise him without the poison of flattery [...]. May the tender young king love him for his kind nature, his grace and his modesty, and may he respect him for the strict and pious and holy behaviour which is associated with his righteous life.¹²

The reference to Seneca has been omitted, but Teive uses the same Latin construction in his text (*citra...citra...*). Erasmus shows some concern for the need to correct some of the pupil's natural inclinations from an early age:

Therefore the man into whose arms the state put the boy would be wise to take notice in the first place of what inclinations he already has, because even at this age it is possible to recognise by certain signs whether he is more prone to arrogance and fits of temper, or to ambition and thirst for fame, or to pleasures of the flesh, gambling, and the pursuit of wealth, or to revenge and war, or to impulsiveness and tyranny.¹³

¹⁰ Erasmus, *Institutio principis Christiani* ed. Herding, *Opera omnia* IV. I,138: 'Non aliud aequè idoneum formandi corrigendive principis tempus, quam cum ipse nondum sese principem intellegit'.

¹¹ Ibidem 138–139: 'Eiusmodi debet esse futuri principis institutor, ut (quemadmodum eleganter a Seneca dictum est) et obiurgare norit citra contumeliam et laudare citra adulationem, quem ille simul et revereatur ob vitae severitatem et amet ob morum iucunditatem'.

¹² Teive, *Epodon siue Iambicorum libri tres* (book III) f. 53r: 'Iurgare citra iniuriam qui norit, et/ qui citra adulandi venenum, laudibus/ ornare [...] quem/ tenellus Rex amet/ ob comitatem, gratiam ac modestiam,/ quemque vereatur ob seueros ac pios/ sanctosque mores, vita/ quos fert integra'.

¹³ Erasmus, *Institutio principis Christiani* ed. Herding, *Opera omnia* IV. I,140: 'Primum igitur sagaciter animadvertat is, cui suum puerum in gremium dedit respublica, quorsum iam tum vergat. Quandoquidem potest hoc quoque in ea aetate notis quibusdam deprehendi, num propensior sit ad iracundiam aut arrogantiam, num ad ambitionem aut famae sitim, num ad libidinem aut aleam aut pecuniae studium, num ad vindictam aut bellum, num ad impotentiam aut tyrannidem'.

In his *Institutio* Teive expressed the same concern, while highlighting the same faults in a child's character:

[The tutor] must always look with observant eyes at what occupations please him most, where his spirit leads him, what his tendencies are. What is sufficiently clear, what mother nature herself shows with clear signs [is that] [...] one [pupil] is prone to blind fury, another shows his spirit swollen with pride; in one of them you can see a growing hunger to possess, in another the desire for glory, and in yet another maybe a heart prone to sensuality or tyranny.¹⁴

Both authors express the trust that the tutor will always succeed in educating his pupil, for there is not such an 'effera bellua' (the same expression is used by both Erasmus and Teive) that will not be tamed. Later in book I of the *Institutio principis Christiani*, Erasmus explains what type of stories the tutor should tell his pupil; he refers to the fables of the lion and the mouse, the dove and the ant and finally the eagle and the beetle. After that, Erasmus gives some educational examples taken from mythology (Phaeton, Ulysses and the Cyclops), and moves on to compare the society of bees with the community of ants: Erasmus stresses that their sovereign does not have a sting and, therefore, should be considered as an example of mercifulness. Teive's text has exactly the same argument and presents the same fables and mythological examples. Unlike Erasmus who simply refers to these stories and their pedagogical usefulness, Teive seeks to *delectare* an imaginary pupil and he narrates the stories himself, putting into practice the advice he gives to João Rodrigues de Sá de Meneses.

There is further evidence of the relationship between the two texts in the prologue of the *Opuscula aliquot* where Teive alludes to Erasmus' work in justifying his decision to compose the *Institutio Sebastiani Primi*:

For, when Prince João was still alive, I had decided to compose a work on the perfect *education of the Christian prince*, in a dialogue fashioned upon Plato's or on that which Cicero wrote about the perfect orator

¹⁴ Teive, *Epodon siue Iambicorum libri tres* (book III) f. 57r.: 'Perspicacibus oculis/ debet [...] studia quae placeant magis,/ quibus ille mentem rebus intendat suam,/ quo vergat animus. Quod satis notum patet,/ quod ipsa certis indicat signis parens/ natura [...]: alter est propensior/ caecum ad furorem mentis iracundiam,/ alter tumentes spiritus superbiae/ prae se videtur ferre, in alio cernitur/ fames habendi maior, alium gloriae/ trahit cupido, forte in alio perspicis/ ad aliam, libidinem, tyrannidem/ proclive pectus'.

(a perfect work, as far as I can see), a work which would also comprise three books. But now, it is necessary for me to wait until Sebastião, our most gracious King, comes to be of an older age so he may understand and comprehend the questions contained in that work.¹⁵

Teive mentioned that it had been his intention to compose a *Christiani principis perfecta institutio*. Even though he does not clearly state that the *Institutio principis Christiani* by Erasmus is in his mind whilst composing the poem, this reference would hardly go unnoticed by the learned readers of the time.

The overall gnomic and pedagogic tone of the two texts is similar, but, in fact, Teive's *Institutio* cannot be compared to Erasmus' work. There is a significant difference between the two texts and between the personal circumstances of the authors. Teive is fully aware of the national context he is set in and the international dimension of the Portuguese empire: ideas alien to Erasmus' life experience. Both authors express different (and for the most part opposite) opinions on several topics. It becomes clear that whilst Teive used *Erasmus* as a literary model, that does not mean that the author is *Erasmian*. Teive is very much concerned in respecting the Catholic orthodoxy reinforced during the Counter-Reformation, and there is no room for criticism of the Church, its institutions and role, its organisation or rituals. Furthermore, Teive recognises war as a negative but often necessary part of the political life of the Portuguese empire, and he tries to tone down criticism of the corruption in court, simply referring to the constant peril posed by the flatterers.

It is important to recall that Teive was, at the time, addressing an international audience, and that it was his intention to promote a strictly official and positive image of the Portuguese Catholic monarchy which would later be at the forefront of the Counter-Reformation movement. Also, the dedicatee of the *Opuscula aliquot* was none other than Cardinal Henrique, who was responsible for the implementation of the decrees of the Council of Trent in Portugal, and who, a few years later, became the regent of Portugal and its overseas empire.

¹⁵ Teive, *Opuscula aliquot* (Salamanca, Haeredes Ioannis a Iunta: 1558) s.n.: 'Quod ego Ioanne principe vita perfructe aggredi statueram, ut de Christiani principis perfecta institutione dialogum ad imitationem Platonis et illius quem M.<arcus> Tullius scripsit de perfecto oratore, opus meo iudicio perfectissimum, tribus item libris complecterer. Sed nunc erit mihi felicissimi Regis nostri Sebastiani aetas maturior expectanda, dum ea, quae in opere illo continebuntur, percipere ac intelligere possit'.

There was probably no other time in Portuguese history when politics, religion and culture were as closely related as in the second half of the sixteenth century.

In what way, then, can Teive's use of Erasmus be understood? At this point it is essential to explain why the *Institutio principis Christiani*, a controversial work by a polemical author, is a source of Teive's *Institutio*, a text destined to advise the tutor of the future King of Portugal.

The Reception of Erasmus' Institutio principis Christiani in Portugal

Diogo de Teive was not an exception in the cultural scene in Portugal. There is evidence that the Portuguese court read the *Institutio principis Christiani*: Prince Luís (1506–1555), one of the most cultivated men of his time in the country, also wrote a text offering advice on how to rule to Prince Sebastião. In this text it is said that:

This memorandum was composed by Prince Luís, may he rest in peace, for he thought that the greater and the higher your status is, the heavier and the more painful should your *Cross* be, and you should live most cautiously in order to show the weight of the infinite perils from which our Redeemer escaped when they wanted to make Him a king.¹⁶

The reference to the 'Cross' associated with kingship is one of the most memorable metaphors used by Erasmus in his *Institutio principis Christiani*:

You [prince] too take your cross, or else Christ will not acknowledge you. 'What the is my cross', you may ask. I will tell you. [...] You can see, that even the greatest kings are not without their crosses if they want to follow the right course at all times, as they should.¹⁷

¹⁶ 'Estas lembranças fez o Iffante Dom Luís que está em gloria pensando que quanto mor, e mais alto he o estado, *tanto se deue ter por mais pesada, e penosa Cruz*, e uiuer com mor auiso pois para mostrar o peso dos infinitos perigos que no gouerno ha fugido o Redemptor quando o quiserão fazer Rey'. [f. 43] D. Luís (s.d.): "Lembranças para o Rey deste Reino" in *Couzas que fez El Rey Dom Henrique que está em Gloria* [...], Biblioteca da Ajuda, cod. 49-I-81, fol. 39r.

¹⁷ A short quotation is offered in this paper, but Erasmus develops this topic at length; Erasmus, *Opera omnia* 148: 'Aut tua crux tibi quoque tollenda est, aut non agnoscet te Christus. Quae tandem mea crux? Inquires. Dicam [...]. Vides opinor, quam nec regibus summis desit sua crux, si, quod oportet, ubique rectum sequi velint'.

It is not possible to find a single sixteenth-century edition of this text in any public Portuguese library. Therefore, it seems that the *Institutio principis Christiani* was only read by a small number of members of the elite.

The presence of editions of works by Erasmus in Portuguese libraries sheds light upon his reception in sixteenth-century Portugal. The bibliographical data for this analysis have been collected at the Biblioteca Nacional de Lisboa, the Biblioteca da Ajuda (Lisbon), the Biblioteca Pública de Évora, the Biblioteca Pública e Municipal do Porto, and the Biblioteca Geral e Universitária de Coimbra. The editions of Erasmus which certainly entered Portugal after 1599 were excluded.¹⁸ The conclusions drawn from the analysis of the bibliographical evidence will point to the specific interest Portuguese readers had in certain aspects of Erasmus' work. The conclusions of this study will be compared to similar analyses of the reception of Erasmus in Spain and Italy in the sixteenth century. In that respect, the Portuguese and Italian cases are similar, but different from the Spanish one.¹⁹

In Spain, the censorship imposed on Erasmus and his work was motivated by both religion and politics. Critics are unanimous when they refer to the general admiration for Erasmus in Spain up to the 1520s.²⁰ However, the situation changed significantly over this decade: according to García Cárcel, there was confusion between *conversos*, Lutherans and *alumbrados*, which affected Catholicism and the political and social stability of Spain. Gradually, persecution and repression of Lutherans and *alumbrados* became associated with anti-Erasmianism for paradoxical reasons: Erasmus had been protected by the Spanish court and by the Inquisidor General in the 1520s, but his name was used by the *alumbrados* who in most cases claimed to be Erasmian to avoid persecution. This gave the Spanish Inquisition the perfect excuse to fight Erasmus overtly on the grounds that they were fighting the *alumbrados*. According to García Cárcel, Erasmianism in Spain was used as a mask by heterodox Catholics who were the cause of social

¹⁸ Amongst these are editions of the priceless Pina Martins private collection, which were donated to the Biblioteca Nacional de Portugal. Since Pina Martins bought these editions abroad, they have been excluded from this study.

¹⁹ For a comparative history of the Inquisition in Portugal, Spain and Italy, see Bethencourt F., *The Inquisition: a Global History (1478–1834)* (Cambridge U.P.: 2009).

²⁰ See Bataillon, *Erasmus et l'Espagne* and García Cárcel R. – Moreno Martínez D., *Inquisición: história crítica* (Madrid: 2001).

and political unrest. However, in Portugal Erasmus' name was never associated with social uprisings.

In Italy, on the other hand, censorship of Erasmus was strictly religious and theological. Between the 1520s and the 1530s there was a well-designed strategy laid out by the Italian theologians who promoted what Seidel Menchi calls the 'reductio Erasmi ad Lutherum'.²¹ Evidence of this can be found in the fact that the number of editions of Erasmus' works published in Italy slowed down after 1525, and dropped significantly after 1555. The Inquisition successfully controlled the circulation of editions of Erasmus in Italy.²²

Nonetheless, the number of editions of works by Erasmus published in Italy in the sixteenth century is as large as in Spain. However, there are differences regarding the type of works published in both countries. According to Seidel Menchi, in Spain the public seemed to be more interested in the 'religious' Erasmus, and more than two thirds of the books published in Spain had a religious content. In Italy, on the other hand, the public was equally interested in the religious and humanist works.

Seidel Menchi points to a plausible explanation for these differences: Erasmus' works such as the *De copia uerborum ac rerum*, the *De conscribendis epistolis* and the *Adagia* had no parallels in the Italian book market. Erasmian pedagogic and humanistic works met the growing needs of a highly intellectual and demanding cultural elite. This new cultural elite was eager to achieve a high level of proficiency in Latin as a means of social promotion. To this end, Erasmus' works were amongst the very best and prestigious. This hypothesis is confirmed by the fact that the number of editions of works by Erasmus in Latin is greater than those in Italian.

The situation in Italy presents a degree of resemblance to the Portuguese case. The majority of sixteenth-century editions of Erasmus in Portuguese libraries are of classical and Christian authors (approximately 60%). The data reveal that Portuguese reader were predominantly interested in the philological works: almost two thirds of the bibliographic evidence is related to the editions of classical and Christian authors, namely, Pliny, Seneca, Cicero, the *Disticha Catonis*, Jerome, Cyprian, Augustine and Erasmus' *Nouum Testamentum*.

²¹ Seidel Menchi S., *Erasmus in Italia 1520–1580* (Turin: 1987) 39–65.

²² Seidel Menchi, *Erasmus in Italia* 309–332; 333–348.

The second largest group of editions of Erasmus found in Portuguese libraries is of rhetorical treatises and compilations (just over 25.1%). The *De duplici copia uerborum*, the *Apophthegmata*, the *De constructione octo partium orationis* and the *Paraphrasis in Elegantias Laurentii Vallae* were the most popular titles, widely used in educational contexts.

Finally, the least representative group of Erasmian works (approximately 14.3%) include the moral and literary works, such as the *Enchiridion Militis Christiani* (just five copies can be found in Portugal) and the *Epistolae*; of the *Encomium Moriae* only two copies survive in Portuguese libraries, and no copy of the *Institutio principis Christiani*, as already stated. This smaller *corpus* of controversial works also testifies the effective use of censorship by the Portuguese Inquisition: no titles published after 1555 included in this group of works entered the country.²³

The bibliographical data also demonstrate that there is a significant drop in the number of philological and pedagogical works by Erasmus published after 1555 in Portuguese libraries; only approximately 23% of the overall number of these works entered the country in the second half of the sixteenth century. Nonetheless, the public could still have access to this type of editions published abroad, and they continued to be read and used, namely, in an academic and educational context. The number of editions of classical and Christian authors by Erasmus also dropped significantly after 1555: almost 80% of these editions entered Portugal in the first half of the sixteenth century. Finally, the number of extant vernacular editions of Erasmus in Portugal is quite low: the data demonstrate the Portuguese read Erasmus in Latin.

Regarding the works of Erasmus published in Portugal, the chronology and typology of their publication reveals an unusual tolerance of Erasmus at a time when he was widely regarded with suspicion in Europe, and his prestige was fading.²⁴

In the 1540s in Portugal four editions of Erasmus were published: the *Enchiridion Militis Christiani* in a Spanish translation, in 1541 in

²³ The complex question of Erasmian spirituality and its impact in Portugal is in need of revised study. In the broader context of spirituality it would be interesting to explain why certain works by Erasmus were more appealing to certain European audiences, and why some spiritual works by Luis de Granada, Juan de Ávila or Francisco de Borja were permitted in Portugal, but forbidden in Spain. However, this paper focuses exclusively on Erasmus as a literary and linguistic model.

²⁴ Pina Martins J., *Humanismo e Erasmismo na cultura portuguesa do século XVI* (Lisbon – Paris: 1973) 159–165.

Lisbon²⁵ and the *De copia verborum et rerum* in Coimbra, possibly in 1542, although no accurate date or name of the editor is known.²⁶ The *Colloquia ad meliorem mentem reuocata* were published in Coimbra cc. 1545?–1552?,²⁷ most likely after the text had been included in the *Index* of 1547.²⁸ Finally, the *Index rerum et uerborum copiosissimus ex Desiderii Erasmi Roterodami Chiliadibus* by Joannes Vasaesus was published in Coimbra in 1549. The last work by Erasmus to be published in Portugal was the *Primera parte de las Sentencias* [...], published in Spanish in 1554 and 1555.²⁹

In Portugal, the *Colloquia* were prohibited in 1547; the *Enchiridion* was included in the *Index* of 1551, and Paul IV's *Index* of 1559 included all titles by Erasmus. In 1554–1555, Erasmus was labelled as “auctor damnatus”. However, when compared to other European countries, for example France, Portugal was very receptive and tolerant towards Erasmus.³⁰

Evidence of that can be found in the profound admiration for Erasmus expressed by renowned Portuguese intellectuals, among them, the humanists who were members of the cultural circle of Cardinal Henrique, such as Damião de Góis (1502–1574), André de Resende (1498–1573), João de Barros (1496–1570), Nicolaus Clenardus (tutor of the Cardinal himself, and later responsible for the establishment of new schools in Braga and Évora), Joannes Vasaesus (from Bruges, who

²⁵ *Enquiridão o Manual del cavallero christiano / cõpuesto primero e[n] latin por el eccle[n]te e famoso varo D. Erasmo Roterodamo; traduzido de alli e[n] castellano* (Lisbon, Luís Rodrigues: 1541). This edition can be found in the Biblioteca Pública e Municipal do Porto (sig. X1-7-12).

²⁶ The front page of the edition is missing: [*Liber de copia verborum & rerum / à Desid. Erasmo* (Coimbra, s.n.: 1542[?]). This edition can be found in the Biblioteca Pública e Municipal do Porto (sig. Y1-3-68). The date in the manuscript first page is 1592, but critics such as Silva Dias, *Correntes de sentimento religioso*, II, 497–498 point out a possible misreading of the manuscript.

²⁷ Possible dates of this edition are discussed in Bataillon, *Études sur le Portugal au temps de l'Humanisme*; Silva Dias, *Correntes de Sentimento Religioso em Portugal* 499–500; Osório, “O Convivium Religiosum de Erasmo” 239.

²⁸ On the presence of Erasmianism in Portugal, see: Pina Martins, *Humanismo e Erasmismo na cultura portuguesa* 36ff.; Sá A.M. de, *De Re Erasmiana. Aspectos do Erasmismo na Cultura Portuguesa do século XVI* (Braga: 1977) 7–11. For a discussion on the censorship of Erasmus' works by the Portuguese Inquisition in the sixteenth century, see De Bujanda J., *Index de l'Inquisition portugaise: 1547, 1551, 1561, 1564, 1581* (Sherbrooke: 1994).

²⁹ *Primera parte de las Sentencias que hasta nuestros tiempos para edificacion de buenos costumbres estan por diuersos autores escriptas eneste [sic] tratado summariamente referidas en su proprio estilo. Y traduzidas enel [sic] nuestro comun* (Lisbon, German Galhardo: 1554). This edition can be found in the Biblioteca Geral e Universitária de Coimbra, sig. R-2-19 and V.T. 18-8-6.

³⁰ See the Introduction to De Bujanda, *Index de l'Inquisition portugaise*.

would later replace Clenardus in Braga and Évora) and Juan Fernández, editor of the *Colloquia*. The value of Erasmus' work to Portuguese intellectuals can be inferred from the analysis of the liminary texts of the Portuguese editions.

Joannes Vasaeus, the editor of the *Index rerum et verborum copiosissimus ex Desiderii Erasmi Roterodami Chiliadibus* (Coimbra, João de Barreira: 1549), addresses Martín de Azpilcueta in the prologue of his book, praising Erasmus and his work as follows:

So many words both Greek and Latin in that work! Such variety of topics! Such history, such Antiquity! Such delightful tales! Such variety of difficult physical questions explained! So many passages of all kind of authors restored! So many commented! Certainly either my eyes are blind, or here, as Plautus would put it, I see a true encyclopaedia.³¹

Erasmus' critics also acknowledge the humanist's learning: Aires Barbosa, the author of *Antimoria* (a poem which criticises and engages directly with the *Encomium Moriae*), admits his opponent is a learned humanist, and that he is an ingenious, cultivated and eloquent writer. In the dedicatory epistle to Infante Alfonso (1509–1540), Aires Barbosa points out:

even though the *Encomium Moriae* is pleasant to read for learned men who understand that the delightful charm of that work is harmless to them, it cannot be read without harm by others, who are in fact the majority.³²

Aires Barbosa is referring to the distinction between the learned and restricted elite who read Erasmus in Latin and the masses who read vernacular editions of the Dutch author. Clearly the danger Aires Barbosa alludes to is that Erasmus could be misinterpreted by the uneducated majority. Again, this accounts for the fact that virtually no copies of vernacular translations of Erasmus survived thanks to the efficient control of the Inquisition. The edition of the *Colloquia Erasmi ad meliorem mentem reuocata* (published in Coimbra, possibly between 1545 and 1552) is an extremely revealing and interesting case in the

³¹ 'Quanta illic sylva vocabulorum tum Graecorum, tum Latinorum? Quanta rerum varietas? Quantum historiae, quantum antiquitatis? Quot lepidissimae fabellae? Quam varii physicarum quaestionum nodi explicati? Quot omne genus autorum loci restituti? Quot illustrati? Sane aut vehementer caecutiunt oculi mei, aut hic ipsissimam, ut Plautino more loquar, 'εγκυκλοπáιδιαμ video'.

³² 'Quamuis enim Moriae Encomium summa cum delectatione ab eruditibus legatur, intelligentibus scilicet leporem illum suauiussum ipsis innoxium: tamen ab aliis, quae turba maxima est: non sine noxa legi potest'. Barbosa Aires, *Antimoria (Contra a Loucura)*. *Seguido dalguns epigramas*, trans. José Pereira Tavares (Coimbra: 1960) 25.

study of the reception of Erasmus in Portugal. As mentioned above, the *Colloquia* were included in the *Index* of 1547, but nonetheless this work was published in Portugal around that time: this edition of the *Colloquia ad meliorem mentem reuocata* was dedicated to the heir to the throne, Prince João, and it was designed to be used by the students of the University in Coimbra. J.A. Osório analysed this edition of the *Colloquia*, and drew attention to the fact that the editor, the Sevillian Juan Hernández, carried out a careful selection of the text, leaving out the most controversial topics. Cardinal Henrique was involved in the publication, as he revised the final draft and gave his permission for the book to be published. Whilst addressing the Cardinal in the opening epistle, Hernández stressed Erasmus' eloquence and said that it was the author's purpose to use that to promote piety. This improved edition (*ad meliorem mentem reuocata*) corresponds to the official position of the Portuguese crown, and Juan Hernández was, in fact, simultaneously both editor and censor when he revised and adapted Erasmus' text for publication in Portugal. As Osório points out, Hernández carried out the revision of the *Colloquia*, bearing in mind what would be an acceptable interpretation of this text by the humanist milieu of the bureaucratic, aristocratic and religious elite of his day; an elite who had acquired a competent education in Latin, a tradition which dated back to the time when Clenardus himself had taught Cardinal Henrique.³³

There is another interesting use of a different work of Erasmus in sixteenth-century Portugal: the Latin-Portuguese dictionary by Jerónimo Cardoso (1508–1569), published in Coimbra in 1569–70 and dedicated to the heir to the throne, Sebastião.³⁴ The dictionary, which was published after Cardoso's death, was completed by the German humanist Sebastian Stockhammer. An important characteristic of the dictionary, according to Teyssier,³⁵ is the great number of Latin nouns

³³ I am using Osório's own words: Osório J., "O *Convivium Religiosum* de Erasmo, numa edição coimbrã dos *Colóquios*", *Humanitas* 25–26 (1974) 243.

³⁴ Osório Jerónimo, *Dictionarium Latinolusitanicum et vice versa Lusitanicolatinum: cum adagiorum fere omnium iuxta seriem alphabeticam perutili expositione, ecclesiasticorum etiam vocabulorum interpretatione [...] / nove omnia per Hieronymum Cardosum Lusitanum congesta; recognita vero omnia per Sebastianum Stockhamerum Germanum. Qui libellum etiam de propriis nominibus regionum populorum, illustrium virorum [...] adiecit* (Coimbra, João Barreira: 1570).

³⁵ Teyssier P., "Les *Adages* d'Erasme dans le Dictionnaire Latin-Portugais de Jerónimo Cardoso", *Miscelânea de Estudos em Honra do Prof. A. Costa Ramalho* (Lisbon-Coimbra: 1992) 127–136.

illustrated by quotations from the *Adagia*, which are clearly identified in the text by a pointing finger before the quotation in Latin and its subsequent translation. More than 4000 adages were included in Cardoso's dictionary. Nonetheless, despite the fact that the use of Erasmus and his *Adagia* in Latin dictionaries was common in Europe, Erasmus' name is not mentioned anywhere in the Latin-Portuguese dictionary, which was published quite late in the sixteenth century. So, despite the fact that Erasmus' name and this particular text were controversial at the time, Cardoso and later Stockhammer still used it. In the dedication to Sebastião, Stockhammer considered the *Adagia* as 'paroemias elegantes, utiles, scituque dignissimas'. However, Erasmus' name is never mentioned, nor the 'paroemiae' identified as the *Adagia* in the dedication, but it would be unlikely that the elite could not identify these 'paroemiae' as the *Adagia*.

Conclusion

In sum, from the bibliographical data and from this selection of examples of the use of Erasmus' works we can conclude that, despite Portugal's peripheral location in Europe, the humanist's texts circulated in the country. The interest of the Portuguese readers was diverse, but concentrated mainly on the philological and pedagogical Erasmus. In that sense the Portuguese had similar interests to the Italians, and to some extent different from the Spanish. Erasmus' books about theology and spirituality or of polemical criticism were also read in Portugal by the elite, but the censorship imposed on this type of text led to a gradual decline in their circulation.

Amongst this latter type of works is the *Institutio principis Christiani*, with its virulent criticism of the Pope and of hypocritical rituals devoid of true piety and its fierce condemnation of war, even just war. As was seen in this paper, the way Teive used this text demonstrates how cultural openness was no longer a reality in the second half of the sixteenth century in Portugal. Authors like him and Jerónimo Cardoso recognise Erasmus as a literary and linguistic model, and the paratexts of the editions analysed in this paper testify that he was considered a model of eloquent and elegant use of Latin. However, as time went by, Erasmus' intellectual legacy could no longer be accepted in a highly confessional monarchy. The fact that a man such as Teive (who had been a victim of the Inquisition) should have published a number of

works during his lifetime is evidence of his compliance with the new orthodox state of affairs. Therefore, despite the fact that some of Erasmus' texts continued to be read in an educational context, the *auctoritas* of Erasmus was no longer acceptable.

The relationship of the Portuguese intellectuals towards Erasmus may seem ambiguous or even contradictory at a first glance: Erasmus had been labelled as an "auctor damnatus"; Cardinal Henrique was the first political agent of Western Europe to put the Tridentine decrees into practice; in 1562, following a series of Inquisitorial *processos* against intellectuals, Fr Valentim da Luz was burnt at the stake for Protestantism and Erasmianism. And yet, just three years later, Teive published the second edition of the *Institutio Sebastiani Primi* included in the *Epodon siue Iambicorum libri tres*. But there is no contradiction in the attitude of the Portuguese elite towards Erasmus.

Proficiency in Latin had become an important means of social promotion, and Neo-Latin literature and texts were of key importance at an international level for propaganda in a continent facing an unprecedented religious crisis. Cardinal Henrique, the regent and Inquisidor-Mor of Portugal, was one of the most important patrons of his day, fostering the cultural development of the Portuguese elite, and supporting a number of authors. During King João III's reign and afterwards, the Portuguese royal family carried out a programme of propaganda, and one of the aspects reinforced in painting³⁶ and literature was Catholic religion and piety. A great number of works with a religious content were dedicated to members of the Portuguese royal family;³⁷ these works were written in Latin and circulated throughout Europe.

In that sense, Teive's *Institutio Sebastiani Primi* is an example of Portuguese Neo-Latin literature: while he demonstrates his knowledge of Erasmus' *Institutio principis Christiani* in elegant Latin to his international audience, Teive displays the official positions of the Catholic monarchy deeply committed to the Counter-Reformation movement. This explains the profound differences in orientation and meaning between his *Institutio Sebastiani Primi* and Erasmus' *Institutio principis Christiani*.

³⁶ Jordan A., *Retrato de Corte em Portugal. O Legado de Antonio Moro (1552–1572)*, Quetzal (Lisbon: 1994).

³⁷ Anselmo A., *Bibliografia das Obras Impressas em Portugal no século XVI*, Biblioteca Nacional (Lisbon: 1926).

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DIE HUMANISTISCHE KULTUR COIMBRAS ALS WIEGE
DES EMBLEMATISCHEN KOMMENTARS: SEBASTIAN
STOCKHAMERS ALCIATO-KOMMENTAR FÜR
JOÃO MENESES SOTTOMAYOR (1552)*

Karl Enenkel

Im Jahre 1547 reiste der italienische Jurist Fabio Arca de Narnia aus Ingolstadt, wo er langjährig an der Universität Jura doziert hatte, auf Einladung João's III., des Königs von Portugal, nach Coimbra, um die Stelle des *professor primarius* an der Jura-Fakultät der neugegründeten Universität zu besetzen.¹ Fabio Arca war eine interessante Besetzung, insofern er in der Rechtswissenschaft der modernen Richtung des *mos Gallicus* anhing, welche Jura auf der Grundlage der humanistischen Philologie betrieb. Der *mos Gallicus* war von Andrea Alciato und Guillaume Budé (1468–1540) begründet worden. Alciato, der an den Universitäten von Avignon (1519–1521; 1527–1529) und Bourges (1529–1533) sowie und an den italienischen Universitäten von Pavia, Bologna und Ferrara doziert hatte, war zum Zeitpunkt von Fabio Arcas Übersiedlung nach Coimbra als Professor in Pavia tätig (1547–1550). Guillaume Budé hatte 1530 nach dem Vorbild des erasmianischen *Collegium trilingue* Löwens in Paris das Collège de France, als philologisch-humanistisch orientierte, moderne Alternative zu der der universitären Tradition verpflichteten Sorbonne, gegründet. Die Berufung Arcas reimte sich gut mit anderen Intellektuellen, die in jenen Jahren an der Universität Coimbra zusammenkamen:

* Der vorliegende Aufsatz entstand im Rahmen des Forschungsprojektes des Verfassers *The New Management of Knowledge in the Early Modern Period: The Transmission of Classical Latin Literature via Neo-Latin Commentaries*, welches von der Niederländischen Organisation für Wissenschaftliche Forschung (NWO) finanziert wird.

¹ Für den Lebenslauf des Fabio Arcas vgl. Johann August Ritter von Eisenhardt, Art. „Narnia“, in *Allgemeine Deutsche Biographie* 23 (1886) 253–256; Liotta F., Art. „Arca (Arcades, Arcas), Fabio“, in *Dizionario Biografico degli Italiani* vol. 3, digitalisiert <http://filosofiaistoria.wordpress.com/2009/02/18/il-dizionario-biografico-degli-italiani-arriva-in-rete/>; Coelho R., „Fabio Arcas e Sebastiao Stochamer“, *Instituto. Revista científica e literaria* 23 (1885) 116–140; für die Periode als Professor in Coimbra vgl. Braga T., *Historia da Universidade de Coimbra*, vol. IV (Lissabon: 1902) 624; 626; für Stockhamer vgl. weiter da Costa Ramalho A., „Stochamer (Sebastião)“, in *Verbo: enciclopédia luso-brasileira de cultura* (Lissabon: 1963–1986).

André de Gouvea, Elie Vinet, Diogo de Teive, George Buchanan, Nicolas de Grouchy, Guillaume Guérante und Hieronymus Osorius.² Ihr gemeinsames Interessensfeld bildeten der Humanismus, die klassische Altertumswissenschaft, ein sich auf die moderne Philologie stützendes Wissenschaftsverständnis sowie die Werke des Erasmus, des Alciato und anderer führender Vertreter der humanistischen *Respublica litteraria*.

Fabio Arca nahm aus Ingolstadt einen bayerischen Jura-Schüler, zu dem er ein enges Vertrauensverhältnis entwickelt hatte, als Sekretär mit: Sebastian Stockhamer. Für den jungen Bayern bedeutete die Reise ins ferne Portugal offensichtlich mehr als eine *peregrinatio Academica*, in deren Rahmen wohlhabende Studenten an Universitäten (meist) Frankreichs oder Italiens kurzfristig inskribierten, um einen akademischen Grad nach Hause mitzunehmen. Stockhamers Reise war abenteuerlicher und folgenreicher: Da er seine Eltern nicht informierte, schnitt er die Bande mit seiner Heimatbasis durch; somit fehlten ihm eigene finanzielle Mittel als Existenzgrundlage, sodass er auf den Unterhalt angewiesen war, den ihm Fabio Arca bot. Das portugiesische Coimbra wurde seine neue Heimatstadt. Als sein Brotherr Fabio Arca 1554 unerwartet starb, blieb Stockhamer in Coimbra; nachdem er sich eine Zeitlang schlecht und recht durchgeschlagen hatte, verlieh ihm König João III. 1557 als neue Existenzgrundlage eine Stelle als Korrektor in der Universitätsdruckerei von Coimbra. In Coimbra wirkte Stockhamer als Herausgeber, u.a. von João Soares' (1507–1572) Kommentaren zum Marcus- (1566) und Lukasevangelium (1574) sowie von Osórios Lexikon.³ Für den jungen Stockhamer ging von dem Übertritt

² Für die Humanisten Coimbras vgl. in vorliegendem Band den Beitrag von Fouto, „Diogo de Teive's Institutio Sebastiani Primi and the reception of Erasmus' works in Portugal“; Bataillon M., *Études sur le Portugal au temps de l'Humanisme*, Acta Universitatis Conimbrigensis (Coimbra: 1952); ders., *Erasmus y el erasmismo* (2nd ed., Barcelona: 1983); Pina Martins J., *Humanismo e Erasmismo na cultura portuguesa do século XVI*, Fundação Calouste Gulbenkian (Lissabon-Paris: 1973) 159–165.

³ João Soares, *Commentarium in Sacrosanctum Evangelium beati Marci* (Coimbra, João de Barreira: 1566), 323 SS., mit einer Vorrede des Herausgebers Sebastian Stockhamer; ders., *Commentarium in Sacrosanctum Evangelium beati Lucae* (Coimbra, António de Mariz: 1574) 728 SS., mit einer Vorrede Sebastian Stockhamers; Osório Jerónimo, *Dictionarium Latinolusitanicum et vice versa Lusitanicolatinum: cum adagiorum fere omnium iuxta seriem alphabeticam perutili expositione, ecclesiasticorum etiam vocabulorum interpretatione [...] nove omnia per Hieronymum Cardosum Lusitanum congesta; recognita vero omnia per Sebastianum Stockhamerum Germanum, qui libellum etiam de propriis nominibus regionum populorum, illustrium virorum [...] adiecit* (Coimbra, João Barreira: 1570).

nach Coimbra zweifellos eine große intellektuelle Stimulanz aus, die seine Entwicklung als humanistischer Gelehrter förderte.

Stockhamer hat zu einer neuen literarischen Gattung, die in jenen Jahren die internationale *Respublica litteraria* eroberte, der Emblematik, einen wichtigen Beitrag geleistet, der bisher nicht die Aufmerksamkeit erhalten hat, die ihm gebührt. Er verfasste 1551–1552 den ersten einschlägigen Kommentar zu Alciatos *Emblematum libellus*⁴ und begründete damit die Gattung des *kommentierten* Emblembuches, welche in den folgenden hundert Jahren die vornehmste und eigentliche Form werden sollte, in der Alciatos Embleme benutzt und rezipiert wurden.

Der Grund, weshalb Stockhamer in der emblematischen Literatur meist nur kurz erwähnt oder – noch öfter – übergangen wird, liegt paradoxerweise höchstwahrscheinlich gerade an dem Erfolg, den die von ihm initiierte Form des Alciato-Kommentars hatte: Seit der Erstausgabe von Stockhamers Kommentar (Lyon: 1556; [Fig. 1]) erschienen Alciatos lateinische *Emblemata* – in wichtigen Druckerzentren wie Lyon, Paris, Frankfurt und Antwerpen – in der Regel in Begleitung substantzieller Kommentare. Von den ca. 61 lateinischen Ausgaben von Alciatos *Emblemata* zwischen 1556 und 1661, die Green auflistet,⁵ sind 55, d.h. fast 90% (!), mit lateinischen Kommentaren versehen. Seit Stockhamer zählte somit nicht nur die Abbildung (seit Heinrich Stainer, 1531), sondern auch der gelehrte Prosakommentar zu den Konstituenten der Alciato-Emblematik. Das ging so weit, dass emblematische Autoren wie Hadrianus Junius (1565) und Florens Schoonhoven (1618) den Gattungsvorgaben dadurch voll zu entsprechen versuchten, dass sie *emblematische Selbst-Kommentare* verfassten.⁶

⁴ CLARISSIMI/ VIRI D. ANDREAE/ ALCIATI,/ EMBLEMATUM LIBRI II/ Nuper adiectis Sebastiani Stockha/ meri Germani in primum li/ brum succinctis commen/ tariolis (Lyon, Jean de Tournes and Guillaume Gazeau: 1556). Green H., *Andrea Alciati and his Book of Emblems. A Biographical and Bibliographical Study* (London: 1872) Nr. 60; Adams A. – Rawles S. – Saunders A., *A Bibliography of French Emblem Books*, 2 vols. (Genf: 1999–2001) F049.

⁵ Green, *Andrea Alciati*, Liste von Nr. 73 bis Nr. 165. Drucke der *Emblemata* innerhalb von Alciatos *Opera omnia*, Blütenlesen und nicht sicher belegte Ausgaben wurden nicht mitgezählt.

⁶ Junius Hadrianus, *Emblemata ad D. Arnoldum Cobelium; eiusdem Aenigmatum libellus ad D. Arnoldum Rosenbergium* (Antwerpen, Christoph Plantin: 1565; photomech. Nachdruck Hildesheim-Zürich-New York: 1987); Schoonhovius Florentius, *Emblemata partim moralia partim civilia. Cum latiori eorundem eiusdem Auctoris interpretatione* [...] (Gouda, Adreas Burier: 1618; photomech. Nachdruck Hildesheim-Zürich-New York: 1975); zu diesen Kommentaren vgl. Enenkel K.A.E., "Florentius"

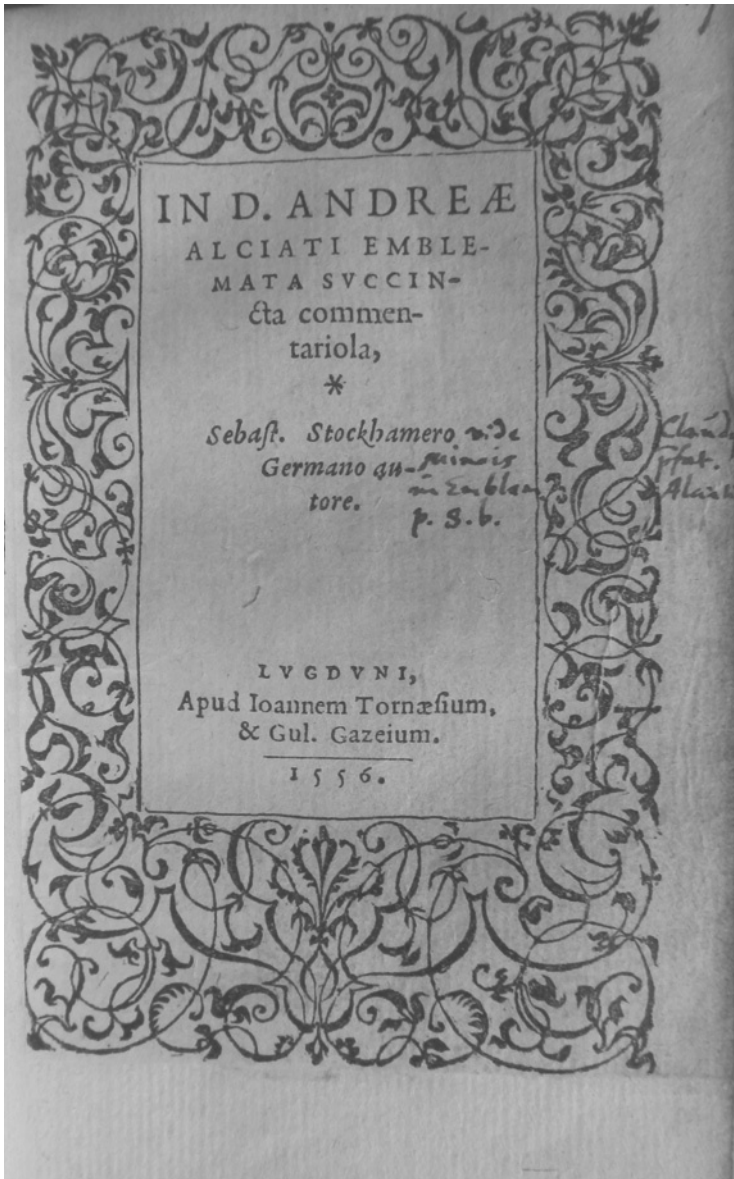


Fig. 1. Titelseite von Sebastian Stockhamer, *In Andreae Alciati Emblemata succincta commentariola* [...] (Lyon, Jean de Tournes I. und Guillaume Gazeau: 1556; ohne Alciatos Epigramme).

Die Tatsache, dass auch Junius' und Schoonhovens Emblembücher erfolgreich waren und mehrere Auflagen erlebten, trug zur weiteren Vorherrschaft der Gattung des kommentierten Emblembuches bei.⁷ Die Tragik Stockhamers gründet sich darauf, dass seine Nachfolger-Kommentatoren, vor allem Claude Mignault (ca. 1536–1606; zahlreiche Auflagen zwischen 1571 und 1661) und Joannes Thuilius von Mariaberg (1621; 1626; 1661), in ihren Kommentaren eine weitaus größere Gelehrsamkeit ausbreiteten, sodass sie Stockhamer nicht nur übertrafen, sondern überlagerten und zurückdrängten. Joannes Thuilius legte im Jahre 1621 einen extrem perfektionierten und detailreichen Kommentar vor, der einen Umfang von über 1000 Quartseiten aufwies, d.h. ca. 25–30 mal so lang war wie der Stockhamers [Fig. 2 und 3].⁸ Auch Mignaults Kommentar wies einen weitaus größeren Umfang als den Stockhamers auf, etwa in Plantins Ausgabe des Jahres 1577 736 Oktavseiten.⁹ Ganz besonders Mignaults Kommentar war es nun, der Stockhamers Werk durch den enormen Erfolg, den er hatte, in den Schatten stellte. Er wurde in den der Erstausgabe bei Denys du Prés (1571)¹⁰ unmittelbar folgenden Dezennien viele Male aufgelegt, u.a. von den erfolgreichen Druckereien Plantins in Antwerpen und

Schoonhiovius's *Emblemata partim moralia, partim etiam civilia*: Text and Paratext", in Adams A. et alii (Hrsg.), *Emblems of the Low Countries. A Book Historical Perspective*, Glasgow Emblem Studies 8 (2003) 129–147; Enenkel K.A.E., "A Leyden Emblem Book: Florentius Schoonhiovius's *Emblemata partim moralia, partim etiam civilia*", in Porteman K. – van Vaecck M. – Manning J. (Hrsg.), *The Emblem Tradition in the Low Countries*, Löwen 1999 (Imago figurata. Studies, I B) 177–195; Enenkel K.A.E., "Emblematic Authorization – Lusus Emblematum: the Function of Junius' Emblem Commentary and Early Commentaries on Alciato's *Emblematum libellus*", in Miert D. van (Hrsg.), *The Kaleidoscopic Humanism of Hadrianus Junius (1511–1575). Northern Scholarship at the Dawn of the Dutch Golden Age* (Leiden: 2011) 260–289; Heesakkers C.L., "Hadriani Iunii Medici Emblemata (1565)", in Enenkel K.A.E. – Visser A.S.Q. (Hrsg.), *Mundus Emblematicus. Studies in Neo-Latin Emblem Books* (Turnhout: 2003; Imago Figurata. Studies IV) 33–69.

⁷ Junius' lateinische *Emblemata* wurden von Christoph Plantin 1575, 1585, 1595 und 1596 herausgebracht, z. T. in mehreren Auflagen; vgl. Enenkel, "Emblematic Authorization". Schoonhovens *Emblemata* wurden u.a. im Jahre 1626 in Leiden (A. und B. Elzevier) und im Jahre 1648 in Amsterdam (J. Janssonius) neu herausgegeben.

⁸ Andrea Alciato, *Emblemata cum commentariis amplissimis [...] opera et vigiliis Ioannis Thuilii Mariaemontani* (Padua, Pietro Paolo Tozzi: 1621).

⁹ Vgl. Green, *Andrea Alciati* Nr. 93.

¹⁰ *Omnia Andreae Alciati Emblemata cum enarratione Claudii Minois, excerpta ex eiusdem in eadem emblemata commentariis* (Paris, Dionysius a Prato [= Denys du Prés]: 1571). Vgl. Green, *Andrea Alciati* Nr. 81; Adams – Rawles – Saunders, *French Emblem Books* F049.

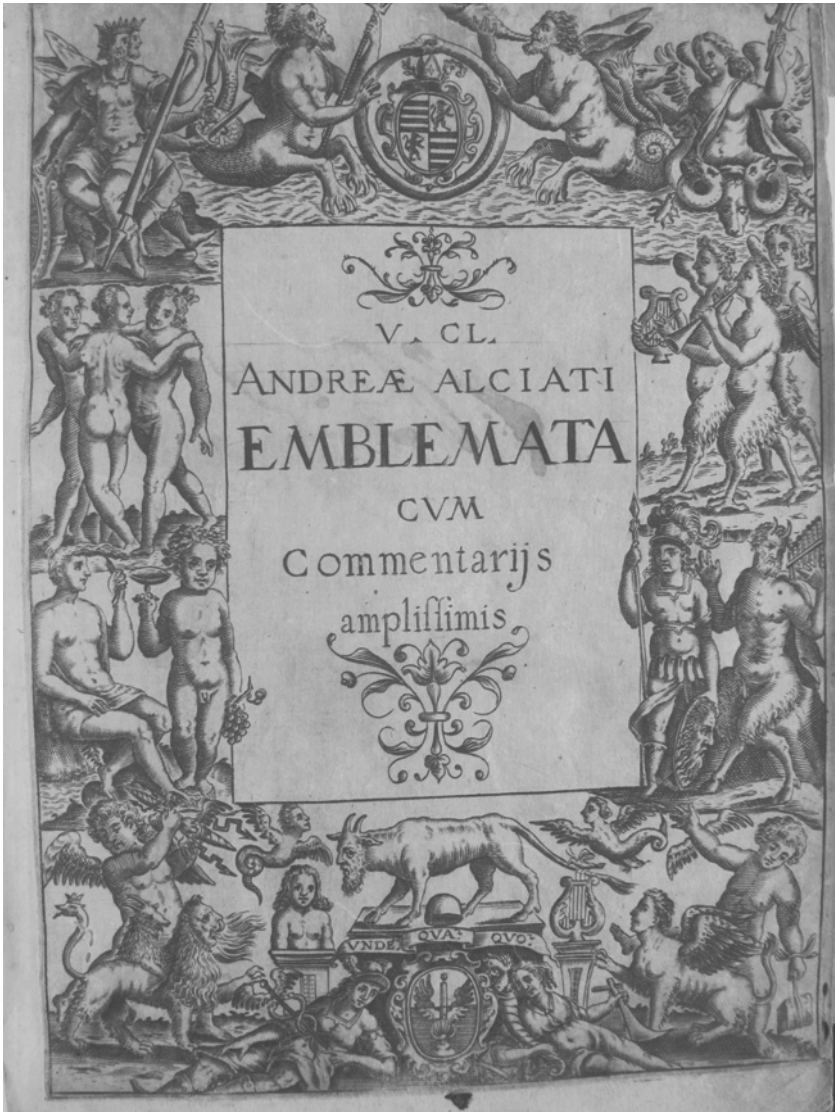


Fig. 2. Titelillustration von Andrea Alciato, *Emblemata cum commentariis amplissimis [...] opera et vigiliis Ioannis Thuilii Mariaemontani* (Padua, Pietro Paolo Tozzi: 1621).



Fig. 3. Titelseite von Andrea Alciato, *Emblemata cum commentariis amplissimis* [...] *opera et vigiliis Ioannis Thuilii Mariaemontani* (Padua, Pietro Paolo Tozzi: 1621).

Leiden (Antwerpen: 1573, 1574, 1577, 1581, 1582, 1583, 1584¹¹ usw.; Leiden: 1591, 1593,¹² 1594,¹³ 1596, 1599¹⁴ usw.), von François Gueffier (Paris: 1589 [Fig. 4], 1601, 1608),¹⁵ Stephane Valet (Paris: 1589, 1602),¹⁶ Hieronymus Marnef und Veuve Guillaume Cavellat (Paris: 1583),¹⁷ Jean Richer (Paris: 1584; 1587; 1589, 1601, 1602, 1608 [Fig. 5] usw.)¹⁸ und den Erben Guillaume Rouilles (Lyon, Guillaume Rouille: 1600).¹⁹

¹¹ Vgl. Green, *Andrea Alciati* Nr. 84, 87, 93, 99, 101, 105 und 108. Green Nr. 84: *Omnia Andreae Alciati V.C. Emblemata adiectis commentariis et scholiis, in quibus Emblematum ferme omnium aperta origine mens auctoris explicatur et obscura omnia dubiaque illustrantur; per Claudium Minoem Divionensem* (Antwerpen, Christoph Plantin: 1573); Green Nr. 99: *Omnia Andreae Alciati V.C. Emblemata cum commentariis, quibus Emblematum omnium aperta origine mens auctoris explicatur et obscura omnia dubiaque illustrantur; per Claudium Minoem Divionensem. Editio tertia aliis multo locupletior* (Antwerpen, Christoph Plantin: 1581), 8o, 804 SS. Green Nr. 108: *Emblemata [...] cum facili et compendiosa explicatione, qua obscura illustrantur dubiaque omnia solvuntur* (Antwerpen, Christoph Plantin: 1584), 16o, 480 Seiten.

¹² Vgl. Green, *Andrea Alciati* Nr. 117 und 119. Nr. 117: *Andreae Alciati V.C. Emblemata cum Claudii Minois Divionensis ad eadem commentariis, quibus Emblematum omnium aperta origine mens auctoris explicatur et obscura omnia dubiaque illustrantur; per Claudium Minoem Divionensem* (Leiden, Franciscus Raphelengius [Officina Plantiniana]: 1591), 8o, 760 SS. Zu Mignaults Kommentar sehe man die grundlegende Studie von Daniel Russell, „Claude Mignault, Erasmus and Simon Bouquet: The Function of the Commentaries on Alciato's Emblems“, in Enenkel K.A.E. – Visser A.S.Q. (Hrsg.), *Mundus Emblematicus. Studies in Neo-Latin Emblem Books* (Turnhout: 2003), Imago Figurata. Studies vol. IV, 17–32. Russell vermerkt ebd. 18, dass Mignaults Kommentar, bevor er in Thuius' Kommentar inkorporiert wurde (= 1621), mehr als zwanzig Ausgaben erlebte.

¹³ Leiden, Officina Raphelengiana: 159 (Exemplar Leiden, Universiteitsbibliotheek Thysius 1117), 8o, 760 Seiten.

¹⁴ Vgl. Green, *Andrea Alciati* Nr. 121 und 123.

¹⁵ Vgl. Green, *Andrea Alciati* Nr. 115, 130 und 132. Nr. 115: *Omnia Andreae Alciati V. C. Emblemata cum commentariis, quibus Emblematum omnium aperta origine mens Auctoris explicatur et obscura omnia dubiaque illustrantur. Adiectae ad calcem notae posteriores. Per Claudium Minoem Iurisconsultum* (Paris, François Gueffier: 1589). Adams – Rawles – Saunders, *French Emblem Books* F061; F064; F065.

¹⁶ Vgl. Green, *Andrea Alciati* Nr. 114 und 131. Nr. 114: *Andreae Alciati V.C. Emblemata cum commentariis, quibus Emblematum omnium aperta origine mens Auctoris explicatur et obscura omnia dubiaque illustrantur. Adiectae ad calcem notae posteriores. Per Claudium Minoem Iurisconsultum* (Paris, Stephane Valet: 1589). Adams – Rawles – Saunders, *French Emblem Books* F061.

¹⁷ Vgl. Green, *Andrea Alciati* Nr. 104; Adams – Rawles – Saunders, *French Emblem Books* F057.

¹⁸ Vgl. Green, *Andrea Alciati* Nr. 116, 128, 129 und 132. Nr. 128: *Omnia Andreae Alciati V.C. Emblemata cum commentariis, quibus Emblematum omnium aperta origine dubia omnia et obscura illustrantur. Adiectae Novae appendices nusquam antea editae. Per Claudium Minoem Iurisconsultum* (Paris, Jean Richer: 1601); Adams – Rawles – Saunders, *French Emblem Books* F058 (1584; kurze Kommentare Mignaults); F059 (1587); F061 (1589). F064 (1602) und F065 (1608) druckte Jean Richer für F. Gueffier und É. Vallet, was zu unterschiedlichen Druckvermerken des Verlegers führte.

¹⁹ Adams-Rawles-Saunders, *French Emblem Books* F063.

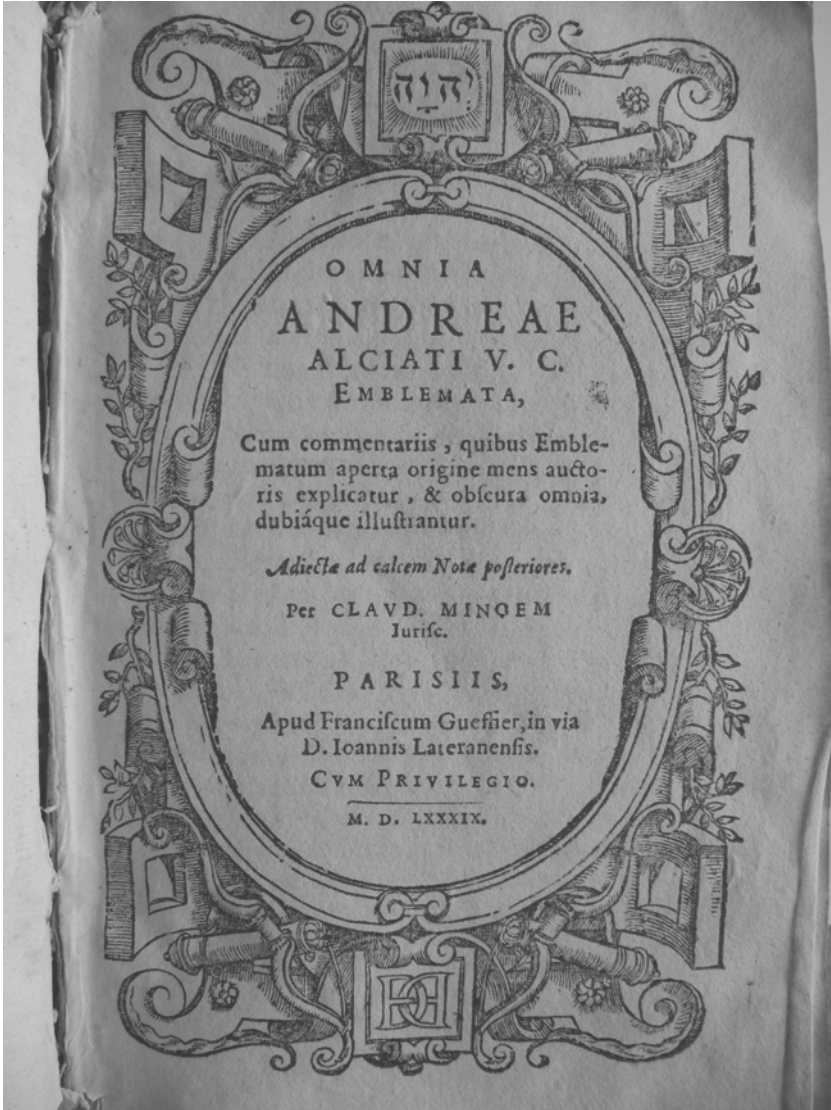


Fig. 4. Titelseite von Andrea Alciato, *Emblemata cum commentariis* [...] per Claudium Minoem (Paris, François Gueffier: 1589).



Fig. 5. Titelseite mit Autorporträt von Andrea Alciato, *Emblemata cum commentariis* [...] *per Claudium Minoem* (Paris, Jean Richer: 1608).

Offensichtlich führte das Feuerwerk der Mignault-Ausgaben dazu, dass man vergaß, dass Stockhamers Kommentar seinerseits keineswegs erfolglos war. Es lassen sich wenigstens 12 Ausgaben/ Auflagen des lateinischen Textes feststellen, die in den Druckerzentren Lyon, Antwerpen und Genf erschienen.²⁰ Er wurde noch in der Mitte des 17. Jahrhunderts gedruckt (1639 und 1648) und – im Unterschied zu anderen lateinischen Kommentaren – sogar in eine Volkssprache übersetzt (1615):

1. Lyon, Jean de Tournes I. und Guillaume Gazeau: 1556; 160 (ohne Alciatos Epigramme), 76 folia. In *Andreae Alciati Emblemata succincta commenatriola Sebastiano Stockhamero Germano auctore* [Fig. 1]. Green, *Andrea Alciati* Nr. 59; Adams – Rawles – Saunders, *French Emblem Books* F036 (Exemplare z.B. München, Bibliothek des Zentralinstituts für Kunstgeschichte SB 131/30; München, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek; Bibliothèque Municipale de Grenoble, Oxford; Wien, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek).
2. Lyon, Jean de Tournes I. und Guillaume Gazeau: 1556; 160 (mit Alciatos Epigrammen), 108 folia bzw. 216 nummerierte SS. *Clarissimi Viri Andreae Alciati Emblematum libri II. Nuper adiectis Sebastiani Stockhameri Germani in primum librum succinctis commentariolis*. Green, *Andrea Alciati* Nr. 60; Adams – Rawles – Saunders, *French Emblem Books* F037 (Exemplare z.B. Glasgow University Library, Sterling Maxwell 37; London, British Library).
3. Lyon, Jean de Tournes I. und Guillaume Gazeau: 1561; 160 (mit Alciatos Epigrammen), 108 folia bzw. 216 nummerierte SS. Green, *Andrea Alciati* Nr. 67; Adams – Rawles – Saunders, *French Emblem Books* F040 (Exemplare z.B. Glasgow University Library, Sterling Maxwell 39; Oxford; Dresden, Sächsische Landesbibliothek).
4. Antwerpen, Christoph Plantin: 1565; 160, 240 SS. *Emblematum Clarissimi Viri D. Andreae Alciati libri II. In eadem succincta commentariola, nunc multo quam antea castigatiora et longe locupletiora Sebastiano Stockhamero Germano auctore*. Green, *Andrea Alciati* Nr. 72 (Exemplare z.B. Glasgow University Library, Sterling

²⁰ Rubem Amaral sagt in seinem Beitrag "Portuguese Emblematics: An Overview", in Gomes L. (Hrsg.), *Mosaics of Meaning. Studies in Portuguese Emblematics* (Glasgow: 2008) 16, dass Stockhamers Kommentar 7 Ausgaben erlebt habe (ohne weitere Angaben).

- Maxwell 43; Leiden, Universiteitsbibliotheek 764 G 5; München, Bibliothek des Zentralinstituts für Kunstgeschichte SB 131/37).
5. Antwerpen, Christoph Plantin: 1566; 24o, 250 SS. [...] *In eadem succincta commentariola, nunc multo quam antea castigatiora et longe locupletiora Sebastiano Stockhamero Germano auctore* Green, *Andrea Alciati* Nr. 73 (Exemplar z.B. München, Universitätsbibliothek 0014/W 8 P.lat.rec. 9).
 6. Lyon, Jean de Tournes I.: 1580; 16o. *Clarissimi viri D. And. Alciati Emblemata. Lib. II. aucti restituti. Cum Sebastiani Stockhameri in primum librum succinctis commentariolis*; nicht in Green; Adams – Rawles – Saunders, *French Emblem Books* F055 (Exemplare z.B. Glasgow University Library Sterling Maxwell Add. 240; Paris, Bibliothèque de l'Arsenal).
 7. Genf, Jean de Tournes II.: 1594, 16o; Adams – Rawles – Saunders, *French Emblem Books* F062.
 8. Coligny, Jean de Tournes II.: 1614; 16o, 144 folia bzw. 288 nummerierte SS. *Andreae Alciati Emblematum libri duo, aucti et restituti, et perelegantibus figuris illustrati, cum succinctis commentariolis. Additus est index locupletissimus*. Green, *Andrea Alciati* Nr. 139; Adams – Rawles – Saunders, *French Emblem Books* F066 (Exemplar z.B. Princeton University Library).
 9. Genf, Jean de Tournes II.: 1614; 16o, 144 folia bzw. 288 nummerierte SS. *Andreae Alciati Emblematum libri duo, aucti et restituti, et perelegantibus figuris illustrati, cum succinctis commentariolis. Additus est index locupletissimus*. Green, *Andrea Alciati* Nr. 139; Adams – Rawles – Saunders, *French Emblem Books* F066 (Exemplare z.B. Glasgow University Library Sterling Maxwell 65 und Add. 48).
 10. Coligny, Jean de Tournes II.: 1614; 12o, 241 nummerierte SS. *Andreae Alciati Emblematum libri duo, aucti et restituti, et perelegantibus figuris illustrati, cum succinctis commentariolis. Additus est index locupletissimus*. Green, *Andrea Alciati* Nr. 138.
 11. Genf, Jean de Tournes III.: 1628; 16o, 284 nummerierte SS.; Green, *Andrea Alciati* Nr. 156.
 12. Genf, Jean de Tournes III.: 1639; 16o, 284 nummerierte SS.; Green, *Andrea Alciati* Nr. 159; Adams – Rawles – Saunders, *French Emblem Books* F072 (Exemplare z.B. Glasgow University Library Sterling Maxwell 72; Wiesbaden, Hessische Landesbibliothek).
 13. Genf, Jean de Tournes III.: 1648, 16o; Green, *Andrea Alciati* Nr. 161.

Außerdem wurde Stockhamers Kommentar ins Französische übersetzt und in dieser Form wenigstens zweimal herausgegeben:

14. Cologny, Jean de Tournes II.: 1615; 160, 128 folia bzw. 256 nummerierte SS. *Les Emblemes de M. André Alciat. Traduits en rime Française, enrichis de belles figures, et esclarcis par petits commentaires, lesquels expliquent les fables et histoires qui y sont continues*; Adams – Rawles – Saunders, *French Emblem Books F068* (Exemplare z.B. Glasgow University Library Sterling Maxwell 32; Paris, Bibliothèque de l'Arsenal; Öffentliche Bibliothek der Universität Basel).²¹
15. Genf, Jean de Tournes III.: 1628; 160, 128 folia bzw. 256 nummerierte SS.²²

Auch wurde Stockhamers Kommentar ein Nachleben zuteil, da Jean de Tournes II. zum zweiten Buch der Embleme einen lateinischen Kommentar nach dem Vorbild Stockhamers anfertigte, der in der Ausgabe Genf 1614 bzw. Coligny 1614 erschien. Außerdem hat Jean de Tournes II. diesen Kommentar ins Französische übersetzt und ihn in den beiden Ausgaben von 1615 und 1628 gedruckt. Im Vorwort an den Leser („au lecteur“) legt Jean de Tournes II. die Entstehungsgeschichte seines Kommentars als ‚Fortsetzung‘ des Vorbildes ‚Stoccamer‘ dar.²³

²¹ Vgl. Saunders, *The Seventeenth-Century French Emblem* 26–27 und Anmerkung 23; Cartier A., *Bibliographie des éditions des De Tournes imprimeurs lyonnais* (Paris: [1937–1938]) no. 72; Saunders A., „Sixteenth-Century French Translations of Alciati's Emblemata“, *French Studies* 44 (1990) 271–288.

²² Vgl. Saunders, *The Seventeenth-Century French Emblem* 26–27.

²³ (Coligny, Jean de Tournes: 1615) fol. A2r–v: „L'an passe j'imprimay les emblemes d'Alciat en Latin, avec des Commentaires succincts de Stoccamer sur le premier livre: Et à l'imitation dudit Stoccamer j'en dressay aussi de mesmes sur le second livre. Depuis, et long temps au paravant, j'ay esté souvent interpellé, à fin que je les imprimasse aussi en François, et que je les esclarcisse avec quelques petites expositions. Je n'ay peu de moins que je n'aye acquiescé à ceux qui m'en ont sollicité. Je te presente donc maintenant, ami Lecteur, les Emblemes d'Alciat en François, enrichis pour la plus part de belles et delicates figures. Les huictains et autres epigrammes du premier livre, ont esté autresfois composés par Jean le Febvre: mais en ceste edition je les ay corrigés en une infinité d'endroits, leur laissant toutesfois leur premiere forme autant qu'il a esté possible. Les epigrammes du second, sont tous de moy, esquels je ne me suis pas estudié à la recherche d'une rime riche et exacte: encore moins aux loix des vrais huictains, qui ne doyvent avoir que trois unissons au plus. Je n'ay pas aussi recherché d'entrelasser les feminins avec les masculins, ny autres telles reigles, que ceux qui ont bon loisir, et qui font profession de la poésie, observent ordinairement. Mon but a esté d'exprimer, le mieux qu'il m'a esté possible, le sens d'Alciat. J'ay esclarci tous les deux livres avec des petits Commentaires, lesquels, quoy que succincts, ne laissent pourtant

Diesen Fakten kann man entnehmen, dass – was die Druckgeschichte betrifft – Stockhamers Kommentar nach dem Mignaults der erfolgreichste war. Francisco Sanchez de las Brozas Kommentar (1573) hat nicht annähernd so viele Auflagen erlebt.²⁴

Zu der Tatsache, dass die Emblematisforschung Stockhamer so wenig Beachtung schenkte, hat auch beigetragen, dass sich Mignault und Thuilius äußerst abschätzig, ja maliziös zu Stockhamers Leistung äußerten. Mignault behauptet in seinem Vorwort an den Leser, dass Stockhamer lediglich ‚einige‘ (‚aliquot‘) Embleme Alciatos kommentiert habe, und zwar nur mit ganz kurzen Anmerkungen (‚commentariola‘).²⁵ Dabei betont Mignault, dass die deminutivische Einstufung ‚commentariola‘ aus der Feder des Autors selbst stamme (‚sic enim appellat‘),²⁶ womit er suggeriert, dass sie unumstößlich wahr sei. Der Kommentar Stockhamers habe in keiner Weise das Zeug, ein „echter“ Kommentar zu sein: Er sei lediglich für den ‚Hausgebrauch‘ bestimmt und nur mit ‚geringem Fleiß‘ zusammengestellt.²⁷ Mit maliziöser *sprezzatura* verzichtet Mignault vorgeblich auf ein Urteil, ob Stockhamers Kommentar dem ‚Geist des Verfassers‘ (Alciato) und ‚dem Glanz des argumentum‘ (der jeweiligen Embleme) genüge. Nicht einmal die ‚erweiterte‘ Ausgabe (bei Plantin) erscheine in den ‚Augen der Gelehrten‘ ‚würdig‘ und angemessen.²⁸ Außerdem sei ja klar, weshalb Stockhamer nicht alle Embleme des Alciato kommentiert habe: Er habe keine Ahnung gehabt, wie die übrigen (=von ihm nicht kommentierten) gedeutet werden müssen.²⁹ In der Nachfolge Mignaults grenzte Thuilius

d'expliquer toutes les fables et histoires, qui sont contenues esdits emblemes. J'ay le tout fait pour ton profit et soulagement, ami lecteur. Reçoy donc bon visage ceste mienne edition, et joui du fruit que je t'y ay appresté et voué. A Dieu'.

²⁴ *Commentaria in And<reae>. Alciati Emblemata: nunc denuo multis in locis accurate recognita et quamplurimis figuris illustrata* (Lyon, Guillaume Roville: 1573).

²⁵ Vgl. Mignault, "Lectori studioso et candido" (Paris, François Gueffier: 1589) fol. a vi v.

²⁶ Ebd.

²⁷ Ebd.: "[...] Sebastianum Stokamerum [sic] Germanum in aliquot Alciati Emblemata scripsisse „commentariola“ (sic enim appellat) familiariter admodum et studio facili concinnata" ('[...] dass der Deutsche Sebastian Stokamer zu einigen Emblemen Alciatos „Kommentärchen“ – denn so nennt er sie – geschrieben habe, welche für den Hausgebrauch und [nur] mit geringem Fleiß zusammengestellt sind').

²⁸ Ebd., fol. a vii r. Mignault bezieht sich auf die Ausgabe *Emblemata Clarissimi Viri D. Andreae Alciati libri II. In eadem succincta commentariola, nunc multo quam antea castigatiora et longe locupletiora Sebastiano Stockhamero Germano auctore* (Antwerpen, Christoph Plantin: 1565).

²⁹ Ebd.: 'Sed esto: scripsit Stokamerus [sic] ille in aliquot Emblemata. Non tamen attigit omnia. Siquidem forte divinare non potuit, quid in aliis auctor sibi vellet. Ita

Stockhamer aus der erlauchten Riege der Kommentatoren aus: Er sei dieses Titels nicht würdig, da er sich nur der ‚Auflösung‘ (‚resolutio‘) des Emblems gewidmet und in dieser Hinsicht nichts anderes als ganz wenige und dazu noch allgemein bekannte Sentenzen und ‚Geschichten‘ (‚fabulae‘) vorgebracht habe.³⁰ Die Autorität des Mignault und des Thuilius’ zerstörte Stockhamers Ruf so grundlegend, dass ihn auch die meisten neueren Emblematisforscher für nicht der Rede wert hielten.

Wenngleich man den genannten Autoritäten zubilligen wird, dass sie in Bezug auf Gelehrsamkeit Stockhamer übertrafen und neue und hohe Standards für die Emblem-Kommentierung setzten, muss man registrieren, dass sie in unangemessener Schärfe über ihn herzogen, ihn ausgrenzten, ja Rufmord begingen. Brotneid und Konkurrenzdenken spielten in der frühneuzeitlichen Gelehrtenrepublik immer eine Rolle. Zur Zeit der Erstausgabe (1571) war Mignault nicht bewusst, dass ein weiterer Konkurrent, El Brocense, der an den Universitäten von Evora und Salamanca Rhetorik und Griechisch dozierte, bereits ebenfalls seit längerer Zeit an einem Alciato-Kommentar arbeitete, der jedoch noch nicht erschienen war, den französischen Gelehrten also nicht störte.³¹ Es ging Mignault um den Primat des Alciato-Kommentars. Wenn er Stockhamers Werk, das bereits einige Male in Lyon und Antwerpen herausgebracht worden war (z.B. 1556; 1565; 1566) akzeptiert hätte, wäre diesem das Erstlingsrecht zugefallen. Mignaults Strategie ist klar: Stockhamer musste eliminiert werden.

Die Objektivität gebietet, gleich eingangs festzuhalten, dass Mignaults Hauptvorwürfe (nur einige Embleme kommentiert, beschränkte Selektion aufgrund von Wissensmangel, Verwendung von ausschließlich

quaedam obscura sunt, ut vel multa rerum cogitione vel Delio natatore sit opus ei, qui ea commode velit explicare’ (‘Es sei so: jener Stokamer hat [einen Kommentar] zu einigen Emblemen geschrieben. Freilich hat er nicht alle erfasst. Zumal er wahrscheinlich keine Ahnung davon hatte, was der Autor meinte. Denn einige (Embleme) sind so obkur, dass der, welcher sie ausreichend erklären will, entweder ein profundes Wissen oder einen „delischen Schwimmer“ benötigt”).

³⁰ *Emblemata cum commentariis [...] opera et vigiliis Ioannis Thuilii Mariaemontani [...]* (Padua, Pietro Paolo Tozzi: 1621) VIII: ‘Sebastianum Stockhamerum [sic] vix Commentatoris nomine dignor, quia in sola epigrammatis resolutione occupatur, paucissimis iisque satis vulgaris sententiis et fabulis additis; ad haec vix mediam Emblematum partem hoc suo more explicat’.

³¹ *Commentaria in Andreae Alciati Emblemata: nunc denuo multis in locis accurate recognita et quamplurimis figuris illustrata* (Lyon, Gulielmus Rouillius: 1573); Nach Merino Jerez L. – Urena J., “On the Date of Composition of El Brocense’s Commentaria in Alciati Emblemata”, *Emblematica* 7 (1993 365–367) hat El Brocense schon seit 1554 an seinem Kommentar gearbeitet.

allgemein bekanntem Material, nur für den Hausgebrauch bestimmt) schlicht unrichtig sind. Stockhamer kommentierte keineswegs nur jene Embleme, die er mit seiner beschränkten Einsicht deuten konnte. Vielmehr war er von der noch nicht um ein Buch erweiterten Ausgabe der *Emblemata* Alciatos ausgegangen (113 Embleme), wie sie in den früheren Pariser Editionen des lateinischen Textes bei Christian Wechel (1534,³² 1435,³³ 1536,³⁴ 1538³⁵ und 1540)³⁶ bzw. den frühen Editionen des lateinischen Textes mit der französischen Übersetzung Jean Lefevres bei demselben Verleger (1536, zwei Auflagen;³⁷ 1538,³⁸ 1539)³⁹ vorlag. Diese Sammlung von Alciatos *Emblemata* kommentierte Stockhamer *nicht selektiv*, sondern *integral*. Stockhamer hat somit nicht nur ‚einige‘ Embleme kommentiert, sondern das gesamte ihm vorliegende Corpus.

Auch sind seine Kommentarnoten nicht von der erbärmlichen Qualität und stümperhaften Banalität, welche ihm Mignault und andere Nachfolger zudichteten. Sie demonstrieren Stockhamers Vertrautheit mit der humanistischen gelehrten Literatur, vor allem des italie-

³² Andrea Alciato, *Emblematum libellus* (Paris, Christian Wechel: 1534), 8o, 60 folia bzw. 120 SS. Vgl. Green, *Andrea Alciati*, Nr. 7; Adams – Rawles – Saunders, *A Bibliography of French Emblem Books*, Nummer F.001; in der Emblemsammlung der Glasgow University Library befindet sich ein Exemplar (Sterling Maxwell Add53), das in digitalisierter Form auf dem Glasgow-Website zugänglich ist. Die 113 Holzschnitte zu der Ausgabe Wechel 1534 fertigte Mercure Jollat an. Für weitere frühe französische Ausgaben des *Emblematum libellus* vgl. Adams – Rawles – Saunders, *A Bibliography of French Emblem Books*, Nummern F.001–072; für Wechels Alciato-Ausgaben siehe Rawles S., „Layout, Typography and Chronology in Chrétien Wechel’s Editions of Alciato”, in Graham D. (Hrsg.), *An Interregnum of the Sign: The Emblematic Age in France: Essays in Honour of Daniel S. Russell* (Glasgow: 2001) 49–71.

³³ Vgl. Green, *Andrea Alciati*, Nr. 8, 8o, 60 folia bzw. 120 SS.

³⁴ Vgl. Green, *Andrea Alciati*, Nr. 9, 8o, 60 folia bzw. 120 SS.

³⁵ Vgl. Green, *Andrea Alciati*, Nr. 11, 8o, 60 folia bzw. 120 SS.

³⁶ Vgl. Green, *Andrea Alciati*, Nr. 14, 8o, 60 folia bzw. 120 SS.

³⁷ Vgl. Adams – Rawles – Saunders, *A Bibliography of French Emblem Books*, Nummern F002–F003; Green, *Andrea Alciati*, Nr. 10, 8o, 124 folia bzw. 248 SS.; Saunders A., „Sixteenth-Century French Translations of Alciati’s *Emblemata*”, *French Studies* 44 (1990) 271–288; Adams A., „The Role of the Translator in Sixteenth-Century Alciato Translations”, *Bibliothèque d’Humanisme et Renaissance* 52 (1990) 369–383. Ein Exemplar befindet sich in der Emblemsammlung der Glasgow University Library, Sterling Maxwell 23B. Wechels Ausgaben des Jahres 1542 weisen eine Erweiterung des Textes um zwei Embleme auf (115), können Stockhamer somit nicht als Vorlage gedient haben.

³⁸ Green, *Andrea Alciati*, Nr. 11, 8o, 124 folia bzw. 248 SS.

³⁹ Green, *Andrea Alciati*, Nr. 12, 8o, 124 folia bzw. 248 SS. Ein Exemplar befindet sich in der Emblemsammlung der Glasgow University Library, Sterling Maxwell Add261.

nischen Humanismus, u.a. mit den Werken des Lorenzo Valla, des Vorstehers der Römischen Akademie Pomponio Leto, des Florentiner Altertumswissenschaftlers Andrea Domenico Fiacchi („Fenestella“; +1452), des Martialkommentators, Grammatikers und Sprachwissenschaftlers Niccolò Perotti aus Fano (1429–1480; ein Schüler von Vittorino da Feltre, Guarino da Verona und Lorenzo Valla); weiter des französischen Humanisten und Rechtsgelehrten Guillaume Budé (+1540), des römischen Kurialen und Gelehrten Raffaele Maffei da Volterra (Volaterranus; 1451–1522), den Leo X. zum Bischof von Aquino ernannt hatte; des Desiderius Erasmus; des insbesondere im Venezianischen Raum tätigen Rhetorikprofessors und Historikers Marcantonio Sabellico (Cocci; 1436–1506; Schüler des Pomponio Leto), des Florentiner Philologen und Universitätsprofessors Pietro Crinito (1475–1507; ein Schüler des Angelo Poliziano) oder des Venezianer Gräzisten und Aristotelikers Niccolò Leonico Tomeo (Leonicus Thomaeus; 1456–1531). Zuweilen tauchen in Stockhamers Kommentar ausgefallene Wissenssegmente auf, z.B. Quellenverweise auf die *Geometria* des Mathematikers Paolo Dagomari (Paolo dell’Abaco; +1366),⁴⁰ den juristischen Kommentar des Budé zu den Pandekten, auf einen nicht mit letzter Sicherheit belegbaren ornithologischen Traktat des frühmittelalterlichen Autors Isidor von Sevilla mit dem Titel *De natura avium*,⁴¹ auf Budés numismatisch-antiquarische Abhandlung *De asse*,⁴² den astronomischen Traktat des englischen Gelehrten Joannes de Sacrobosco (John of Holywood) *De anni ratione*

⁴⁰ Kommentar zu Emblem 33 „Inviolabiles telo Cupidinis“, fol. D5r.

⁴¹ Es lässt sich nicht mit völliger Sicherheit klären, welcher Text gemeint ist. Unter den für echt befundenen Werken des Isidor von Sevilla findet sich kein eigenständiger Traktat mit dem Titel *De natura avium* (vgl. z.B. Manitius M., *Geschichte der lateinischen Literatur des Mittelalters* [München: 1965] vol. I, 52–70). Jedoch könnte sich der Quellenverweis eventuell auf das 7. Kapitel des 12. Buches der *Etymologiae* beziehen, das in den Handschriften standardmäßig den Titel *De avibus* trägt. Im *Hortus sanitatis* ([Strassburg, Johann Prüss: 1507]) befindet sich ein alphabetisch angeordneter naturgeschichtlicher Hausbuchtraktat „De avibus“ (fol. 246r–273v), der sich v.a. auf Albertus Magnus, Rases, Isidors *Etymologiae*, XII, 7 und Aristoteles stützt. Für den Storch sehe man dort cap. XXVII, fol. 252r–v. Möglicherweise handelt es sich jedoch um eine Verwechslung des Isidor von Sevilla mit Thomas von Cantimpré (ca. 1201–ca. 1271): Das 5. Buch seiner enzyklopädischen Naturgeschichte *De natura rerum secundum diversos philosophos* (Aiken: 1947) trägt den von Stockhamer zitierten Titel „De natura avium“.

⁴² Kommentar zu Emblem 25 „Tumulus meretricis“, fol. c7r.

(13. Jh.),⁴³ das gelehrte philologisch-rechtsgeschichtliche enzyklopädische Sammelwerk *Parergon* des Andrea Alciato,⁴⁴ die zoologischen Traktate des Aristoteles (*Historia animalium*) und Aelian (*De natura animalium*),⁴⁵ auf Diodorus Siculus' Bibliothek,⁴⁶ die *Varia historia* des antiken griechischen Gelehrten Clearchus Solensis (3.–4. Jh. v. Chr.),⁴⁷ die *Roma* des römischen Juristen Herennius Modestus,⁴⁸ die juristische Sammlung *Collatio legum Mosaicarum et Romanarum*⁴⁹ oder Artemidors *Traumdeutung*. Der Wissensstand und intellektuelle Horizont, mit dem Stockhamer die *Emblemata* des Alciato las und in den er sie eingliederte, verdient unsere Aufmerksamkeit. Dies sollte *a fortiori* der Fall sein, da sein Kommentar interessante Einblicke in eine frühe Phase der Alciato-Rezeption bietet, zumal in einem Gebiet und einem Kontext, welche von der Emblematikforschung bisher nur am Rande bzw. ansatzweise erfasst worden sind.

Während die Emblematikforschung in den letzten dreißig Jahren blüht, gab es zur portugiesischen Emblematik bisher nur vereinzelte, meist auf die Kunstgeschichte beschränkte Beiträge. Diese Forschungslage spiegelt sich im grossen und ganzen in Peter Dalys hervorragendem neuen Handbuch zur Emblematik, *Companion to Emblem Studies* (New York: 2008). In ihm gibt es Beiträge zu den verschiedenen „nationalsprachigen“ Bereichen der Emblematik, u.a. zu Polen, Russland und Skandinavien. Ein Kapitel zur portugiesischen Emblematik sucht man jedoch vergeblich. Umso mehr ist zu begrüßen, dass in den *Glasgow Emblem Studies* in den letzten Jahren ein Band dem portugiesischen Emblem gewidmet wurde (2008). Der von Luís Gomes redigierte Band stellt einen ersten Versuch dar, die portugiesische Emblematik einem breiteren englischsprachigen Publikum einstiegsmässig zu vermitteln.⁵⁰ In seiner Übersichtsstudie verzeichnet Rubem Amaral als Charakterzüge der portugiesischen Emblematik, dass sie

⁴³ Kommentar zu Emblem 41 „Ex litterarum studiis immortalitatem acquiri“, fol. e5r.

⁴⁴ Kommentar zu Emblem 40 „Fortuna virtutem superans“, fol. e4r; Andrea Alciato, *Parergon libri VII*; vgl. Dazu Drysdall D., „Alciato and the grammarians: the law and the humanities in the *Parergon iuris libri duodecimo*“, *Renaissance Quarterly* 2003.

⁴⁵ U.a. Kommentar zu Emblem 49 „In facile a virtute decedentes“, fol. f4r; zu Emblem 85 „Aere quandoque salutem redimendam“, fol. f7r.

⁴⁶ Z.B. im Kommentar zu Emblem 8 „Non vulganda consilia“, fol. b2r.

⁴⁷ Kommentar zu Emblem 36, fol. d8r–v.

⁴⁸ Kommentar zu Emblem 111 „In oblivionem patriae“, fol. m3r.

⁴⁹ Kommentar zu Emblem 59 „In senatum boni principis“, fol. g3r.

⁵⁰ Gomes (Hrsg.), *Mosaics of Meaning*.

geringfügig, spät, erfolglos und epigonenhaft sei, eben wie man dies von einer peripheren Region erwarten könne.⁵¹ Das erste Emblem-buch, das die Formation *inscriptio*, *pictura* und *subscriptio* aufweist, erscheint in Portugal erst gegen Ende des 17. Jahrhunderts, João dos Prazeres *O Príncipe dos Patriarcas S. Bento. De sua Vida, Discursada em Empresas Políticas e Predicáveis* (Lissabon, António Graesbeeck de Mello: 1683). Ein Grossteil der erhaltenen Emblem-bücher Portugals ist dem letzten Abschnitt des 17. und vor allem dem 18. Jahrhundert zuzuordnen und beschränkt sich auf religiöse Themen, wobei das meiste auf das Konto der Jesuiten geht.⁵² Z.B. wurden Ignatius von Loyolas *Exercitia spiritualia* emblematisch ausgewertet und Hermann Hugos S.J. Emblem-buch *Pia desideria* nachgeahmt. Die Erfolglosigkeit der portugiesischen Emblem-atik geht nach Amaral daraus hervor, dass die meisten Emblemsammlungen (u.a. von Luiz Nunes Tinoco [1687]; Theotónio Cerqueira de Barros' portugiesische Übersetzung [1695] von Diego Lopez' *Declaración Magistral sobre las Emblemas de Andrés Alciato* oder Carlos del Sotos portugiesische Übersetzung von Martin le Roys *Le théâtre moral da la vie humaine*) ungedruckt blieben und nicht mit Holzschnitten oder Kupferstichen versehen wurden.⁵³ Eine attraktive Sonderform der portugiesischen angewandten Emblem-atik stellen jedoch azurblaue, glasierte Fliesen mit Emblem-darstellungen (*azulejos*) dar, denen in der portugiesischen kunstgeschichtlichen Forschung viel Aufmerksamkeit entgegengebracht wurde.⁵⁴ Das Fazit von

⁵¹ Amaral R., "Portuguese Emblems: an Overview", in Gomes (Hrsg.), *Mosaics of Meaning* (1-19) 1-2: 'Nevertheless, even a merely superficial glance at Portuguese emblematics at the time of major emblematic developments in main cultural centres of Europe will force us to recognize the Portuguese shortcomings, especially concerning the production of emblem books: comparably to what certainly happened in some other peripheral regions, it was modest, belated, frustrated and derivative'. Amaral arbeitet diese Aspekte in seinem Aufsatz punktweise ab.

⁵² Amaral, "Portuguese Emblems" 7-8. Amaral führt für die jesuitische Emblem-atik Sebastián Izquierdos S.J. *Practica dos exercicios espirituales de S. Ignacio* (Lissabon, João Galvão: 1687), Joseph Pereira Velozos Adaptation von Hermann Hugos *Pia desideria* (*Desejos Piedosos* [...]) [Lissabon, Miguel Deslandes: 1688]), Francisco de Mattos' S.J. portugiesische Übersetzung von Julien Hayneufves *Le grand chemin* (Lissabon, Domingos Carneiro: 1695) und Fra António das Chagas' portugiesische Übersetzung von Hermann Hugos *Pia desideria* (Coimbra, Real Imprensa da Universidade: 1830) an.

⁵³ Amaral, "Portuguese Emblems" 9-10.

⁵⁴ Amaral, "Portuguese Emblems" 16-18; für die einschlägige Fachliteratur s. ebd. 17, Anm. 24.

Amarals Forschungsüberblick lautet: „Emblem studies in Portugal are still incipient, and practically non-existent in Brazil“.⁵⁵

Während Amarals Forschungsbericht gleichermaßen wertvoll wie ernüchternd ist, gibt es dennoch Indizien, dass man in Portugal bereits zu einem frühen Zeitpunkt, d.h. zwischen 1540 und 1560, an der aufkommenden europäischen emblematischen Kultur partizipierte. Darauf weist z.B. die intensive Anwendung der Emblematik von Seiten der Jesuiten im Schulunterricht hin. Im Schulunterricht wurde Embleme und *Enigmata* (Rätselgedichte) präsentiert, erläutert und konstruiert; die Schüler wurden dazu angeleitet, selbst Embleme zu entwerfen.⁵⁶ An offenen Tagen manifestierte sich die Jesuitenschule mit Theateraufführungen und der Präsentation von Rätselgedichten und Emblemen, die an Wänden und an Säulen aufgehängt wurden. Für das Jesuitenkolleg von Évora lässt sich dieser Brauch bereits für die Eröffnungsfeier des Schuljahres 1555/6 nachweisen.⁵⁷ Das anwesende Publikum wurde aufgefordert, an der Deutung der Embleme teilzunehmen bzw. sich diesbezüglich mit den Schülern auszutauschen. Das war natürlich besonders eindrucksvoll, wenn Edelmänner oder bedeutende Intellektuelle zu den Besuchern gehörten. Dieser Brauch hat zu einem frühen Zeitpunkt sicherlich auch in Coimbra seinen Einzug genommen, nachdem João III. nach dem Tod André de Gouveas die Leitung des Colégio das Artes den Jesuiten überantwortet hatte. Zu diesem Zeitpunkt hielt sich Stockhamer bereits in Coimbra auf.

In Stockhamers Fall braucht man allerdings nicht anzunehmen, dass er mit der Emblematik erst durch einen offenen Tag einer portugiesischen Jesuitenschule in Berührung kam. Er kannte Alciatos *Emblematum libellus* aller Wahrscheinlichkeit nach schon zuvor durch seine Teilnahme an der humanistischen Kultur, der er und sein Lehrmeister Fabio Arca de Narnia angehörten sowie durch die gemeinsame Verehrung des Alciato als Galionsfigur der modernen, humanistischen Jura-Studien. Da er, wie oben gezeigt werden konnte, Alciatos *Emblemata*

⁵⁵ Ebd. 19.

⁵⁶ Vgl. Nigel Griffins schönen und überzeugenden Beitrag „Enigmas, Riddles, and Emblems in Early Jesuit Colleges“, in Gomes (Hrsg.), *Mosaics of Meaning* 21–39. Vgl. ders., „Italy, Portugal, and the Jesuits“, in Earle T.F. – Griffin N. (Hrsg.), *Portuguese, Brazilian and African Studies Presented to Clive Willis on his Retirement* (Warminster: 1995) 133–149.

⁵⁷ Brief von Bruder Fructuosus André an Ignatius, d.d. Évora, 31.12. 1555, unter Bezugnahme auf die Eröffnungsfeier am 1. 10. 1555. S. Griffin, „Enigmas, Riddles, and Emblems“ 28.

anhand einer der frühen Ausgaben Christian Wechels (1534–1540) kommentierte, darf man vermuten, dass er wohl vor der Reise nach Portugal (1547) bereits mit den *Emblemata* vertraut war. Wahrscheinlich besaß sein Brotherr Fabio Arca de Narnia ein Exemplar.

Jedenfalls stellten die Embleme des Alciato, als der Edelmann João Meneses Sottomayor im Sommer des Jahres 1551 Coimbra besuchte, für Stockhamer kein unbekanntes Werk dar. Als ihn João Meneses dazu aufforderte, war er imstande, aus dem Stegreif bestimmte schwierige Embleme zu erklären und die antiken Quellen, die den Emblemgedichten zugrunde lagen, zu benennen.⁵⁸ João Meneses war von der Gelehrsamkeit des jungen Mannes so angetan, dass er ihn um einen schriftlichen Kommentar zu Alciatos *Emblemata* ersuchte.⁵⁹ Aus Stockhamers Skizzierung der Entstehungsgeschichte geht hervor, dass die Idee zu einem einschlägigen Alciato-Kommentar im Ursprung auf den portugiesischen Edelmann zurückgeht. Für die frühe und intensive Rezeption, die Alciatos *Emblemata* in Portugal zuteil wurde, bildet gerade João Meneses Sottomayor einen wichtigen Beleg. Denn er war von Alciatos *Emblemata* so begeistert, dass er das Werk als Taschenbuch auf seiner Reise mitführte. Stockhamer hebt diese Tatsache in seinem Widmungsbrief hervor. Er vergleicht Sottomayors Verhalten mit dem Alexanders d.Gr., der auf seinen Feldzügen immer seinen Homer bei sich hatte.⁶⁰ Damit erhält Alciatos Emblembüchlein von der Gebrauchsform her den Stellenwert eines spirituellen und moralischen Leitfadens, der wie ein Gebetbuch täglich benutzt wurde und an jedem Ort und jederzeit der geistigen Erbauung dienen sollte. Es lässt sich angesichts der momentanen Forschungslage nicht ausmachen, ob Sottomayors Verwendung von Alciatos Emblembüchlein für die Elitekultur Portugals um 1550 repräsentativ war. Jedoch darf man

⁵⁸ Vgl. Stockhamers Widmungsbrief zu seinem Alciato-Kommentar (Lyon, Jean de Tournes and Guillaume Gazeau: 1556), fol. a2r: ‚Cum aestate praeterita contigisset, generose ac magnifice Domine, ut, dum Conymbricae esses, doctissimi Alciati Emblematum lepidissimum libellum manibus volveres meque fortuitu intervenientem de nonnullis paulo remotioribus et obscurioribus hystoriis atque figmentis illis insertis interrogasses, eorum aliquot obiter recitavi [...]‘. Stockhamers Text wird hier und des weiteren nach der Ausgabe Lyon, Jean de Tournes I. and Guillaume Gazeau: 1556; 160 (mit Alciatos Epigrammen; 108 folia bzw. 216 SS; Green, *Andrea Alciati* Nr. 60) zitiert: *Clarissimi Viri Andreae Alciati Emblematum libri II. Nuper adiectis Sebastiani Stockhameri Germani in primum librum succinctis commentariolis* (Exemplar Glasgow University Library, Sterling Maxwell 37).

⁵⁹ Ebd.

⁶⁰ Ebd. fol. A3r.

festhalten, dass jedenfalls *er* das Büchlein mit sich herumtrug und wie ein Brevier zur geistigen Erbauung benutzte.

Auch darf man festhalten, dass sich Sottomayor weder für diese intensive Benutzung schämte noch sie insgeheim und im stillen Kämmerlein vollzog. Die Szene mit der Alciato-Erklärung, auf die sich Stockhamer bezog, muss sich jedenfalls in einem öffentlichen oder halböffentlichen Raum abgespielt haben. Denn Stockhamer machte gerade erst zu diesem Zeitpunkt mit Sottomayor ‚zufällig‘ (*fortuitu*) Bekanntschaft, d.h. er stieß unerwartet auf Sottomayor, der offensichtlich umringt von einer Gruppe von Leuten über Alciatos Embleme diskutierte. Stockhamer stellte sich vor (oder wurde vorgestellt) und outete sich in der Folge als humanistisch gebildeter Intellektueller, der über den Diskussionsgegenstand – Alciatos *Emblemata* – genau Bescheid wusste.

Russell hat in seinem grundlegenden Aufsatz Mignaults Primatanspruch auf den Alciato-Kommentar unterstrichen; seiner Meinung nach hat Mignault von seinen Vorgängern nichts nennenswertes übernommen.⁶¹ Als wesentliche Leistung betrachtet er die Transformation des Emblembuches in ein enzyklopädisches ‘commonplace book’, welches als Bildungs- und Nachschlagewerk verwendet werden konnte, sowohl im Schulunterricht als auch bei der Abfassung eigenständiger Schriften.⁶² Diese Leistung und Kommentarfunktion ist nach Russell von Aneaus Herstrukturierung der (erweiterten) Emblemsammlung in *loci communes* seit 1548 abhängig.⁶³

Russells Darstellung der Funktion von Mignaults Alciato-Kommentar kann man nur zustimmen. Jedoch führt eine eingehende Analyse

⁶¹ Russell, “Claude Mignault” 18: ‘It would appear that Mignault “made little use of the other commentaries in his own work: those of Aneau were too short to have much to say and seemed to be aimed at a less erudite audience than the one Mignault was seeking; Mignault expresses a low opinion of Stockhamer’s work and his commentaries were fairly well formed before he could have come into contact with those of Sanchez de Las Brozas’.

⁶² Russell, “Claude Mignault” passim; als Darstellungsziel 17; vgl. insbes. 24: ‘The role of the commentaries seems to be more documentary than explanatory. That is, the emblem seems to serve as a locus for gathering a whole category of commonplace sayings, proverbs and quotations, and a high percentage of the material of the commentaries is not explanatory at all’.

⁶³ Lyon, Macé Bonhomme: 1548. Russell, “Claude Mignault” 17–18: ‘the reorganization of the emblems in 1548 was so important for the future history of the emblem genre: the recording made it possible for each emblem to serve as a ‘place’ in which to collect commonplace wisdom on the subject of the emblem. As such, it called for the kind of commentary Claude Mignault was to provide’.

von Stockhamers Kommentar zu dem Schluss, dass die Transformation des Emblembuches in ein 'commonplace book' bereits von dem jungen Gelehrten aus Coimbra – im Kontext der dort situierten humanistischen Kultur – vollzogen wurde. Diese Umformung scheint in ihren Grundzügen nicht von Aeneas Herstrukturierung abhängig gewesen zu sein: Stockhamer arbeitete nach der ursprünglichen Anordnung der 113 Embleme (wie sie in den Wechsel-Ausgaben vorliegt),⁶⁴ welche dem Prinzip der *varietas* folgt.

Ein wesentlicher Zug von Stockhamers Kommentar ist nun, dass er Alciatos Emblembuch in ein humanistisches enzyklopädisches Werk verwandelte, indem er die Embleme an humanistische und antike Enzyklopädien festmachte, deren Wissen mit den Emblemen verknüpfte bzw. das in den Enzyklopädien gespeicherte Wissen in die Gedichte hineinlas und hineinrug. Im Grunde legte er seinen Kommentar als *Wissensspeicher* an, der vergleichbare Aufgaben erfüllte wie die von ihm benutzten Werke: Pietro Crinitos *De honesta disciplina*, Niccolò Leonico Tomeo's *De varia historia*, Erasmus' *Adagia*, Raffaele Maffei's *Commentaria urbana*, Alciatos *Parergon*, Athenaeus' *Deipnosophistae*, Gellius' *Noctes Atticae*, Plinius' *Naturalis historia*, Isidor von Sevilias *Etymologiae* usw. Das jeweilige Emblem fungierte als „Schublade“, in der das gespeicherte Wissen abgelegt wurde. Dem Titel („Motto“) und der Pictura kam in dieser Transformation eine distinkte *memorative* Funktion zu. Diese Bestandteile des Emblems waren einprägsam und halfen, die dazugehörigen Wissensinhalte im Gedächtnis zu verankern und bei Bedarf abzurufen.

Zu berücksichtigen ist, dass sich die genannten humanistischen und antiken enzyklopädischen Werke im Hinblick auf die gespeicherten Wissensinhalte überschneiden. Stockhamer lagen stets mehrere Zugänge zugleich offen, wodurch er seiner Auffassung nach nicht gezwungen war, jeweils alle Quellen nachzuschlagen (oder aufzulisten). Dennoch hat er sich bemüht, jeweils eine erkleckliche Anzahl von Quellen konkret anzugeben, und zwar mit Vorliebe möglichst genau nach dem Schema 1. Autor; 2. Werk; 3. Buchnummer; 4. Kapitelnummer (wenn vorhanden) bzw. (als Alternative) Blattzählung. Dabei beschränkte er sich nicht – wie viele humanistische Kollegen – ausschließlich auf die antiken Quellen, sondern berücksichtigte auch die modernen: Pietro

⁶⁴ Wechels Ausgaben zwischen 1534 und 1539; vgl. oben.

Crinito, Erasmus, Niccolò Leonico Tomeo, Budé, Alciato usw. [Fig. 6].⁶⁵ Im Hinblick auf die antiken Quellen liegt die Vermutung nahe, dass der Kommentator auf eine Autorisierung bzw. autorisierende Anbindung des von ihm dargereichten Wissens wert legte; im Hinblick auf die modernen ist das Funktionsspektrum der Quellenangabe breiter. Die Autorisierungsfunktion geht wiederholt mit dem Bestreben, seinen Wissensspeicher mit anderen Speichern grundlegend zu vernetzen, Hand in Hand: Stockhamer erwartete, dass der Benutzer seines Kommentars imstande und daran interessiert sein werde, die betreffenden Stellen in den zitierten Werken nachzuschlagen. D.h. er ging davon aus, dass sich sein Lesepublikum – wenigstens teilweise – aus Vertretern der humanistischen *Respublica litteraria* zusammensetzte, welche über die zitierten Werke – z.B. in ihrer Privatbibliothek – verfügten. Das wird insbesondere an Stellen klar, an denen der Quellenbeleg als *reiner Literaturhinweis* (literary reference) formuliert wird.

Ein Beispiel für diese Wissensorganisation bietet der Kommentar zu Emblem 7 „Potentissimus affectus amor“. Nachdem Stockhamer die Abbildung in Bezug auf ihre einzelnen Elemente bzw. die Attribute des Gottes gedeutet hat, legt er den Kommentar als enzyklopädisches Lemma an. Da es sich um einen allgemein bekannten Topos handelte, zog er vor, dieses Lemma in Kurzform darzubieten, indem er einige Hauptsentenzen anführte, sonst aber auf Pietro Crinitos Enzyklopädie verwies: „Aber für diesen Gegenstand schlage man überhaupt Crinitos *De honesta disciplina*, Buch 16, Kapitel 4 nach“ („Sed videndus est de hac re omnino Crinitus lib. 16. ca. 4 de honesta disciplina“) [Fig. 7].⁶⁶ In dem drei Seiten langen Lemma führt Crinito die Verstehensfigur der Liebe als *Krankheit* in der arabisch-griechischen Philosophie vor.⁶⁷ Dort band man die Krankheit der Liebe an die

⁶⁵ Vgl. z.B. den Kommentar zu Emblem 3, fol. a6v „[...] Volaterranus folio 338“; Emblem 5, fol. a8r „[...] refert Crinitus libro 4. cap. 13“; Emblem 7, fol. b1v „Sed videndus est de hac re omnino Crinitus lib. 16. ca. 4 de honesta disciplina“; Emblem 8, fol. b2v „Responsum hoc argutum extollitur etiam a Crinito libro 19. cap. 7“; Emblem 13, fol. b6v „De Nemesis imagine, nominibus et potestate scribit Crinitus lib. 19. cap. 6 de honesta disciplina“; Emblem 21, fol. c4v „[...] ut Erasmus in Chiliadibus“; Emblem 24, fol. c6v „[...] Erasmus in Chiliadibus“; Emblem 25, fol. c7r „De Laide autem, eius monumento et huiuscemodi pictura simile recenset Leonicus de varia historia lib. 1. cap. 81“; Emblem 36, fol. e1r „Gallae olim ex Europa venientes hanc habitarunt regionem, unde Gallogrecia dicta est. Author est Fenestella“ usw.

⁶⁶ Fol. b1v.

⁶⁷ *De honesta disciplina* (Lyon, Antonius Gryphius: 1581) S. 409–412. Der Titel des Lemmas lautet: „De viribus et egritudine Amoris ac de eius remediis, copiose relatum ex Arabum commentariis“.

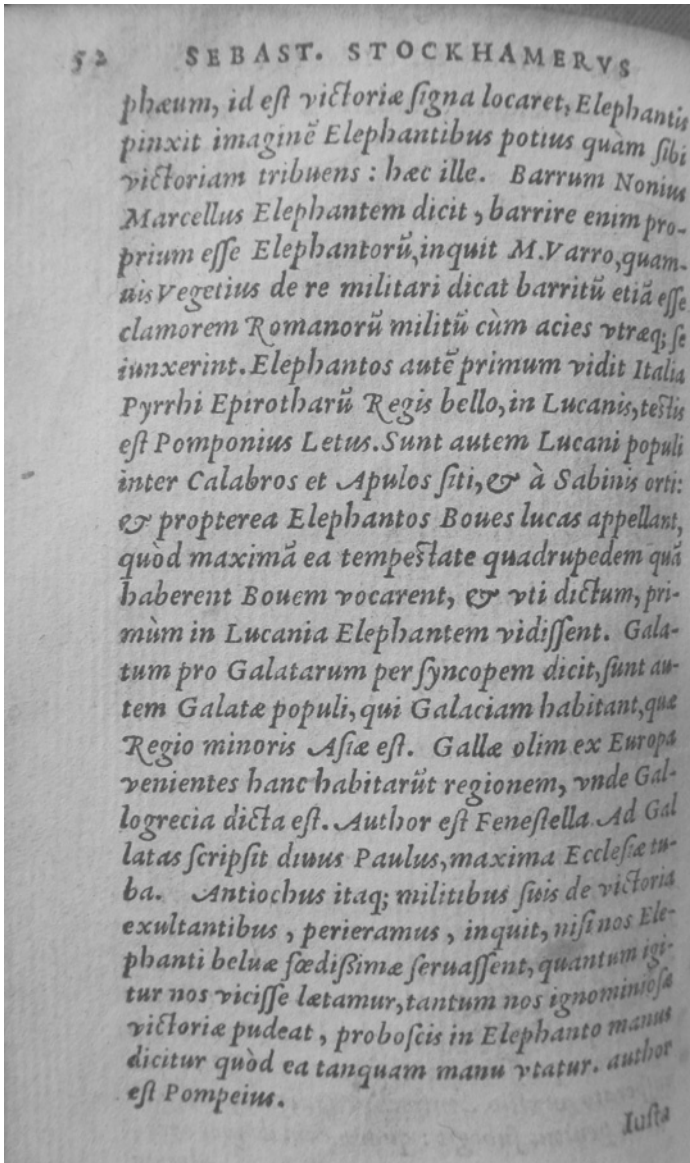


Fig. 6. Stockhamer zitiert Varro, Pomponio Leto und "Fenestella" (= Fiocchi). S. 52 aus: Sebastian Stockhamer, *In Andreae Alciati Emblemata succincta commentariola* [...] (Lyon, Jean de Tournes I. und Guillaume Gazeau: 1556; ohne Alciatos Epigramme).

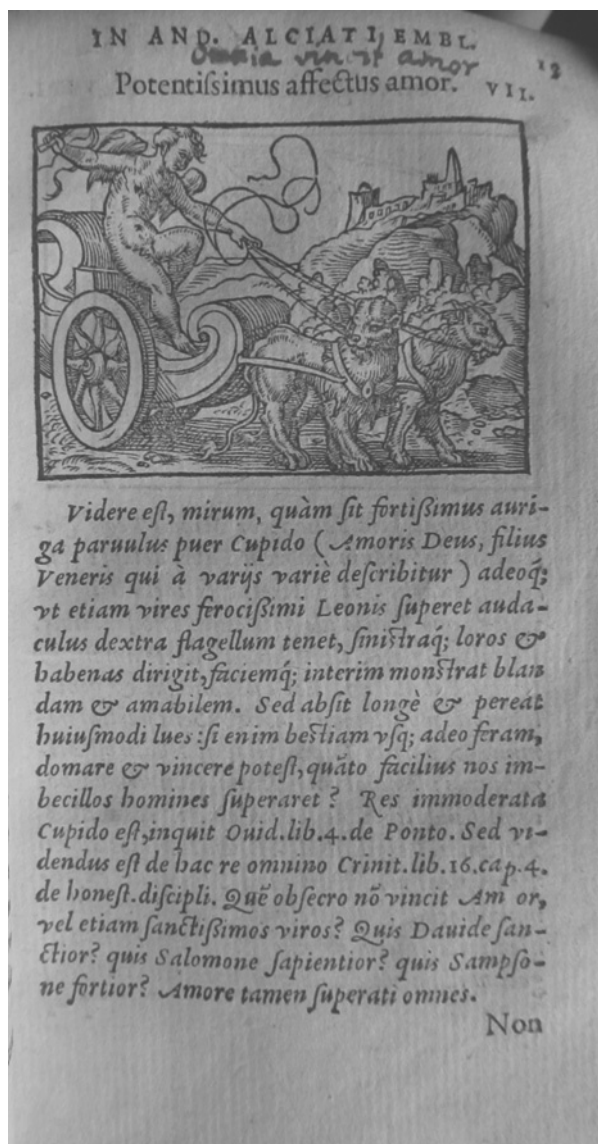


Fig. 7. Kommentar zu Emblem 7. Aus: Sebastian Stockhamer, *In Andreae Alciati Emblemata succincta commentariola* [...] (Lyon, Jean de Tournes I. und Guillaume Gazeau: 1556; ohne Alciatos Epigramme), S. 12.

Vier-Säfte-Lehre an und deutete sie als Überhandnehmen der schwarzen Galle (Melancholie) sowie als ‚Austrocknen‘ des Körpers. Die Körperteile des Liebeskranken werden auffällig blass. Die Augen treten in die Augenhöhlen zurück, die Augenlider sind vom oftmaligen Weinen gerötet. Die Venen und Arterien geraten in Unordnung – der Puls des Liebeskranken geht unregelmäßig und sprunghaft.⁶⁸ Obwohl das Lemma des Crinito zum Thema einschlägig ist, muss man, wenn man Stockhamers Arbeitsweise richtig orten will, registrieren, dass Crinitos Ausführungen zum Verständnis des Emblems eigentlich gar nicht notwendig sind. Daraus folgt, dass Stockhamers Kommentar nicht nur darauf ausgerichtet ist, das Emblemgedicht zu erklären, sondern ein topisches Lemma zu konstituieren. Das topische Lemma übersteigt die bloße Gedichterklärung; es soll einen bestimmten Wissensschatz bereitstellen bzw. eine Zugangstür zu ihm zu öffnen. Die Aufgabe des Literaturverweises ist, das topische Lemma zu komplettieren, indem es die physisch-medizinische Perspektive hinzusetzt. Damit wird ein vertieftes und gründlicheres Verständnis des Topos hergestellt.

In einer Reihe von Fällen gestaltet Stockhamer seine Kommentarmmata als mythologische Enzyklopädik, vor allem durch Vernetzung mit modernen enzyklopädischen Werken. Ein Beispiel ist der Kommentar zu Emblem 13 „Nec verbo nec facto quenquam laedendum“.⁶⁹ Alciatos Epigramm liefert eine Schilderung des Götterbildes der Nemesis mit ihren Attributen, dem Zaumzeug und der Elle [Fig. 8].⁷⁰ Nach einer knappen Erläuterung der Attribute verweist Stockhamer den Leser abermals auf Crinitos *De honesta disciplina*, Kap. XIX, 6, wo der Leser eine Beschreibung des Bildes der nämlichen Göttin, eine Auflistung ihrer (Bei)Namen und eine Verhandlung ihres Wirkungsbereiches antreffen könne: ‚De Nemesis imagine, nominibus et potestate scribit Crinitus lib. 19. cap. 6. de honesta disciplina‘ [Fig. 9A].⁷¹ Der Hauptteil von Crinitos Lemma ist der Beschreibung von Statuen der Nemesis gewidmet, wobei er Epigramme des Ausonius und der *Anthologia Graeca* sowie in Pausanias’ *Periegesis* verwendete.⁷² Bezeichnend für die enzyklopädische Kommentierungsmethode Stockhamers

⁶⁸ Ebd. 409–411.

⁶⁹ Fol. b6r–v.

⁷⁰ In diesem Aufsatz werden jene *Picturae* gezeigt, die Stockhamer vorlagen, nicht jene, welche seinem Kommentar später beigegeben worden sind.

⁷¹ Fol. b6v.

⁷² *De honesta disciplina* (Lyon, Antonius Gryphius: 1581) 475–476; *Anthologia Graeca* XVI, 223; Pausanias, *Periegesis* I, 33,3–4 (Abschnitt über Attica).

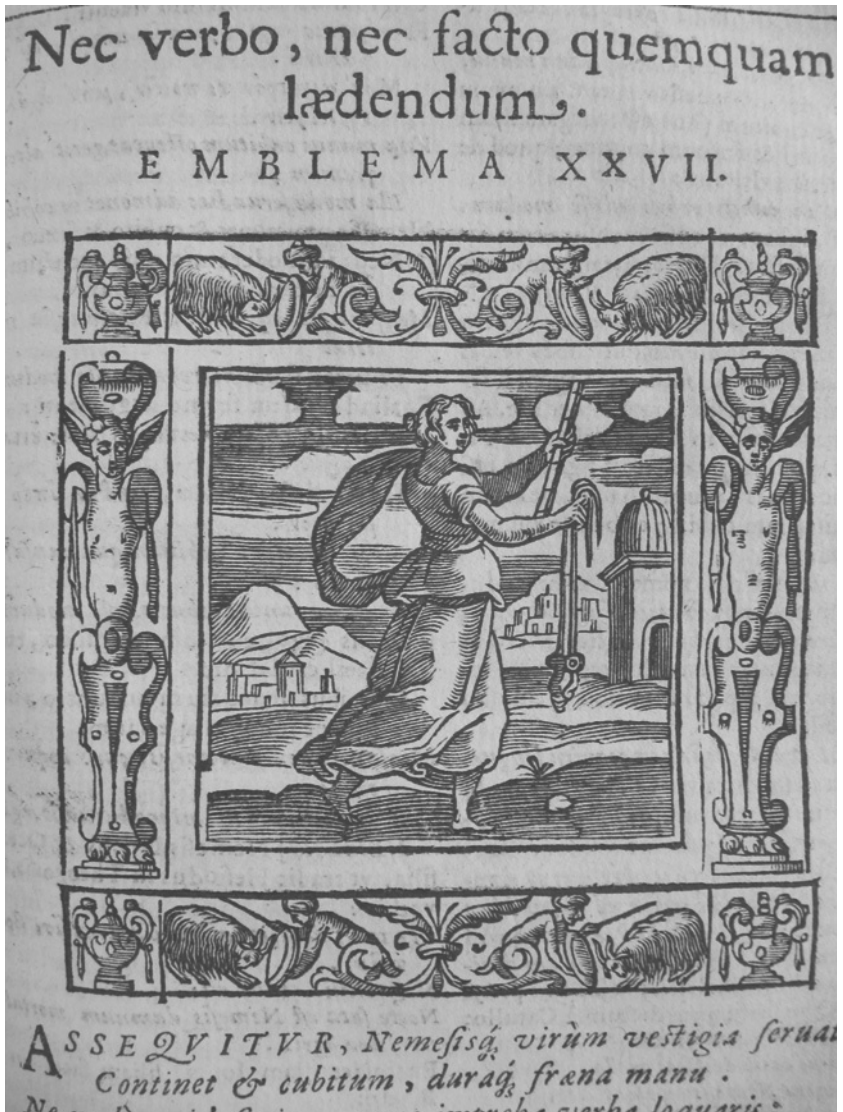


Fig. 8. Die Göttin Nemesis mit Elle und Zaumzeug. Pictura aus Andrea Alciato, *Emblemata cum commentariis amplissimis [...] opera et vigiliis Ioannis Thuilii Mariaemontani* (Padua, Pietro Paolo Tozzi: 1621) S. 157.

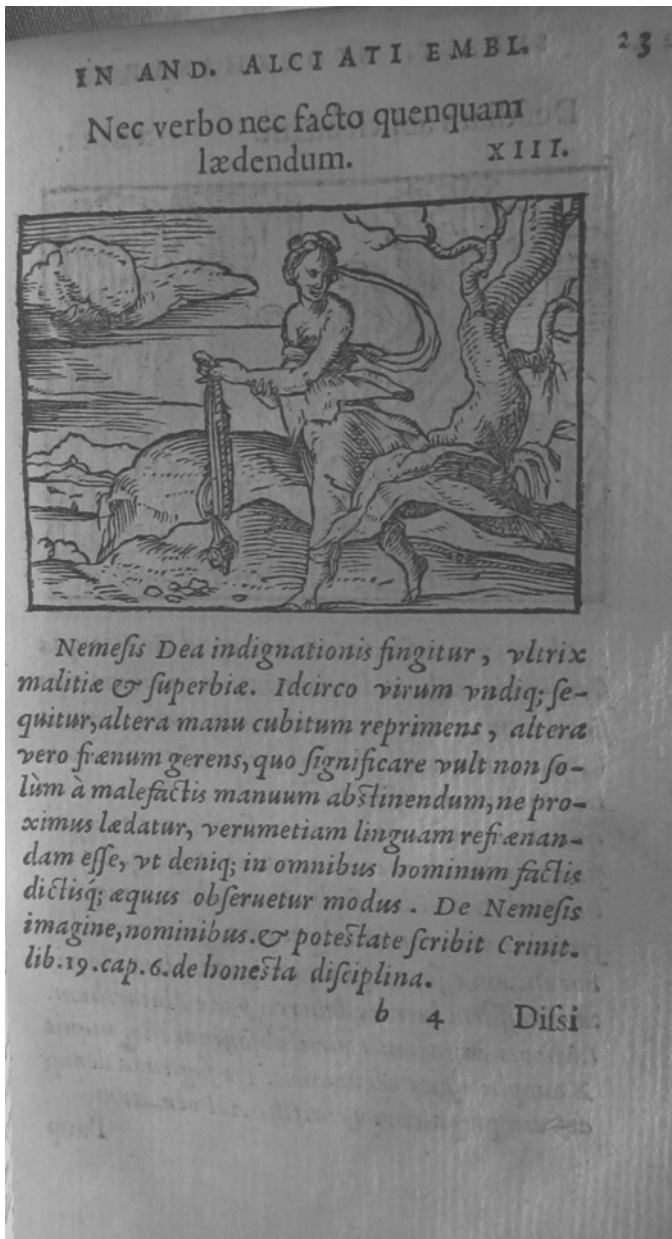


Fig. 9A. Kommentar zu Emblem 13. Aus: Sebastian Stockhamer, *In Andreae Alciati Emblemata succincta commentariola* [...] (Lyon, Jean de Tournes I. und Guillaume Gazeau: 1556; ohne Alciatos Epigramme), S. 23.

ist, dass die Beschreibung der Göttin bei Crinito (es handelt sich um Phidias' Statue im Heiligtum von Rhamnus), nicht mit Alcias Neme-sis identisch ist und auch nichts zu deren Verständnis beiträgt. Statt Zaumzeug und Elle trug Phidias' Nemesis – nach Crinitos Pausanias-Interpretation – als Attribute eine Krone mit Hirschen und Siegesgöt-tinnen (Nikai) und (in der rechten Hand) ein Gefäß (,phiala'), auf dem Äthiopier dargestellt waren, die möglicherweise auf Nemesis' Vater Okeanos hinweisen sollten [Fig. 9B]:

[...] quem lapidem Phidias opifex in ipsam Nemesis statuam formavit. Inest autem capiti eius deae corona, in qua cervi sunt et victoriarum exiguae visuntur imagunculae. In dextera phialam retinet, in qua caelati sunt Aethiopes, propter ipsum fortasse Oceanum, qui pater Nemesis traditur.⁷³

[...] Aus diesem Stein bildete der Künstler Phidias eine Statue der Nemesis. Auf dem Kopf trägt die Göttin eine Krone, auf der sich Hir-schen befinden und kleine Bilder von Siegesgöttinnen zu sehen sind. In der rechten Hand hält sie ein Gefäß, an dessen Außenwand Äthio-pier ziseliert sind, vielleicht wegen Okeanos, von dem die Überlieferung berichtet, er sei der Vater der Nemesis gewesen.

Durch die Verweisung auf Crinitos Lemma aktiviert Stockhamer ein antiquarisches, altertumskundliches, protoarchäologisches Wissen, wie es um die Mitte des 16. Jahrhunderts etwa von dem eminenten Gelehrten Lilio Gregorio Giraldi in seiner monumentalen *De deis gentium historia* (Basel, Joannes Oporinus: 1548) oder in Julien de Havrech's *De cognominibus deorum gentilium* (Antwerpen, Antonius Goynius: 1541) gespeichert wurde.⁷⁴ Giraldi zitiert und diskutiert dieselbe Pausanias-Stelle in seinem Artikel zu Nemesis in der *De deis gen-tium historia*.⁷⁵ Während es nicht danach aussieht, dass Stockhamer

⁷³ *De honesta disciplina* (Lyon, Antonius Gryphius: 1581) 476.

⁷⁴ Zur neuen, altertumswissenschaftlichen Mythographie des 16. Jahrhunderts, ins-besondere zu den Werken Giraldis und de Havrech's siehe Enenkel K.A.E., "The Making of 16th Century Mythography: Giraldi's *Syntagma de Musis* (1507, 1511 and 1539), *De deis gentium historia* (ca. 1500–1548) and Julien de Havrech's *De cognominibus deorum gentilium* (1541)", *Humanistica Lovaniensia* 51 (2002) 9–53 und ders., "The Development of 16th Century Mythography: Georgius Pictorius's *Theologica Mytho-logica*, *Apotheosis deorum* and Julien De Havrech's *De cognominibus deorum gentilium*", in Velde C. van de (Hrsg.), *Classical Mythology in the Netherlands in the Age of Renaissance and Baroque* (Löwen: 2009) 211–253.

⁷⁵ Basel, Joannes Oporinus: 1548, S. 640.



Fig. 9B. Die beiden Bilder der Göttin Nemesis. Aus: Vincenzo Cartari, *Imagines deorum* [...] (Lyon, Bartholomaeus Honoratus: 1581), S. 308.

diese Werke in seinem Emblemkommentar benutzt hat,⁷⁶ dürfte klar sein, dass er am nämlichen Diskurs über andere, frühere italienische humanistische Werke partizipierte, z.B. Pietro Crinito's *De honesta disciplina* (1501) oder Niccolò Leonico Tomeo's *De varia historia* (ed. pr. 1531).

Die Anlage des Kommentars als enzyklopädisches Lemma geht nicht nur aus Stellen hervor, wo Stockhamer das präsentierte Wissen durch einen reinen Literaturhinweis vernetzte. Sie ergibt sich auch aus der Art, in der er seine Quellen verarbeitete. Ein gutes Beispiel von Stockhamers Arbeitsweise bietet Emblem 8 „Non vulganda consilia“.⁷⁷ Das Epigramm präsentiert eine römische Legionsstandarte mit dem Minotaurus und leitet davon die Devise ab, dass (Heer)führer ihre Pläne nicht preisgeben dürfen [Fig. 10].⁷⁸ Stockhamer legt seinen Kommentar zunächst als enzyklopädisch-mythologisches Lemma an, in dem er die Geschichte von der Zoophilie der Sontentochter Pasiphaë erzählt und mit vier antiken Quellen belegt; die Gestalt des Minotaurus beschreibt und mit drei antiken Quellen autorisiert; schließlich die Geschichte vom Bau des Labyrinths schildert (gestützt von denselben drei Quellen) [Fig. 11; 12].⁷⁹ Ein Vergleich etwa mit Servius' Kommentar zu

⁷⁶ Wenn Stockhamer Giraldis benutzt hätte, wäre ihm klar gewesen, dass die Interpretation der auf der Krone dargestellten Göttinnen umstritten ist: entweder kleine ‚Fortunae‘ (Glücksgöttinnen) oder ‚Victoriae‘ (Siegesgöttinnen). Auch hätte er in dem Fall über das Attribut Bescheid gewusst, das die Göttin in der linken Hand hielt (Crinito schweigt sich darüber aus). Vgl. Giraldis ad loc.: ‚In manu altera erat ramus meleas, id est ex malo arbore, vel melias, id est ex fraxino. Variant autem exemplaria et perinde, qui interpretati sunt, ancipites fuere‘ (‘In der anderen Hand hielt sie den Zweig des Baumes melea, d.h. eines Granatapfelbaums, oder des Baumes melia, d.h. einer Esche. Die Handschriften weisen hier unterschiedliche Lesarten auf und daher schwankten die bisherigen Übersetzer zwischen diesen beiden hin und her’).

⁷⁷ Fol. b1v–b2v.

⁷⁸ Die Abbildung gibt diese Angaben mehr schlecht als recht wieder.

⁷⁹ Fol. b2r–b2v: ‚Minos autem Rex volens monstrum illud Minotauri ex hominum oculis occultare, iussit Daedalum (Atheniensem artificem ingeniosissimum: qui etiam ligneam illam vaccam, de qua supra, fabricaverat) praeparare et extruere sibi labyrinthum, aedificium et inextricabilibus erroribus clausum, adeoque ut quicumque ingrediebatur, vix unquam iterum egredi poterat: in quo Minotaurum abscondidit. Autores sunt proxime citati‘ (‘König Minos aber, der jenes Monster des Minotaurus vor den Augen der Menschen verbergen wollte, beauftragte Daedalus, den außerordentlich erfinderischen Athener, der ja auch die hölzerne Kuh, von der oben die Rede war, angefertigt hatte, mit dem Bau des Labyrinths, ein Gebäude, das durch unfindbare Irrwege unzugänglich war und so angelegt war, dass derjenige, der es betreten hatte, nie wieder herausfand. In diesem Gebäude verbarg er den Minotaurus. Die Belegautoren sind die eben zitierten’). Bei den Belegautoren handelt es sich um Ovid, *Ars amatoria*, Buch II; ders., *Metamorphosen*, Buch VIII; Vergil, *Aeneis*, Buch V (Vers 588).



Fig. 10. Römische Legionsstandarte mit Adler und ziserliertem Minotaurus. Holzschnitt aus Andrea Alciato, *Emblemata cum commentariis amplissimis* [...] *opera et vigiliis Ioannis Thuilii Mariaemontani* (Padua, Pietro Paolo Tozzi: 1621), S. 71 (dort Emblem 12).



Fig. 11. Kommentar zu Emblem 8, erste Seite. Aus: Sebastian Stockhamer, *In Andree Alciati Emblemata succincta commentariola* [...] (Lyon, Jean de Tournes I. und Guillaume Gazeau: 1556; ohne Alciatos Epigramme).

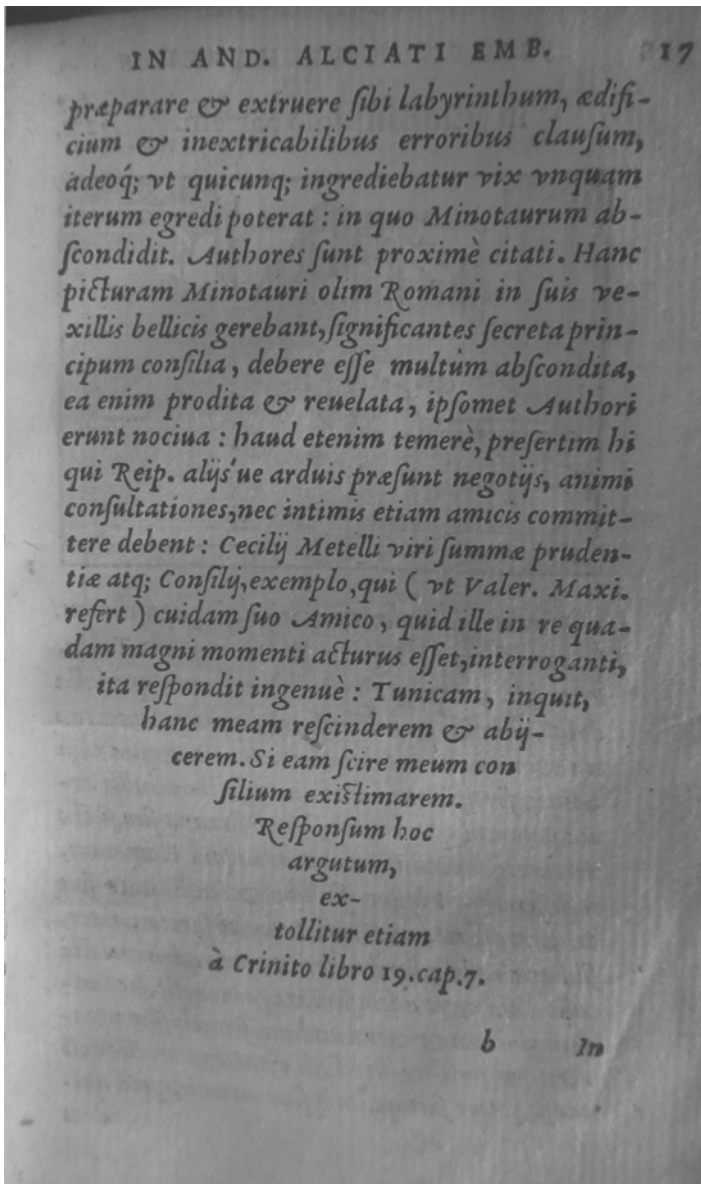


Fig. 12. Kommentar zu Emblem 8, zweite Seite. Aus: Sebastian Stockhamer, *In Andreae Alciati Emblemata succincta commentariola* [...] (Lyon, Jean de Tournes I. und Guillaume Gazeau: 1556; ohne Alciatos Epigramme).

Vergil, *Aeneis* V, 588 zeigt den Unterschied zwischen einer kurzen Kommentarnotiz, welche keine weitere Absicht hat, als dem Leser das Verständnis der betreffenden Stelle zu erleichtern,⁸⁰ und einem enzyklopädischen Lemma: Das enzyklopädische Lemma legt den Mythos umfassender dar und belegt ihn mit Stellen aus der antiken Literatur. Dies ist keine zufällige Konstellation, sondern betrifft den Kern von Stockhamers Kommentierungsmethode.

Hinzu kommt, dass der zweite Teil von Stockhamers Kommentar *ad loc.*, der sich auf die Devise bezieht, ebenfalls enzyklopädisch angelegt ist. Er bietet dem Leser das Exemplum des römischen Generals Caecilius Metellus dar, der gesagt haben soll, dass er sich lieber die Kleider vom Leib reiße (bzw. verbrenne) als dass er dem Freund ein Geheimnis verrate.⁸¹ Dabei ist entscheidend, dass das Exemplum weder von Alciato zitiert wird noch zum Verständnis des Emblems notwendig ist. Es ist auf die von Stockhamer intendierte Verwendungsweise des Emblemwerks als enzyklopädisches Werk ausgerichtet. Das entscheidende Vorbild für die nämliche Stelle war wieder Pietro Crinitos *De honesta disciplina*. Dort findet sich ein Lemma, das dem Exempel des Caecilius Metellus gewidmet ist- XIX, 7 mit dem Titel „De prudenti responso Caecilii Metelli ad amicum, qui eius animi consilium scire cupiebat [...]“ („Von der klugen Antwort, die Caecilius Metellus einem Freund gab, der seinen Plan erfahren wollte [...]).⁸² Interessant ist, dass Crinitos Kapitel eine ähnliche Struktur wie Stockhamers Emblemkommentar aufweist: zuerst wird ein allgemeiner Lehrsatz dargelegt, sodann mit einem Exemplum (Metellus) illustriert. Die Darlegung des Lehrsatzes lautet:

Nemini unquam dubium fuit, quin prudentiores illi homines atque consultiores habiti sunt, quorum consilia et in republica servanda et in vita instruenda maxime praestiterint. Qua in re observatum hoc est, cautissimum quemque haud temere animi consultationes vel intimis etiam amicis committere.⁸³

Niemand kann bezweifeln, dass man gerade jene Leute für klüger und bedächtiger hielt, deren Ratschlüsse zur Erhaltung des Staates und zur

⁸⁰ Servius ad loc.: „Labyrinthus] Locus apud Cretam, factus a Daedalo perplexis parietibus, ubi Minotaurus inclusus est ex Pasiphaë et tauro genitus“ (‘[Labyrinth] ein Ort auf Kreta, von Daedalus mit ineinandergeschachtelten Wänden angelegt, wo der Minotaurus, das Kind der Pasiphaë und eines Stiers, eingeschlossen wurde’).

⁸¹ Valerius Maximus, *Factorum et dictorum memorabilium libri*, VII, 4,5.

⁸² *De honesta disciplina* (Lyon, Antonius Gryphius: 1581) S. 477–479.

⁸³ Ebd. S. 478.

Regelung des (gesellschaftlichen) Lebens beitrugen. In dieser Sache war zu beobachten, dass die bedachtsamsten wohlweislich ihre Pläne nicht einmal ihren engen Freunden anvertrauten.

Stockhamer hat Crinitos enzyklopädisches Lemma in seinem Emblemkommentar getreulich nachgebildet. Wie Crinito schickte er eine allgemeine Darlegung des Lehrsatzes voran, in der sich wörtliche Anklänge an die *De-disciplina-honesta*-Stelle finden.⁸⁴ Weiter lässt sich zeigen, dass er das Exempel des Caecilius Metellus nicht der antiken Quelle, Valerius Maximus, sondern eben Crinitos Lemma entnommen hat. Während Valerius Maximus den genauen Kontext des Ausspruchs schildert (Feldzug in Spanien, bei dem Metellus eine Ablenkungstaktik fuhr), tilgte Crinito denselben: ‚in re magni momenti acturus‘ (‚in einer wichtigen Angelegenheit‘) lautet seine vage Einbettung.⁸⁵ Stockhamer folgte ihm wörtlich: ‚in re quadam magni momenti acturus‘.⁸⁶ Crinitos Lemma ist somit das Vorbild und die Präfiguration von Stockhamers Emblemkommentar *ad loc.*

Ein ähnlicher Befund ergibt sich aus dem Kommentar zu Emblem 24 „Obdurandum adversus urgentia“, dessen Bild die Palme zeigt [Fig. 13]. Aus diesem Lemma geht hervor, dass es verschiedene enzyklopädische Modelle sind, die zur Konstituierung von Stockhamers enzyklopädischen Emblemkommentar beitragen. Um das Emblem zu *verstehen*, benötigt der Leser lediglich die einschlägige Information über die Zähigkeit und Elastizität des Palmenholzes aus der Naturgeschichte, z.B. aus der *Naturalis historia* des Plinius.⁸⁷ In dem Kommentarlemma Stockhamers finden sich jedoch auch Daten, die nicht direkt zum Verständnis des Emblems notwendig sind, z.B. dass die Palme ein immergrüner Baum sei,⁸⁸ dass Palmblätter in der Antike als Siegeszeichen verwendet wurden, und dass sich von letzterem Brauch die sprichwörtliche lateinische Redewendung ‚die Palme davontragen‘ (‚palmam ferre‘) herleite.⁸⁹

⁸⁴ Fol. b2v: ‚*haud etenim temere, praesertim hi qui Reipublicae aliisve arduis praesunt negotiis, animi consultationes nec intimis etiam amicis committere debent*‘ (die Kursivierungen zeigen die wörtlichen Übernahmen an).

⁸⁵ (Lyon, Antonius Gryphius: 1581) 478.

⁸⁶ Fol. b2v.

⁸⁷ Z.B. Plinius, *Naturalis historia* XVI, 223; vgl. Aristoteles, *Problemata* 7; Gellius, *Noctes Atticae* III, 6.

⁸⁸ Fol. c6r.

⁸⁹ Fol. c6v: ‚Dabatur etiam olim palma in praemium victoriae. [...] hinc „palmam ferre“ pro victoria proverbialiter dicitur. Erasmus in Chiliadibus‘ (‚Einst überreichte



Fig. 13. Das "Palmenemblem". Mercure Jollat, Holzschnitt zu Andrea Alciato, *Emblematum libellus* (Paris, Christian Wechel: 1534), Emblem 24.

Durch die Angabe des immergrünen Blattes nähert Stockhamer sein Kommentarlemma der naturgeschichtlichen Enzyklopädik des Plinius an; nebenbei passt sie auch in den Worterklärungsdiskurs der etymologischen Enzyklopädik des Isidor von Sevilla (*Etymologiae*, „De propriis nominibus arborum“).⁹⁰ Durch die Angabe von der

man die Palme als Lohn für den Sieg. [...] Deshalb verwendet man „die Palme davontragen“ sprichwörtlich für den Sieg. Erasmus in den Tausendschaften der Sprichwörter’).

⁹⁰ Plinius, *Naturalis historia* XIII, 26–50; Isidorus von Sevilla, *Etymologiae* XVII, 7,1: ‘Palma dicta quia manus victricis ornatus est, vel quod oppansis est ramis in modum palmae hominis. Est enim arbor insigne victoriae, proceroque ac decoro virtutis diuturnisque vestita frondibus et folia sua sine ulla successione conservans’ (‘Die Palme wird so genannt, weil sie die Hand(fläche) des Siegers ziert, oder, weil sich ihre Blätter nach der Gestalt der Menschenhand ausbreiten. Denn der (Palm)Baum ist ein Sinnbild des Sieges, bekleidet mit seinen langen und dekorativen Zweigen und immergrünen Blättern; er behält seine Blätter, ohne dass ein Blattwechsel stattfindet’).

Palme als Siegeszeichen gliedert Stockhamer sein Lemma weiter in die enzyklopädische *Curiosa*- Sammlung des Gellius, *Noctes Atticae* (III, Kapitel 6) und schließlich besonders in Erasmus' Sprichwörter-Enzyklopädie *Adagia* ein. In wesentlichen Bestandteilen ähnelt Stockhamers Emblemkommentar Erasmus' *Adagia*-Lemma „*Palmam ferre*“, ⁹¹ das übrigens ebenfalls viel mehr Information ausbreitet, als zum Verständnis des Sprichwortes notwendig gewesen wäre. Z.B. behandelt Erasmus *in extenso* die kuriose Eigenschaft des Palmenholzes, dass es sich bei Belastung paradoxerweise der Last entgegenstemmen würde, wobei er auch noch die naturgeschichtliche Angabe hinzufügt, dass die Palme ein immergrüner Baum sei. Es sind also diverse antike und humanistische enzyklopädische Modelle, die Stockhamer bei der Konstituierung seines Emblemkommentars inspirierten.

Wie später für Mignault spielten auch für Stockhamer die *Adagia* des Erasmus eine wichtige Rolle als Modell für den Emblemkommentar. ⁹² Es gibt eine Reihe von Fällen, in denen ein bestimmtes *Adagia*-Lemma nahezu ein ganzes Kommentarlemma Stockhamers bestimmt. Ein illustratives Beispiel ist der Kommentar zu Emblem 5 „*Gratiam referendam*“. ⁹³ Das Bild zeigt den Storch bei der Brutpflege. Alciatus Epigramm handelt von dem familiären Pflichtgefühl des Storches, der den Eltern die ihm erwiesenen Wohltaten zurückzahlt, indem er sie, wenn sie im Alter flugunfähig geworden sind, füttert und im Flug auf die Schultern nimmt. Stockhamers Kommentar lautet:

Inter omnes aves Ciconia pietatis symbolum gerit: nam parentes senecta defectos vicissim alit et volandi impotentes humeris gestat, ut Athenaeus attestatur et Homerus lib. 4. Iliadis, Isidorus in lib. de natura Avium. Item de immensa Ciconiarum pietate Plinius lib. 10. cap. 23. et pulchre Aristophanes in avibus; ciconiae magna cura alunt vicissim parentes

⁹¹ *Adagia* I, iii, 204 (ASD, ordo II, tomus I). Erasmus' *Adagia* stiessen in Coimbra im nämlichen Zeitraum auf reges Interesse; vgl. i.a. Joannes Vasaeus, *Index rerum et verborum copiosissimus ex Desiderii Erasmi Roterodami Chiliadibus* (Coimbra, Ioannes Barrerius: 1549); Teyssier P., „Les Adages d'Erasmus dans le Dictionnaire Latin-Portugais de Jerónimo Cardoso“, *Miscelânea de Estudos em Honra do Prof. A. Costa Ramalho* (Lisbon-Coimbra: 1992) 127–136; Bataillon M., *Études sur le Portugal au temps de l'Humanisme*, Acta Universitatis Conimbrigensis (Coimbra: 1952); ders., *Erasmus y el erasmismo* (2nd ed., Barcelona: 1983); Moreira de Sá A., *De re erasmiana: aspectos do erasmismo na cultura portuguesa no século XVI* (Lisbon: 1977); Pina Martins J., *Humanismo e Erasmismo na cultura portuguesa do século XVI*, Fundação Calouste Gulbenkian (Lissabon-Paris: 1973) 159–165.

⁹² Vgl. Russell, „Claude Mignault“, bsd. 23.

⁹³ Fol. a8r.

iam aetate deficientes, sola bonitate naturae ad id agendum impulsae, inquit Aelianus lib. 15. cap. 4. Ideoque Ciconiae imaginem exsculpi olim solitam super sceptris regum, quo eorum pietas atque Iustitia indicaretur, refert Crinitus libro 4. cap. 13.⁹⁴

Unter allen Vögeln stellt der Storch das Sinnbild der Elternliebe dar. Denn er füttert seinerseits die altersschwachen Eltern und trägt die nunmehr flugunfähigen auf seinen Schwingen (durch die Luft), wie Athenaeus und Homer im vierten Buch der *Ilias* bestätigen. Ebenso (handeln von) der Elternliebe der Störche Isidor (von Sevilla) im Buch *Vom Wesen der Vögel* und Plinius in Buch 10, Kapitel 23, schön auch Aristophanes in *Die Vögel*. Aelian sagt in Buch 15, Kapitel 4, dass die Störche mit großer Sorgfalt ihrerseits die Eltern füttern und dazu ausschließlich von der Güte ihres Wesens angetrieben werden. Deshalb berichtet Crinito in Buch 4, Kapitel 13, dass einst (im Altertum) auf den Szeptern der Könige das Bild des Storches einmeißelt wurde, um deren Pflichtbewusstsein und Gerechtigkeitssinn zum Ausdruck zu bringen.

Nur am Rande sei vermerkt, dass das hier zugrunde gelegte naturgeschichtliche Phänomen nicht im empirisch wahrnehmbaren, objektivierbaren Sozialverhalten des Vogels begründet ist, sondern auf (subjektiven) Fehlinterpretationen beruht. Anscheinend hat man die Storchkinder, die in den Nestern gefüttert werden, in der Antike irgendwann einmal zu Unrecht für Altstörche angesehen. Wie es zu der Fehldeutung des „Huckepack-Nehmens“ der Altstörche gekommen sein könnte [Fig. 19], lässt der Plinius-Text vermuten. Plinius d.Ä. schildert, wie sich der Zug der Störche gestaltet: Die Tiere fliegen in der Formation eines Keils und lösen einander bei der Führungsarbeit ab, wobei die jeweiligen Anführer nach einiger Zeit (wie im Radsport) nach hinten durchgereicht werden. Dabei will man beobachtet haben, dass die ermüdeten, abgelösten Tiere ihre Hälse auf den Rücken der vor ihnen fliegenden Kameraden legen durften: ‚Die Hälse legen sie auf die vor ihnen fliegenden (Gefährten), die ermüdeten Anführer nehmen sie nach rückwärts (oder: auf den Rücken)‘.⁹⁵ Von daher ist es nicht weit zu der ebenfalls unrichtigen Identifikation der ‚Anführer‘ (‚duces‘) mit den Eltern. Während dieses vermeintliche – wesentlich menschliche – Sozialverhalten des Storchs bis in die Frühe Neuzeit

⁹⁴ Ebd.

⁹⁵ Plinius d.Ä., *Naturalis historia* X, 63: ‚colla imponunt praecedentibus, fessos duces ad terga recipiunt‘.

hinein als gesichertes Fakt galt, ist in der modernen zoologischen Literatur davon natürlich nicht mehr die Rede.⁹⁶

Auf den ersten Blick will es scheinen, als ob Stockhamer das ganze, zum Teil disparate Material des Lemmas selbst zusammengetragen hat; dass er bei seiner Homer-, Aristophanes- und Plinius-Lektüre auf das merkwürdige Sozialverhalten des Storchs gestoßen war. Obwohl Stockhamer Erasmus an dieser Stelle nicht als Quelle nennt, war dessen *Adagium* „antipelargein“ dennoch die Hauptgrundlage seines emblematischen Kommentars: Gleich die erste Zeile gibt den Einleitungstext des Adagiums wörtlich wieder;⁹⁷ gleiches gilt für die Elternfürsorge: ‚una ciconia parentes senecta defectos vicissim alit et volandi impotentes humeris gestat‘. Auch die Plinius-, Homer- und Aristophanes-Stellen traf Stockhamer bereits bei Erasmus an.⁹⁸ Dass er die genannten Quellen nur aus zweiter Hand übernommen hat, zeigt seine unrichtige inhaltliche Zuordnung der Homer-Stelle: Sie bildet keinen Beleg für das Pflegeverhalten der Störche, sondern für das erwünschte ethische Verhalten der Menschen.

Stockhamers Kommentar ist in diesem Fall wie ein Lemma in der Sprichwörterenzyklopädie des Erasmus aufgebaut. Nebenher begegnet man im selben Lemma auch altertumswissenschaftlichem Wissen, das Stockhamer, wie er selbst angibt, aus Crinitos humanistischer Enzyklopädie bezogen hat, während es im Übrigen auch in Erasmus' Lemma „antipelargein“ vorhanden ist. Jedoch zitiert Stockhamer in diesem Fall den Crinito und nicht die älteste Quelle (*Sudas*), die Erasmus *ad loc.* vermittelte.

In der Tat zählt auch das spezifisch altertumswissenschaftliche, archäologisch-antiquarische Interesse des Humanismus zur enzyklopädischen Erklärungsmethode Stockhamers. Er zog dabei u.a. die antiquarischen Werke des Pomponius Leto, des Andrea Domenico Ficocchi (Fenestella), des Guillaume Budé, des Raffaele Maffei da Volterra oder des Niccolò Leonico Tomeo heran, wobei er gleicherweise von dem von Crinito, Erasmus (*Adagia*), Marcantonio Sabellico (*Enneades*) und anderen gespeicherten Wissen profitierte. Gleichwohl ist zu bemerken,

⁹⁶ Vgl. z.B. Grzimek B. (Hrsg.), *Grzimeks Tierleben. Jubiläumsausgabe des vollständigen Werkes in 13 Bänden*. (Zürich: 1968), Bd. VII, 208–225 („Weiss-Storch“) (= Vögel I); Bezzel E., *Vögel*. BLV Handbuch (3. überarbeitete Auflage, München: 2006) 94–99 („Weiss-Storch“ und „Schwarz-Storch“).

⁹⁷ ‚Ea inter omnes aves una pietatis symbolum obtinet‘.

⁹⁸ *Adagia* I, x, 901 (ASD, ordo II, tomus II). Plinius, *Naturalis historia* X, 63; Aristophanes, *Aves* 1353; Homer, *Ilias*, Buch IV, 477–478.

dass sich Stockhamer dieses Wissen eher unreflektiert angelesen hat und es nur sporadisch einfließen lässt, während er nicht imstande war (oder wenigstens kein Interesse daran hatte), es kritisch, frei und kreativ aufzubereiten. Stockhamer war kein Archäologe oder Antiquar, sondern ein Jurist mit einer breiten humanistischen Bildung. So sucht man vergeblich einen Hinweis darauf, dass das Bild zu Emblem 7 „Potentissimus affectus Amor“ eigentlich eine antike Gemme darstellt. Im Kommentar zu Emblem 8 „Non vulganda consilia“ deutet Stockhamer die Legionsstandarte fälschlich als ‚vexillum‘ (‚Fähnchen‘), während der Minotaurus auf einer Metallplatte ziseliert gedacht war.⁹⁹ Zu Stockhamers Verteidigung muss man allerdings anführen, dass auch andere diesen Fehler machten, bis ihn der Altertumswissenschaftler Lorenzo Pignori richtigstellte [Fig. 10].¹⁰⁰ Trotz aller Unzulänglichkeiten trifft man in Stockhamers Kommentar immer wieder Altertumswissenschaftliches an. Im Kommentar zu Emblem 25 findet sich eine Kurzbeschreibung und Deutung des Grabmals der Laïs, die Stockhamer aus Leonico Tomeos *De varia historia* bezogen hat.¹⁰¹

Eine andere interessante Vernetzung verschiedener enzyklopädischer Modelle stellt das „Matching“ von linguistischen Enzyklopädien, wie sie Niccolò Perotti in seinen *Cornucopiae seu linguae Latinae commentarii* oder Lorenzo Valla in seinen *Elegantiae linguae Latinae* darboten, und naturgeschichtlichen Enzyklopädien dar. Ein Beispiel dafür ist Stockhamers Kommentar zu Emblem 26 „In parasitos“. ¹⁰² In seinem Epigramm bietet Alciato einem Parasiten spottend Flusskrebse zum Geschenk an, weil sie wunderschön seinem Charakter entsprächen. Zur Kommentierung verbindet Stockhamer die zoologische Beschreibung des Krebses aus Plinius’ *Naturalis historia* IX, 97 (95–99) mit dem Lemma „scurra et parasitus“ aus Vallas Sprachwerk *Elegantiae*:

Parasitus (est), qui omnia ad voluntatem eius loquitur, in cuius contubernium est; omnia assentatur, omnia illius facta simulac dicta laudat, nihil repugnant, nihil facere recusat ventris gratia, in quo summum bonum constituit. Quorum magna copia in principum domibus est.¹⁰³

⁹⁹ Fol. b2v.

¹⁰⁰ In Thuilius’ Kommentar (Padua, P. Tozzi: 1621) S. 71–72. Dazu gehörte auch die Korrektur der Pictura.

¹⁰¹ Fol. c7r; *De varia historia* I, 81.

¹⁰² Fol. c7v–c8r.

¹⁰³ *Elegantiae* IV, 51.

Ein Parasit ist, wer ganz nach dem Sinn dessen redet, bei dem er wohnt. Er stimmt allem zu, er preist alle Worte und Taten seines Gastherrn; nichts verweigert, nichts unterlässt er im Hinblick auf seinen Bauch, in welchem er das höchste Gut ansiedelt. An den Höfen der Fürsten gibt es von dieser Sorte Menschen eine beträchtliche Anzahl.

Für die von Stockhamer beabsichtigte Benutzungsweise seines Kommentars ist bezeichnend, dass der Leser die hier zitierte Wortdefinition Vallas nachschlagen muss. Erst dann funktioniert der Kommentar optimal; erst dann kann der Leser den Kommentar im vollen Sinn goutieren und feststellen, dass er besonders gut gelungen ist: Stockhamer schaffte es, auf überzeugende Weise die naturgeschichtliche Beschreibung des Krebses auf den Charakter des Parasiten, wie er von Valla beschrieben worden war, anzuwenden:

*Cancer enim animal est aquatile, oculos semper habens apertos, forfices dentatos atque acutos pro armis, ventrem magnum et octo pedes, de quo Plinius libro 9. cap. 31. Sic etiam parasitus, qui adulando hinc inde victum quaeritat; oculos habet admodum vigilantes, ob ventris repletionem omnia perlustrans. Nec desunt spicula nociva. Dum enim cibi gratia huic applaudet, alteri maledicit. Ventri insuper et gulae totus deditus, uti denique Cancer plures, sic ille per omnia loca celeres pedes habet.*¹⁰⁴

Denn der Krebs ist ein Wassertier, dass seine Augen immer offen hält, seine gezähnten und scharfen Scheren als Instrument verwendet, einen großen Bauch und acht Füße besitzt. Man sehe dazu Plinius, Buch IX, Kapitel 31. Genauso sind die Augen des Parasiten, der durch seine Schmeicheleien hie und da Futter sucht, hellwach, da er, um seinen Bauch zu füllen, alles absucht. Auch fehlen ihm nicht die schmerzhaften Waffen. Denn während er um des Essens willen jenem Beifall zollt, verbreitet er über einen anderen üble Nachrede. Zu guter Letzt lebt er ganz für seinen Gaumen: deswegen hat er, genauso wie der Krebs mehrere Füße besitzt, selbst ganz geschwinde Füße, die ihn überall schnell hintragen.

Interessant ist die Art, in der Jean de Tournes II. den enzyklopädischen Kommentar Stockhamers in seiner französischen Übersetzung bearbeitete, weil er Einblicke in die Rolle der intendierten Leserschaft gewährt. Der volkssprachliche Kommentar konnte seinen Lesern nicht dasselbe abverlangen wie der lateinische. Z.B. konnte man von den

¹⁰⁴ Ebd.

französischen Lesern nicht erwarten, dass sie die Literaturverweise auf antike, mittelalterliche und frühneuzeitliche Enzyklopädien nachschlagen würden. Sie waren dazu nicht bereit und zum Teil wohl auch nicht imstande, schon deshalb, weil sie die betreffenden Werke nicht vorrätig hatten. Also strich Jean de Tournes II. diese Verweise grundsätzlich. Das führte zu der Erstellung vereinfachter enzyklopädischer Lemmata, die sich ohne die Zuhilfenahme der gelehrten lateinischen Literatur verstehen ließen. Beim Storchenemblem verfiel z.B. die Anbindung an die antiquarische Enzyklopädie des Crinito. Damit verliert die Angabe, dass Könige auf ihren Szeptern den Storch trugen, ihren Bezug zur Antike.¹⁰⁵ Im Kommentar zum „Amor potentissimus affectus“-Emblem verfiel die Dimension der arabisch-griechischen Philosophie.¹⁰⁶ Im Kommentar zum Krebs-Emblem blieb die Verknüpfung mit dem Diskurs der grammatischen Enzyklopädie Vallas auf der Strecke.¹⁰⁷ Im Kommentar zum Minotaurus-Emblem verfällt der Anschluss an die Exempel-Sammlung des Valerius Maximus, wobei der vorbildliche Ausspruch des Caecilius Metellus anonymisiert wird, das *exemplum* also seinen Namen verliert.¹⁰⁸ Man darf festhalten, dass es ganz entscheidend ist, dass Stockhamers lateinischer Kommentar anders funktioniert; diese Tatsache liefert ein interessantes Bild der von ihm intendierten Leserschaft und der humanistischen Kultur in Coimbra, in deren Rahmen der Kommentar entstand.

Die Architektonik des Kommentars in enzyklopädischen Lemmata bedingt, dass Stockhamer im Hinblick auf eventuelle autobiographische Anmerkungen oder persönliche Eindrücke große Zurückhaltung an den Tag legt. Nur höchst selten scheint ihm derartiges in seinen enzyklopädischen Diskurs zu passen. Eine solche Ausnahme bildet

¹⁰⁵ Emblem 5 (Cologne, Jean de Tournes II.: 1615) fol. a6v–a7r: 'Entre tous les oiseaux, la Cigoigne est la vraye image de charité: car comme elle a esté nourrie par ses parents, aussi les nourrit-elle en leur vieillesse, et les portes etles soustient sur ses aisles. C'est pourquoy sur les sceptres des Rois on souloit mettre la Cigoigne, à fin de les faire souvenir de la charité et justice qu'ils doyvent à leurs peuples'.

¹⁰⁶ Ebd., fol. a7v.

¹⁰⁷ Ebd., fol. c4v–c5r. Stattdessen aktualisiert Jean de Tournes II. das Emblem, indem er es durch einen neuen Titel in den zeitgenössischen Sprach- und Kulturkontext eingliedert: 'Contre les escornifleurs ou cherchans repuës franchises, quon dit plaisans de table'.

¹⁰⁸ Fol. B1r: 'C'est pourquoy un grand Capitaine Romain respondit à un de ses plus familiers, qui desiroit sçavoir de luy ses desseings, Si je sçavois que ma chemise les sceust, je la bruslerois tout maintenant'.

der Kommentar zu dem Esel, der das Götterbild der Isis trägt und in seiner Vermessenheit glaubt, die Verehrung der Leute gelte ihm selbst [Fig. 14].¹⁰⁹ Hier streicht Stockhamer die enzyklopädische Information aus der Naturgeschichte im Hinblick auf den Aufenthaltsort seiner selbst und seiner intendierten Leserschaft. Er hält sich ja auf der spanischen Halbinsel auf, wo Esel zum täglichen Inventar gehören: ‚Asinus [...] cuius naturam seu qualitatem hic describere superfluum esse existimo, cum preter alias nationes precipue Hispania¹¹⁰ undique his sca-teat [...]‘ (‚Der Esel [...]. Ich denke, dass es überflüssig ist, sein Wesen bzw. seine Eigenschaften an dieser Stelle zu beschreiben, angesichts der Tatsache, dass mehr als bei anderen Völkern es auf der Iberischen Halbinsel überall von Eseln nur so wimmelt [...]).¹¹¹ Die Weigerung, den Esel an die naturgeschichtliche Enzyklopädie anzubinden, ist insofern interessant, als sie Stockhamers Kommentierungsmethode freilegt: Das Emblem handelt von einem Tier; der erste methodische Schritt des Kommentierens war, es in der naturgeschichtlichen Enzyklopädie festzumachen.

Ähnlich ist der Kommentar zu Emblem 50 angelegt, dessen *Pictura* einen Olivenbaum zeigt. Auch hier erspart sich Stockhamer eine botanische Beschreibung mit dem Hinweis, dass ‚der Olivenbaum auf der Iberischen Halbinsel sehr häufig vorkomme‘.¹¹² Alciatos Emblem 45 „Ex bello pax“ „Vom Krieg zum Frieden“ mit dem Bild des Ritterhelmes, der nunmehr (in der Friedenszeit) als Bienenkorb dient, veranlasst Stockhamer zu der persönlichen Randnotiz, dass das Emblem ihn an die Übersiedlung von Deutschland nach Portugal erinnere: Während es in Deutschland immer wieder zu kriegerischen Auseinandersetzungen gekommen sei, herrsche in Portugal tiefer Frieden: ‚[...] ut mihi videtur, ex Germania ad Lusitaniam translata (sc. galea). Ibi nanque frequentia bella, hic vero pacifica et tranquilla omnia‘ (‘Wie mir scheint, wurde er [der Ritterhelm als Bienenkorb] von Deutschland nach Portugal gebracht. Denn dort herrscht häufig Krieg, hier jedoch

¹⁰⁹ Kommentar zu Emblem 35 „Non tibi, sed religioni“, fol. d7r-v.

¹¹⁰ Das lateinische ‚Hispania‘ bezieht sich nach antik-römischer Diktion auf die Iberische Halbinsel als ganze, nicht auf das politische Territorium des Königreichs Spanien. Portugal, für das es in der römischen Antike keinen eigenen Begriff gab, ist also miteingeschlossen.

¹¹¹ Fol. d7r.

¹¹² Fol. f4v: ‚Olea seu Oliva arbor frequentissima in Hispania [...]‘. Zur Portugal miteinschliessenden Bedeutung von ‚Hispania‘ vgl. oben, Anm. 109.



Fig. 14. Der Esel mit dem Isis-Bild. Mercure Jollat, Holzschnitt zu Andrea Alciato, *Emblematum libellus* (Paris, Christian Wechel: 1534), Emblem 35.

ist alles friedlich und ruhig').¹¹³ Eine Kommentarstelle legt ziemlich unvermittelt Stockhamers politisch-religiöse Haltung frei. Er outet sich dabei als Befürworter des klaren Eintretens Kaiser Karls V. für den katholischen Glauben (das 1447 in dem Sieg der Kaiserlichen in der Schlacht am Mühlberg und in den Regelungen des „Geharnischten Reichstags“ 1447–1448 gipfelte) und einer harmonischen Zusammenarbeit des Kaisers mit dem Papst (damals Julius III., 1550–1555), wie es nach dem Tod Pauls III. (10.11.1549), mit dem sich Karl zerstritten hatte, wieder möglich schien. In der Tat versuchte Julius III. in den ersten Jahren seiner Regierungszeit, die Belange des Kaisers in Italien zu unterstützen. Das Doppelgestirn der Dioskuren, das der schiffbrüchigen Christenheit Hoffnung verkünde, interpretiert Stockhamer als das gemeinsame Auftreten des Kaisers und des Papstes.¹¹⁴ Die schöne Helena, die Schwester der Dioskuren, repräsentiert in dieser Interpretation die Katholische Kirche.¹¹⁵ Sowohl der Papst als auch der Kaiser müssen sich also mit aller Kraft für die Schwester, die schönste der Frauen, einsetzen.¹¹⁶ In diesen seltenen Ausnahmefällen, in denen Stockhamer Persönliches einbringt, lotet er die Grenzen der enzyklopädischen Kommentierungsweise aus.

Schon diese wenigen Beispiele zeigen, dass der Vorwurf Mignaults, Stockhamer hätte sich bestenfalls mit der Eruierung der Quellen einiger Embleme abgegeben, nicht richtig ist. Es geht Stockhamer vielmehr um die Erstellung kompakter enzyklopädischer Lemmata – eine Kommentierungsmethode, mit der er Alciatos Emblembuch zu einem „commonplace book“ umbildete. Diesbezüglich ist für ihn der Aspekt des Sammels („Lesens“, Auflesens) entscheidend. Der Kommentar stellt wesentlich eine Wissenssammlung dar und die Zusammenstellung

¹¹³ Fol. e8v.

¹¹⁴ Kommentar zu Emblem 33 „Spes proxima“, fol. d6v.

¹¹⁵ Ebd. fol. d6v: 'Sunt nobis lucida sydera summus Pontifex cum Imperatore, fratres longe formosissimae Helenae, Catholicae Ecclesiae, qua nihil spetiosius'.

¹¹⁶ Es ist bezeichnend, dass Jean de Tournes II., dessen Ausgaben im protestantischen Kontext Genfs erschienen, in seiner französischen Übersetzung diese Interpretation „wagschrieb“, indem er die Namen sowohl des Papstes als auch des Kaisers tilgte: 'Les grands Princes Chrestiens, s'ils estoient bien conseillés, seroyent à la Chrestienté comme les jumeaux, la garentissans de danger, et luy apportans guerison, si tost qu'ils la voyent en peine. Dieu les veuille bien inspirer, à ce qu'ils soyent protecteurs et peres de leurs peuples' ('Die grossen christlichen Fürsten, wenn sie gut beraten wären, sollten sich gegenüber der Christenheit wie die Dioskuren betragen, d.h. sie vor Gefahr beschützen und ihr Heil bringen, wenn sie bemerken, dass sie sich in einer Notlage befindet. Gott möge sie inspirieren, auf dass sie Beschützer und Väter ihrer Völker seien').

derselben betrachtete Stockhamer als Hauptleistung des Kommentators. In diesem Sinn ist seine programmatische Bemerkung aus dem Widmungsbrief an Sottomayor zu verstehen:

Hystorias insuper et fabulas, figmenta quaedam naturalia, memorabilia denique facta salse faceteve dicta ex variis authoribus – Hystoriographis, Poëtis, Oratoribus atque Philosophis – hinc inde collegi et, quam fieri potuit, breviter et succincte enarravi, [...] adscriptis insuper et demonstratis (si quis forte rem certius aut etiam ad satietatem usque desideraret) ubique classicis authoribus.¹¹⁷

Zusätzlich habe ich Geschichtsdarstellungen und Mythen, gewisse Erfindungen aus der Naturgeschichte und schließlich erinnerungswürdige Taten und geistreiche und witzige Aussprüche aus verschiedenen Autoren – Historikern, Dichtern, Rednern und Philosophen – von überall her gesammelt und sie so kompakt und kurz, wie es möglich war, dargestellt, [...] wobei ich außerdem (für den Fall, dass ein Leser die Sachen ganz genau und bis zur Übersättigung würde wissen wollen) jeweils die klassischen Quellenautoren angegeben und aufgezeigt habe.

Daraus geht hervor, dass Stockhamer den genauen Quellenbeleg in den antiken Werken zwar leistete, jedoch als zweitrangig betrachtete – die *Sammlung* steht im Vordergrund und diese stellt er als *eigenständige Leistung* dar. Dabei war ihm offensichtlich ein Anliegen, dass seine Sammlung *übersichtlich* bleibe. Der Leser sollte nicht den Überblick verlieren. Stockhamer war sich der Tatsache bewusst, dass Sammlungen willkürlich erweiterbar sind und dass er noch viel mehr Details speichern hätte können: ‚Denn wenn man alle Einzelheiten, die zur Sache gehören, anmerken wollte, glaub‘ mir, das Werk wäre länger als die *Ilias* [= 24 Bücher] geworden‘ (‚Singula nanque ad rem facientia si adnotari velint, prolixiora, crede, Iliade dicerentur‘).¹¹⁸ Er stellt also seine Sammlung ganz bewusst als *Auswahl* dar. Es war nicht seine Ambition, einen so ausführlichen, übertollen Kommentar wie den tausendseitigen des Thuilius zu verfertigen.

Dabei ist zu berücksichtigen, dass Sammlungen nach ganz unterschiedlichen Ordnungsprinzipien angelegt werden konnten. Die systematische Präsentation ist, obwohl sie bestimmte Vorteile besitzt, nicht die einzig mögliche oder gültige. Ein Nachteil der Systematik ist z.B. Eintönigkeit und Langeweile, die im Hinblick auf das Lesepublikum

¹¹⁷ Fol. a2v.

¹¹⁸ Ebd.

natürlich vermieden werden sollte. Abwechslung (*varietas*) war diesbezüglich ein effektives Darbietungsmittel. Nicht wenige von Stockhamers humanistischen und antiken Vorbildern waren nach diesem Modell strukturiert: Erasmus' *Adagia*, Crinitos *De honesta disciplina*, Leonico Tomeos *De varia historia*, Maffeis *Commentaria urbana*, Vallas *Elegantiae*, Gellius' *Noctes Atticae*, Athenaeus' *Deipnosophistae*, Aelians *De varia historia*, Diodorus Siculus' *Bibliothek*, Macrobius' *Saturnalia* und nicht zuletzt auch das kommentierte Werk selbst, Alciatos *Emblematum libellus*. Was lag also für Stockhamer mehr auf der Hand, als das Prinzip der Abwechslung (*varietas*) seiner enzyklopädischen Emblemsammlung zugrunde zu legen?

Ganz besonders klar zeigt die Beschaffenheit der Erstausgabe (1556), dass Stockhamers Kommentar in erster Linie als *enzyklopädischer Wissensspeicher* und nicht lediglich als Erklärung von Alciatos Emblemgedichten zu verstehen ist: Denn in dieser Ausgabe wurden Alciatos Epigramme weggelassen!¹¹⁹ Das emblematische enzyklopädische Werk setzte sich somit jeweils aus Lemmata mit der Formel: Titel – Pictura – Kommentar zusammen. Daraus muss man ableiten, dass auch die Verleger, Jean de Tournes I. und Guillaume Gazeau, Stockhamers Kommentar von Anfang an auf diese Weise, nml. als enzyklopädischen Wissensspeicher, verstanden.

Es empfiehlt sich, das Experiment zu machen und zu untersuchen, ob man das Werk tatsächlich ohne Alciatos Epigramme lesen kann. Diese Frage ist positiv zu beantworten. Dabei ergibt sich interessanterweise, dass sich Stockhamers Kommentar oft noch mehr auf die Bilder, wie er sie in der von ihm benutzten Wechsel-Ausgabe antraf, denn auf Alciatos Emblemgedichte bezog. So „kommentierte“ er Elemente, die in Alciatos Gedichten nicht explizite aufgeführt wurden. Z.B. vermeldet er im Kommentar zu Emblem 8, dass die Römischen Legionen eine ‚Fahne‘ (‚vexillum‘) vor sich hertrugen, während bei Alciato von einer Fahne nicht die Rede ist [Fig. 15].¹²⁰ Andererseits stellt sich heraus, dass Stockhamer in seinem Kommentar immer wieder wichtige Elemente aus Alciatos Gedichten im Kommentar ohne wesentlichen Erkenntniszuwachs paraphrasierend wiederholt. Das deutet darauf hin, dass sein Prosa-Kommentar jedenfalls potentiell darauf

¹¹⁹ Lyon, Jean de Tournes I. und Guillaume Gazeau: 1556; 16o (ohne Alciatos Epigramme), 76 folia bzw. unnummerierte 152 SS. Vgl. Die Liste oben, Nr. 1.

¹²⁰ Fol. b2v; vgl. Oben.



Fig. 15. Vermeintliche "Legionsfahne". Mercure Jollat, Holzschnitt zu Andrea Alciato, *Emblematum libellus* (Paris, Christian Wechel: 1534), Emblem 8.

ausgerichtet war, Alciatos Epigramme zu ersetzen, wie dies ja auch in der Erstaussage der Fall war. Das bedeutet, dass er sein Werk grundsätzlich als *enzyklopädisches Emblembuch*, als eine Art illustrierten Gellius oder illustrierten Crinito, einrichtete. Das Motto des Emblems fungierte dabei als Titel des Lemmas und die emblematische Pictura als Aufhänger, Blickfänger und Memorialhilfe des enzyklopädischen Kommentars.

Während man die Epigramme des Alciato wohlgermerkt ohne Erkenntnisverlust [!] weglassen kann, sind die Bilder unabkömmlich. Stockhamer bezieht sich in seinem Text immer wieder auf die Bilder, d.h. er geht davon aus, dass der Leser sie vor sich hat. Z.B. leitet er seinen Kommentar zu Emblem 7 mit den Worten ein: „Es ist wunderbarlich [nml. auf der Pictura] zu *sehen*, welch außerordentlich starker Wagenlenker das kleine Knäblein Cupido ist [...] und zwar so stark, dass der kleine Draufgänger sogar die Kräfte des ganz und gar wil-

den Löwen übertrifft' (*Videre est mirum, quam sit fortissimus auriga parvulus puer Cupido [...] adeoque, ut etiam vires ferocissimi Leonis superet audaculus*).¹²¹ Auf der von Jollat angefertigten Wechsel-Pictura wird einprägsam ins Bild gebracht, mit welcher Kraft das draufgängerische Knäblein die Löwen zügelt [Fig. 16]. Dann folgt das enzyklopädische Lemma „Potentissimus affectus amor“. Ein anderes Beispiel für Stockhamers Vorgehensweise bildet Emblem 13. Wenn Stockhamer den Text von Alciatos Epigramm philologisch-grammatisch analysiert hätte, hätte er unschwer zu dem Schluss kommen müssen, dass mit ‚cubitus‘ die Elle als Längenmass (und nicht der Ellbogen) gemeint war: Die Göttin Nemesis hält ein Zaumzeug und das Längenmass in der Hand zum Zeichen der erforderlichen Mäßigung.¹²² Stattdessen kommentiert Stockhamer, dass Nemesis ‚mit der einen Hand den Ellbogen zurückdrückt‘ (*altera manu cubitum reprimens*), während sie in der anderen, ‚zurückgedrückten‘ Hand das Zaumzeug hält (*altera vero fraenum gerens*).¹²³ Das Missverständnis erklärt sich daraus, dass Stockhamer recht eigentlich die Wechsel-Pictura kommentierte, die die seltsame Geste ins Bild bringt [Fig. 17]. Im Kommentar zu Emblem 36 liefert Stockhamer eine außerordentlich präzise zoologische Beschreibung des Krebses. U.a. vermeldet er dabei die gezähnten Scheren und acht Füße des Krebses.¹²⁴ Diese Elemente kommen nicht in Alciatos Epigramm vor, sondern wurden von Mercure Jollat auf der Wechsel-Abbildung dargestellt, in deren Zentrum ein einprägsames, zoologisch-naturalistisches Bild des Krebses steht [Fig. 18]. In manchen Fällen sind die von Mercure Jollat hergestellten Bilder durch ihren ausgefallenen und einprägsamen Charakter als Blickfänger und Erinnerungsstützen funktionaler als die Bilder des de-Tournes-Druckes von 1556. Ein gutes Beispiel ist das Storchenemblem Nr. 5. Während die Pictura des de-Tournes-Druckes einen Storch zeigt, der auf sein Nest fliegt um seine Jungen zu füttern – also eine ganz normale Sache, hat Jollat eine irre Komposit-Inventio hergestellt: Man sieht einen Storch im Fluge, der auf seinem Rücken einen Altstorch trägt, den er wohlgermerkt im Fluge mit einem Fisch füttert [Fig. 19].

¹²¹ Fol. b1r.

¹²² Emblem 13, Epigramm, Zeile 2: *‘Continet [sc. Nemesis] et cubitum duraque fraena manu’*. Das Wort *‘continere’* (*‘halten’*) bezieht sich auf zwei parallele, grammatisch gleichgeschaltete Gegenstände. *‘continere’* kann in dieser Konstruktion nicht einmal *‘halten’*, einmal jedoch *‘zurückhalten’*, *‘zurückdrücken’* bedeuten.

¹²³ Fol. b6r.

¹²⁴ Fol. c7v *‘forfices dentatos atque acutos pro armis, [...] octo pedes’*.



Fig. 16. Der Löwenbändiger Amor. Mercure Jollat, Holzschnitt zu Andrea Alciato, *Emblematum libellus* (Paris, Christian Wechel: 1534), Emblem 7.



Fig. 17. Nemesis. Mercure Jollat, Holzschnitt zu Andrea Alciato, *Emblematum libellus* (Paris, Christian Wechel: 1534), Emblem 13.

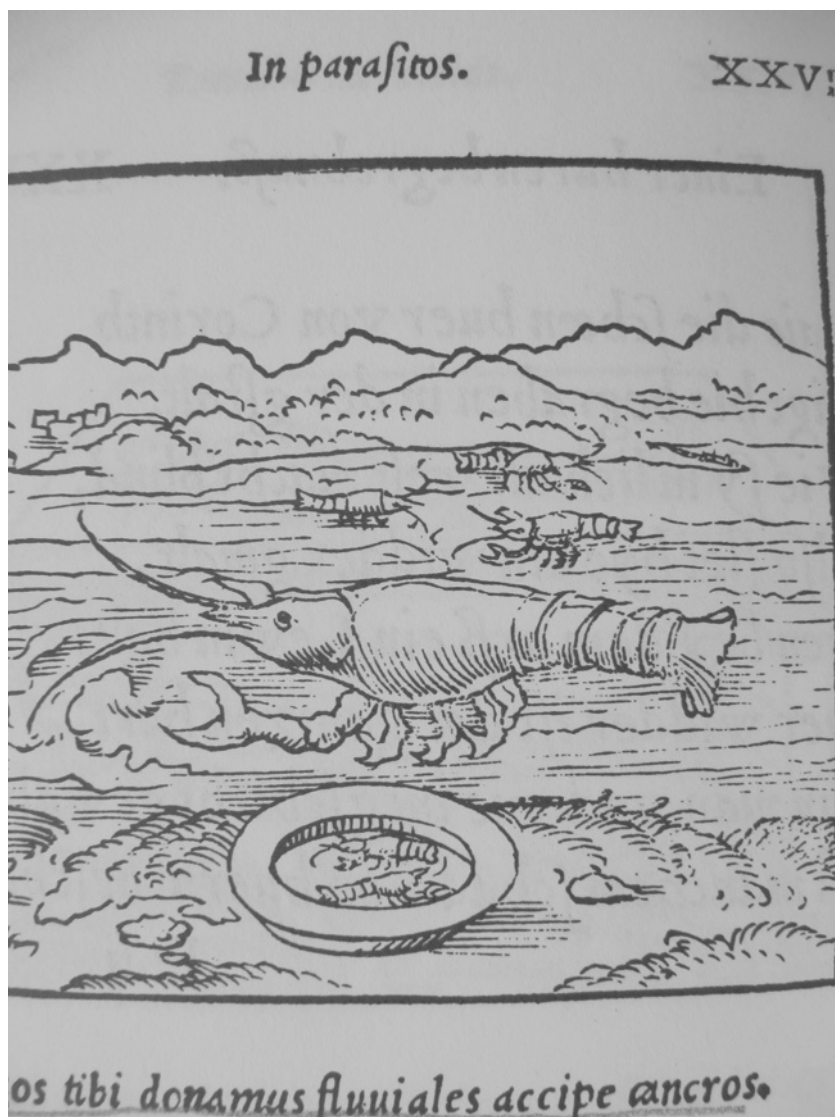


Fig. 18. Der Flusskrebs. Mercure Jollat, Holzschnitt zu Andrea Alciato, *Emblematum libellus* (Paris, Christian Wechel: 1534), Emblem 26.



Fig. 19. Storch trägt einen flugunfähigen Elternteil auf den Rücken und füttert ihn im Fluge. Mercure Jollat, Holzschnitt zu Andrea Alciato, *Emblematum libellus* (Paris, Christian Wechel: 1534), Emblem 5.

Letztlich ist Minaults und Thuilius' Vorwurf der völligen Banalität, des gänzlichen Mangels an Gelehrsamkeit und Wissen, nicht schlüssig. Bereits anhand der wenigen, in diesem Aufsatz analysierten Kommentarlemmata konnte gezeigt werden, dass dies nicht stimmt. Der von Stockhamer errichtete Wissensspeicher enthält trotz seiner enzyklopädischen Methode nicht nur rudimentäres Allgemeinwissen, sondern bereitet Wissen auf, das eine spezifische humanistische Signatur besitzt. Interessant ist diesbezüglich, dass Mignault und Thuilius, obwohl sie das Gegenteil behaupten, Stockhamers Kommentar immer wieder Elemente entnommen haben. Z.B. übernahm Thuilius in seinen Kommentar zum „Storchenemblem“ „Gratiam referendam“ im Hinblick auf die vermeintliche Elternpflege der Störche Stockhamers Quellenverweise auf Isidorus, *De natura avium*, Homer, *Ilias*, Buch 4 und Athenaeus.¹²⁵ Thuilius hat diese Stellen nicht nachgeschlagen; denn sonst hätte er erkannt, dass bei Homer vom Storch nicht die Rede ist, und hätte er die Athenaeus-Stelle näher spezifiziert. Auch das vermeintliche, schwerlich nachweisbare Werk Isidors, das wohl auf eine Fehlzuschreibung zurückgeht, lag ihm nicht vor. Jedoch konnte er der Verlockung, dieses entlegene Wissen zu übernehmen, nicht widerstehen. Im selben Kommentarlemma hat Thuilius auf Stockhamers Hinweis die Crinito-Stelle *De honesta disciplina* IV, 13 nachgeschlagen und aus ihr das Gedicht ‚Ciconia etiam grata [...]‘ des Petronius kopiert.¹²⁶ Ähnlich verfuhr Thuilius mit Stockhamers Kommentar zu Emblem 7 „Potentissimus affectus amor“.¹²⁷ Er kopierte dabei wörtlich den Literaturhinweis auf Crinitos *De honesta disciplina*, wobei er irrtümlich Stockhamers Folgetext für den des Crinito hielt: ‚Videndus est hac de re omnino Crinitus lib. 16 de honesta discip. cap. 4. Quem, obsecro, non vicit amor improbus? Vel etiam divinos viros. Quis Davide sanc-tior? Quis Salomone sapientior? Quis Sampson fortior, qui et ipse leones dilaceravit? Amore tamen omnes sunt superati‘.¹²⁸ Daraus geht hervor, dass Thuilius den Text des Crinito nicht nachgeschlagen hat und dass er nicht wusste, dass dessen Lemma mitnichten von biblischen *exempla amoris*, sondern von den körperlichen Symptomen der

¹²⁵ (Padua, Pietro Paolo Tozzi: 1621) 173: ‘De hoc argumento [...] Athenaeo, Homero Iliad. 4. Isidoro lib. De nat. avium’.

¹²⁶ Ebd.

¹²⁷ Fol. b1v.

¹²⁸ (Padua, Pietro Paolo Tozzi: 1621) 444 (dort Emblem Nr. 106) = Stockhamer, fol. b1v.

Liebe in der arabisch-griechischen Philosophie handelte. Unwissentlich hat Thuilius hier die Worte des von ihm verachteten Vorgängers abgeschrieben.

Das Exemplum des Caecilius Metellus hat Thuilius ebenfalls aus dem Kommentar Stockhamers bezogen, wobei er den Literaturhinweis auf Pietro Crintos *De honesta disciplina* abermals wörtlich kopierte: „Caecilius Metellus [...] Quod argutum responsum extollitur etiam a Crinito lib. 19. cap. 7.“¹²⁹ Mignault übernahm das Exempel, das er bei Stockhamer antraf, ebenfalls in seinen Kommentar.¹³⁰ Die Art, in der Mignault den Text wiedergab, verrät, dass er nicht von der ursprünglichen Erzählung bei Valerius Maximus (VII, 4,5), sondern von Stockhamers Text ausging.¹³¹ Es gibt sogar Fälle, in denen die Übernahmen sich auf die Deutung des Emblems beziehen. Z.B. hat Thuilius in seinem Kommentar zu Emblem 93 „In Parasitos“ Stockhamers Deutung vollständig aufgenommen, wie immer übrigens, ohne ihn namentlich zu zitieren:

Cancer enim animal est aquatile, oculos semper habens apertos, forfices dentatos atque acutos pro armis, ventrem magnum et octo pedes: sic etiam parasitus, qui adulando hinc inde victum quaeritat, oculos habet admodum vigilantes, ob ventris repletionem omnia perlustrans, nec desunt spicula nociva; dum enim cibi gratia huic applaudit, alteri maledicit. Ventri insuper et gulae totus deditus, uti denique Cancer plures, sic ille per omnia loca celeres pedes habet.¹³²

Diese Liste, die nur zur Indikation dienen soll, ließe sich noch lange fortsetzen. Aus ihr geht hervor, dass die Nachfolger Stockhamer ganz gegen ihre Behauptungen sehr wohl benutzten. Stockhamer darf nicht pauschal abgeschrieben werden, sondern sollte als Schöpfer sowohl des integralen emblematischen Kommentars als auch dessen Aufbereitung als enzyklopädische Wissenssammlung gelten.

¹²⁹ (Padua, Pietro Paolo Tozzi: 1621) 72 (dort Emblem Nr. 12) = Stockhamer, fol. b2v: ‘Caecilius Metellus [...] responsum hoc argutum extollitur etiam a Crinito lib. 19. cap. 7.’

¹³⁰ (Paris, François Gueffier: 1589) 69.

¹³¹ Bei Valerius Maximus sagt Metellus, dass im Fall, dass seine Tunica von seinem Plan Bescheid wüsste, er sie an Ort und Stelle *verbrennen* würde; bei Stockhamer und Mignault, dass er sie sich *vom Leib reißen* bzw. in Stücke zerreißen würde.

¹³² (Padua, Pietro Paolo Tozzi: 1621) 397 (Emblem Nr. 93) = Stockhamer, fol. c7v–c8r (dort Emblem Nr. 26). Für die deutsche Übersetzung vgl. oben.

Dass dieser Kommentar in Coimbra entstand, lässt Rückschlüsse auf die intellektuelle Kultur Portugals um die Mitte des 16. Jahrhunderts zu. Zunächst ist anzunehmen, dass es damals in Zentren wie Coimbra ein reges Interesse an der noch relativ jungen Emblematik gab. Wahrscheinlich gab es mehrere Intellektuelle, die, wie Sottomayor, ein Taschenbüchlein mit Alciato's Emblemen mit sich herumtrugen, sich intensiv damit beschäftigten und sich lebhaft darüber mit anderen austauschten. Der *Emblematum libellus* wird auch von anderen als literarisch-intellektuelles Raritätenkabinett betrachtet worden sein, in dem man wertvolles Wissen speicherte und abrufbereit machte. Nicht zuletzt zeigt der Kommentar des Stockhamer, wie tiefgreifend das portugiesische intellektuelle Leben um 1550 mit dem italienischen und europäischen Humanismus vernetzt war. Denn der höchst interessante Tatbestand ist, dass Stockhamer bei seinen Lesern den Besitz bestimmter Bücher voraussetzte, aus denen sich ein intellektuelles Profil erschließen lässt. Daraus ergibt sich, dass die Intellektuellen portugiesischer Zentren eingehend mit der Wissens- und Wissenskulturskultur des italienischen Humanismus vertraut waren. Sie kannten und besaßen tonangebende humanistische Sprachwerke wie Vallas *Elegantiae* und Perottis *Cornucopiae seu linguae Latinae commentarii* [Fig. 20]; neue altertumswissenschaftliche, protoarchäologischen Werke wie *De magistratibus et sacerdotiis* und *De legibus* des römischen Humanisten Pomponio Leto oder *De magistratibus sacerdotiisque Romanorum libellus* des Florentiner Humanisten Andrea Domenico Fiacchi [Fig. 21];¹³³ monumentale humanistische enzyklopädische Werke wie Pietro Crinitos *De honesta disciplina*, Niccolò Leonico Tomeos *De varia historia* oder Raffaele Maffeis *Commentaria urbana*; wichtige historiographische Werke wie Marcantonio Sabellicos *Enneades*; die Hauptwerke der Vertreter der modernen humanistischen Jurisprudenz Andrea Alciato und Guillaume Budé; Paradewerke des internationalen Humanismus wie Erasmus' *Adagia* und *Parabola*. Die Tatsache, dass Stockhamers Lesepublikum solche Werke besessen haben muss, zeigt, dass um 1550 ein umfassender intellektueller Transfer stattgefunden hatte, durch den Portugal an die humanistische *Respublica litteraria* angeschlossen war.

¹³³ Z.B. Paris, Christian Wechel: 1529.



Fig. 20. Titelseite von Niccolò Perotti, *Cornucopiae seu Latinae linguae commentarii locupletissimi* [...] (Basel, Valentinus Curio: 1532).

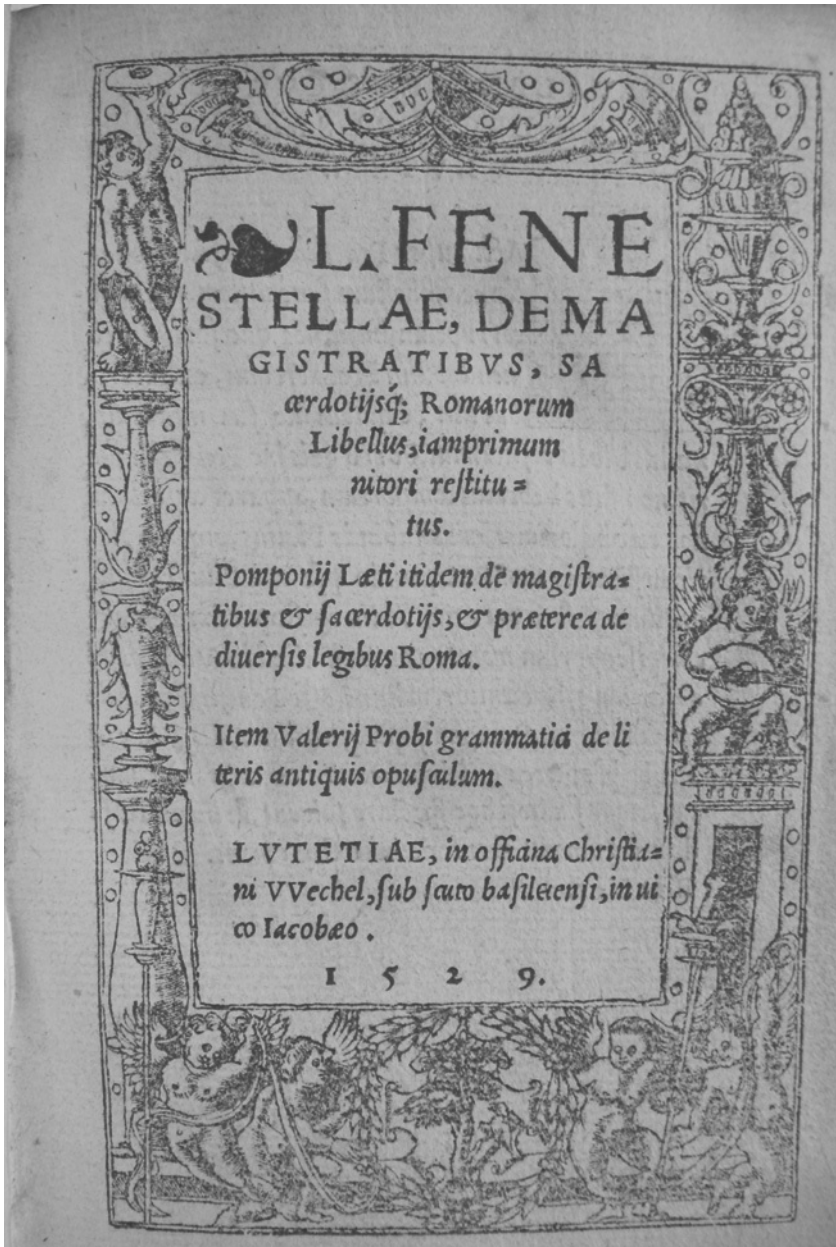


Fig. 21. Titelseite von Pomponio Leto's *De magistratibus et sacerdotiis* und Andrea Domenico Fiocchis ("Fenestellas") *De magistratibus sacerdotiisque Romanorum libellus* (Paris, Christian Wechel: 1529).

Summary

The essay sheds light on a highly interesting, but hitherto neglected work of the young Bavarian jurist Sebastian Stockhamer (an alumnus of the University of Ingolstadt) who was part of the international group of scholars that came together in the formative years of Coimbra University in the 1540s.¹³⁴ At the request of the Portuguese nobleman João Meneses Sottomayor, Stockhamer composed an intriguing commentary on Andrea Alciato's *Emblematum libellus* (written in 1551/2; ed. pr. Lyons: 1556 [Fig. 22]). On the basis of this text, it is argued that Stockhamer, not Claude Mignault (ed. pr. 1571), was the true inventor of the genre of the *scholarly emblem commentary*. This genre proved enormously important because it supplied the main format in which Alciato's emblem book appeared between 1556 and 1651: almost 90% of the editions were accompanied by scholarly commentaries! In this field, Stockhamer was considerably more successful than is generally acknowledged: his commentary appeared at least 14 times (see the list of editions)¹³⁵ in important centres of printing such as Lyons, Antwerp, and Geneva; it was still circulating in the middle of the 17th century (1628; 1639; 1648); it was translated into French by Jean de Tournes (1615); and it was even imitated by the same author who, after Stockhamer's example, composed a commentary (in Latin and in French) to the "second book" of Alciato's emblems. The fact that Stockhamer's work was (and still is) largely neglected by emblem scholars is partly due to the enormous success of Claude Mignault's commentary, partly to the negative judgement of his literary rival. Mignault claimed that Stockhamer, hampered by his lack of erudition, had commented on a small number of emblems only – those he was able to understand – and that his annotations were useless since they derived exclusively from common-sense knowledge. This contribution demonstrates that the distorted image Mignault drew is not helpful for an understanding of Stockhamer's achievement. Indeed, Stockhamer clearly provided a complete commentary on Alciato's *Emblematum libellus*, as edited by Wechel between 1534 and 1540.

The essay also demonstrates that Stockhamer's scholarly commentary displays considerable humanistic learning. It appears, for

¹³⁴ For the correction of the English I am grateful to Walter Melion.

¹³⁵ See above 159–161.

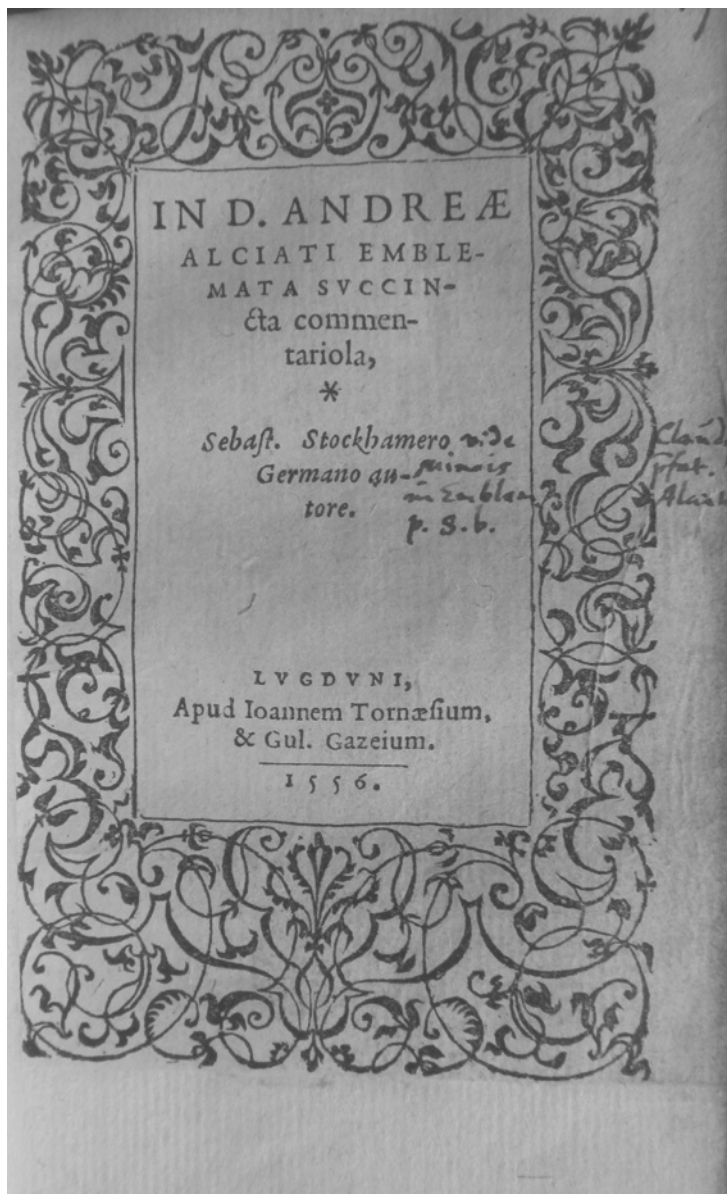


Fig. 22. Title page of Sebastian Stockhamer, *In Andreae Alciati Emblemata succincta commentariola* [...] (Lyon, Jean de Tournes I. und Guillaume Gazeau: 1556).

example, that Stockhamer was acquainted with the works of the Roman humanists Lorenzo Valla (e.g. *Elegantiae*), Pomponio Leto (e.g. *De magistratibus sacerdotisque Romanorum libellus*) and Raffaele Maffei (*Commentaria urbana*), of the Venetian historian and professor of rhetoric Marcantonio Sabellico (*Enneades*), the Florentine antiquarian Andrea Domenico Fiacchi (Fenestella; *De magistratibus sacerdotisque Romanorum libellus*), the commentator of Martial Niccolò Perotti (*Cornucopiae seu linguae Latinae commentarii* [Fig. 20]), the Florentine philologist Pietro Crinito (1475–1507, *De honesta disciplina*), the Venetian Greek scholar and Aristotelian Niccolò Leonico Tomeo (1456–1531; *De varia disciplina* [ed. pr. 1531]), the French jurist and humanist Guillaume Budé (+1540), Andrea Alciato (treatises), and, of course, Desiderius Erasmus (e.g. *Adagia*). Furthermore, Stockhamer's commentary proves that its author was at home in various fields of scholarship and learning, such as geometry (e.g. Paolo Dagomari's *Geometria*), astronomy (e.g. John of Holywood's *De anni ratione*), onirolgy (Artemidorus), ornithology (e.g. Ps.Isidor of Sevilla's *De natura avium*; Aristotle, Aelianus), numismatics (e.g. Budé's *De asse*), zoology (e.g. Aelianus' *De natura animalium*), jurisprudence (e.g. Budé's commentary on the *Pandectae*; Alciato's *Parergon*; Herennius Modestus' *Roma*; *Collatio legum Mosaicarum et Romanarum*), and the Greek encyclopaedia (e.g. Clearchus Solensis and Diodorus Siculus).

The main argument of the article is that Stockhamer not only invented the scholarly emblem commentary but also the genre of the emblem commentary as *commonplace book*. Close analysis of a number of commentary lemmas brings to light that he did more than just explain Alciato's emblems. He composed compendious encyclopaedic lemmas that could be used for various purposes – *also independently of Alciato's epigrams*. The first edition (Lyons, Jean de Tournes I – Guillaume Gazeau: 1556; 160, 76 unnumbered folia) gives a good indication of Stockhamer's method of commenting: it was printed without Alciato's poems, according to the formula title/motto – *pictura* – commentary [Fig. 23]. Stockhamer's purpose was, in the first place, to provide an encyclopaedic storehouse of knowledge. It is of the utmost importance to understand how the *literary references* included in Stockhamer's commentary function. The bibliographic information (mostly given according to the formula author/work – book – chapter) not only authorises the display of knowledge but is above all meant as a constitutive element of the individual encyclopaedic

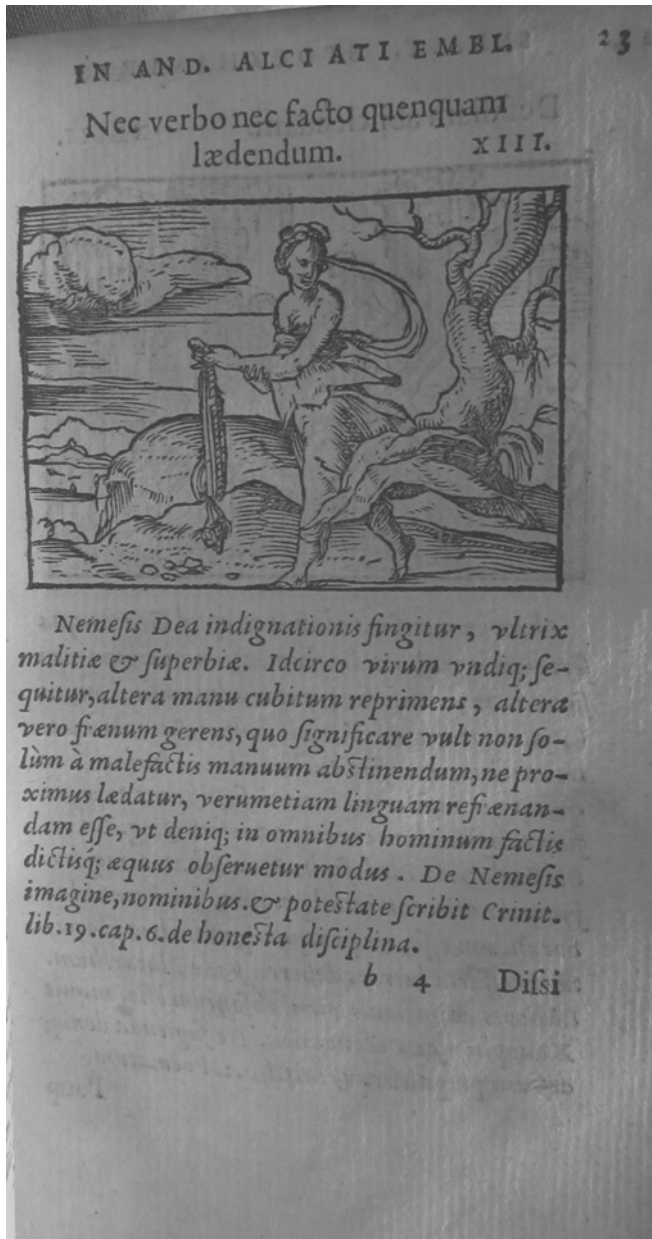


Fig. 23. Stockhamer, Emblem 13. Sebastian Stockhamer, *In Andree Alciati Emblemata succincta commentariola* [...] (Lyon, Jean de Tournes I. und Guillaume Gazeau: 1556), p. 23.

lemmas: Stockhamer expected the reader actually to consult the works quoted. Via his method of literary reference, Stockhamer manages to connect his encyclopaedic collection with other storehouses of knowledge/ commonplace books. This holds true, of course, for a number of commonplace books from antiquity, such as Gellius' *Noctes Atticae*, Valerius Maximus' *Factorum et dictorum memorabilium libri*, Aelianus' *Varia historia*, Diodorus Siculus' *Bibliotheca*, Athenaeus' *Deipnosophistes*, Macrobius' *Saturnalia* and so on, as well as for other encyclopaedic works, such as Pliny the Elder's *Naturalis historia*, Aristotle's *Historia animalium*, Isidorus of Sevilla's *Etymologiae*, etc. But it is even more revealing that Stockhamer, in marked contrast to many of his humanist colleagues, also quoted recent or contemporary works, such as Pietro Crinito's *De honesta disciplina*, Valla's *Elegantiae*, Niccolò Leonico Tomeo's *De varia disciplina*, Alciato's *Parergon* and Erasmus' *Adagia*, to name but a few [Fig. 6]. This means that he connected his storehouse of knowledge with several other recent or contemporary storehouses. When writing his commentative lemmas, Stockhamer always kept these encyclopaedic works on his mind. He tried to organize and present knowledge in a similar and compatible, albeit more compendious way. Brevity – the main feature of the *compendium* – is his guiding principle. Stockhamer did not try to replace the works he quoted but rather to come up with a compendium that would function to provide permanent and easy access to the larger storehouses of knowledge built by the great architects – Erasmus, Crinito, Tomeo, Valla and others.

It can be shown that Stockhamer in his commentary used and combined *various models and traditions* of the encyclopedia: *natural history* (e.g. Pliny the Elder, Aristotle, Aelianus), *etymology* (Isidorus of Sevilla), *mythology, grammar and linguistics* (e.g. Valla, Perotti, Varro), *collections of exempla* (Valerius Maximus), *collections of curiosities* ("Buntschriftstellerei", e.g. Crinito, Tomeo, Gellius, Aelianus, Athenaeus), *archaeology* (Leto, Fiocchi, Budé), *collections of proverbs* (Erasmus), *jurisprudence* (Alciato, Budé, Justinianus, Herennius Modestus), etc. Each lemma is set up according to one or more models of encyclopedia. Sometimes Stockhamer indicates what his main example is. More frequently, he does not give that away, but freely combines two or more encyclopaedic models. In fact, this was nothing new. One must take into account that a number of his encyclopaedic examples, especially the collections of curiosities and Erasmus' *Adagia*, did very much the same. Pietro Crinito, Leonico Tomeo, and

Erasmus are especially important examples for Stockhamer, providing sources and connections to encyclopaedic “networks” as well. It can be demonstrated in detail that Stockhamer composed a number of commentative lemmas in the same way (with the same structure, the same sources and sometimes even in the same wording) as Crinito, Tomeo and Erasmus in their corresponding chapters.

With regard to the general organisation of his emblematic commonplace book, Stockhamer was predominantly influenced by the encyclopaedic collections of Crinito, Tomeo, Gellius, Aelianus, Athenaeus and Erasmus, thus by the so-called “Buntschriftsteller”. His guiding principle was not systematic organisation, but *varietas*. With his collection, he aimed above all to entertain the reader, teaching by means of entertainment. He actually used the same principle as did Alciato in his collection of emblems. Most probably, Stockhamer was unfamiliar with the systematisation of Alciato’s emblems by Aneau, which inspired Mignault’s commentaries. One wonders what he would have done, had he known it, and yet one cannot exclude the possibility that he would still have preferred the principle of *varietas*, favouring the examples of Crinito, Tomeo, Erasmus, and Gellius.

What about the *pictura*? Unlike the epigrams, Stockhamer regarded the emblematic *picture* as an indispensable element of his encyclopaedic collection. The eye-catching images mark the individual lemmas and contribute essentially to the function of *memoria*. The user was expected to store the *pictura* in his memory and, via the image that sticks in his mind, to be able to reproduce (in an easier way) the contents of the lemma. It is remarkable that in a number of cases Stockhamer even seems to comment more on the images – he used the images of the Wechel editions illustrated by Mercure Jollat [Figs. 17–19] – than on Alciato’s epigrams.

Stockhamer’s emblem commentary sheds light on the humanist culture of Coimbra – the intellectual environment in which the work was composed. First of all, it reflects a very vivid interest in emblematics in Portugal, even at such an early stage, the middle of the 16th century (1540–1560). Amaral has stated in a recent overview, ‘Emblem studies in Portugal are still incipient, and practically non-existent in Brazil’.¹³⁶ The general opinion is that Portuguese emblem literature is

¹³⁶ Amaral R., “Portuguese Emblematics: an Overview”, in Gomes (ed.), *Mosaics of Meaning* (1–19) 19.

late, derivative and marginal.¹³⁷ If one limits this view to the printing of emblem books, it may be true. But in other respects, the actual situation may have been rather different. A telling detail is the way in which Stockhamer's patron, João Meneses Sottomayor, used Alciato's emblem book. He carried the little booklet everywhere (using it as a true pocket book), even on travels, and in doing so he engaged in daily reading and contemplation. It seems that he used it not very differently from a book of prayer or a book of hours – as a constant source of moral edification and contemplation. When Stockhamer chanced to meet him in 1551 in Coimbra, Sottomayor had just been discussing Alciato's emblems with a group of people. Already much acquainted with Alciato's *Emblematum libellus*, Stockhamer was able to explain the more difficult emblems *ex tempore* and to point out which sources the author had drawn on. The nobleman Sottomayor was so impressed by the learning of the young man that he asked him to write a commentary on all the emblems of the *libellus*. This background demonstrates two things: first, that there was obviously a strong interest in emblematics in Portugal already around 1550; second, that Stockhamer belongs to, acts in, and writes for the intellectual environment of Portuguese Coimbra. Therefore, if one were to write a history of emblematics in Portugal, Stockhamer's contribution would need to be included. Stockhamer's emblematic commentary is neither derivative nor marginal or late, but instead a highly original, "modern", future-orientated, early, inspiring and (with 14 editions and a French translation) even a rather successful work.

Moreover, Stockhamer's method of using references to scholarly literature enables us to delineate a profile of the intellectual culture in Coimbra around 1550. It was for this audience that he composed his emblematic commentary. Since Stockhamer expects his readers to look up his literary references, we may presume that these intellectuals were acquainted with and had easy access to a considerable number of important works of Italian and international humanism:

¹³⁷ Amaral, "Portuguese Emblematics" 1–2, expresses this opinion: 'Nevertheless, even a merely superficial glance at Portuguese emblematics at the time of major emblematic developments in main cultural centres of Europe will force us to recognize the Portuguese shortcomings, especially concerning the production of emblem books: comparably to what certainly happened in some other peripheral regions, it was modest, belated, frustrated and derivative'.

groundbreaking linguistic writings that taught authentic and idiomatically correct Latin, such as Valla's *Elegantiae*, Perrotti's *Cornucopiae seu linguae Latinae commentarii* [Fig. 20] and Erasmus' *Adagia*, modern proto-archaeological treatises such as Pomponio Leto's and Andrea Domenico Fiacchi's *De magistratibus sacerdotiisque Romanorum* [Fig. 21] or Budé's *De asse*, modern humanistic jurisprudential works constituting the "mos Gallicus", such as Budé's *Comment on the Pandectae* or Alciato's *Parergon*, and modern collections of humanistic learning, such as Crinito's *De honesta disciplina*, Leonico Tomeo's *De varia disciplina* or Maffei's *Commentaria urbana*.

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THE THEOLOGICAL DEBATE ON IMAGES
BETWEEN ITALY AND PORTUGAL:
BARTHOLOMEW OF BRAGA AND ANTÔNIO VIEIRA

Jens Baumgarten

Introduction

The importance of the discourse about the images constitutes the focus of the present article: it includes the post-Tridentine debate in Italy and its reception in Portugal and its colonies. In the historiography Council of Trent, in its penultimate session in 1563 set up a new vision of the images, which in the decades later were developed by the theologians like Carlo Borromeo, Gabriele Paleotti and Roberto Bellarmino. Their *theology of visibility* led to a new understanding of the sacred art, and especially its relation to social-political questions. The new understanding and concepts of the images was connected with a new vision of society. The new catholic concept combined rather irrational aspects of the image in relation to its emotional effects and their rational ones concerning control and evaluation. The perception or rather, the different discourses about the images in the Portuguese speaking world and their relations to the Italian post-Tridentine debate were rather disregarded.¹

This concerns today rather less known theologians like the influential archbishop of Braga from the Dominican order, Bartholomew of Braga or Bartholomeus a Martyribus (1514–1590), and some one hundred years later the famous Jesuit author Antônio Vieira (1608–1697). This article does not want to focus on the decisions of the councils in Trent and the synods of Porto, Lisbon and Salvador, but emphasizes the post-Tridentine discourse about the images in Italy and Portugal to show the main pattern in the first part and the choices and developments of two of the main Portuguese theologians, Bartholomew of Braga and Antônio Vieira. On the one hand the literature for Antônio Vieira, at least in Portuguese is vast, on the other hand the research

¹ I thank Karin Philippov for her help with my English.

about Bartholomew is restricted to purely theological questions – and even here only very scarcely.

Adoration of images as a post-Tridentine discourse

The quarrel about images was one of the crucial points within the confessional dispute. The council of Trent (1545–1563) appears as a turning point regarding the use of images in the context of the debate on the reform of liturgical practice within the Catholic Church. As the center of the Catholic world, Rome – the incarnation of the *theatrum sacrum* – not only played a major role as the central *locus* or place of action, it also formed and promoted a model, which was influential for theoretical discourse as well as for practical usage. I would like to start to answer the above mentioned questions by referring to the post-Tridentine Jesuit theory. The idea of a *theology of visibility*, which was developed by the Jesuit Roberto Bellarmino, should be the basis of the parallel interpretation of treatises from the end of the 16th century concerning the visual arts and those concerning rhetoric that is basically sermons. I would like to exemplify my ideas by exploring the works of three post-Tridentine authors: Gabriele Paleotti, archbishop of Bologna, and the Jesuits Gian Domenico Ottonelli and Roberto Bellarmino.² As a professor for theology, especially controversial literature in Rome, the latter was involved in the trial against Galileo Galilei.

First I would like to analyze the theoretical approaches of the post-Tridentine theologians more detailed. They should rather be understood as a set of contemporary thoughts about the image itself, the visualization and its epistemological consequences than as a consistent Jesuit post-Tridentine aesthetics; a one-to-one linkage should not be seen between the work of the artist and theoretical models. But in a wider range, these debates appear to have had a major impact within the process of discourse about the image and visual perception.

The justification of the painted picture by visions and phenomena cannot be seen as an invention of the Jesuits, but the further development and instrumentalization show the specific sensitivity which is

² A more detailed analysis can be found in Baumgarten J., *Konfession, Bild und Macht. Visualisierung als katholisches Herrschafts- und Disziplinierungskonzept in Rom und im habsburgischen Schlesien (1560–1740)* (Hamburg-Munich: 2004) esp. 32–138.

reflected in the emblematic, visual arts and rhetoric of the time. Consequently, the texts treat the relation of word and image and focus on the concept of perception, trying to explore, the nature of the relation between internal and external images. For Paleotti and Ottonelli, the artistic process comes very close to God's creation. In the first place, the main purpose of painting should be imitation, meaning mimetic capacity. Bellarmino's concept of an *art theory* must be interpreted from the perspective of his *theology of visibility*, which refers to the theory of Ignatius of Loyola. The famous *applicatio sensus* requires a religious power of imagination. This power allows the pious person to visualize the information provided by the text. A certain biblical verse requires a certain mental image.

Paleotti did not invent an explicit general theory of the artist, but he developed rules and norms of behaviour for artists, who should create sacral art, as ordered by the Catholic Church.³ For Paleotti the focal point was the purpose of any artistic activity, and not the art itself.⁴ Therefore, the abilities of the painter were restricted to their potential usefulness for the church. The artist's capacities had to be rationalized and classified.⁵ It was not only Paleotti who wanted the artistic

³ Concerning the social situation of the artists at the end of the 16th century see Conti A., "Die Entwicklung des Künstlers", in Bellosi L. et alii (eds.), *Italianische Kunst. Eine neue Sicht auf ihre Geschichte* (Munich: 1991) 93–232, esp. 189, and following concerning Caravaggio and the foundation of the academies; also fundamental Warneke M., *Hofkünstler. Zur Vorgeschichte des modernen Künstlers* (Cologne: 1985) esp. 261–262. See also Kempers B., *Kunst, Macht und Mäzenatentum. Der Beruf des Malers in der italienischen Renaissance* (Munich: 1989) 195–198; 329–335 and 363–366.

⁴ Gabriele Paleotti's *Discorso intorno alle imagini sacre e profane* (1582), was critically edited by Paola Barocchi: Paleotti G., "Discorso intorno alle imagini sacre e profane", in Paola Barocchi (ed.), *Trattati d'arte del cinquecento. Fra manierismo e controriforma* (Bari: 1960–1962), 3 vols., vol. II, 117–503 and 615–699, here Paleotti, "Discorso", Book I, Chapt. 6, 153. Ottonelli G.D. – Berettini P., *Trattato della pittura e scultura. Uso et abuso loro* (Florence: 1652), ed. by Casale V., reprint (Rome: 1973). See also the extensive collection of treatises from the period of the Baroque in Hecht C., *Katholische Bildertheologie im Zeitalter von Gegenreformation und Barock* (Berlin: 1997), concerning the use of the images 151 and following, especially concerning Paleotti 193–197; also Zur Mühlen I. von, "Imaginibus honos – Ehre sei dem Bild. Die Jesuiten und die Bilderfrage", in Baumstark R. (ed.), *Rom in Bayern. Kunst und Spiritualität der ersten Jesuiten* (Munich: 1997) 161–170, here 162–163. Concerning the influence of the Jesuits on the arts, music and sciences O'Malley J.W. – Gauvin Alexander Bailey G.A. – Harris S.J. – Kennedy T.F. (eds.), *The Jesuits: cultures, sciences, and the arts, 1540–1773* (Toronto: 1999).

⁵ It exists a reprint of the *Controversiae* from 1965 of the edition from 1870 of the Venetian edition of 1599, Bellarmino R., "Controversiarium de Ecclesia triumphante liber secundus: De reliquiis et imaginibus sanctorum", in idem: *Opera omnia*, ed. J. Fèvre, 3 vols. (Paris: 1870), here vol. III, Book 3, chapt. 7, 216–218.; also

freedom to be restricted to its *natural limits*. All painters should internalize these limits as autonomous norms.⁶ Still, the final judgement on the dogmatic content of the images should be reserved for the theologians.⁷ Only with a Catholic certificate, so to speak, the artist could call himself 'pittore christiano', who should act as a mute preacher. His work would be a 'predica muta'.⁸ As well as the preacher the artist should live virtuously and serve as an example for the faithful.⁹ Or, in Paleotti's words, the artist can only depict such kind of devotional attitude, which he has felt before and to which he is able to act accordingly.¹⁰ This self-discipline demanded by the Catholic Church concerned not only the soul but also the emotions of the artist. The post-Tridentine church especially required the representation of the inner life, meaning the inner images. According to Paleotti the 'pittore christiano' should give testimony of his spiritual capacity with each of his works.¹¹ Paleotti, and later Ottonelli, combined these ideas with traditional statements, based on the views of Gregor the Great. In this

Laurentiis V. De, "Immagini ed arte in Bellarmino", in De Maio R. De – Borromeo A. – Gulia L. – Lutz G. – Mazzacane A. (eds.), *Bellarmino e la Controriforma* (Sora: 1990) 579–608, esp. 589 and 599; Bellarmino gives some advice on the possible topics and themes for the artists, Bellarmino, "Controversiae", vol. III, book 21, chapt. 8, 218: 'aliquid pingi extra historiam ad explicandum naturam rei non per immediatam et propriam similitudinem, sed per analogiam sive metaphoricas mysticasque significationes. Quemadmodum pingimus angelos, juvenes, alatos, formosos, nudis pedibus etc. ad significandum eos semper viribus pollere, celerrime moveri, splendore gratiae et virtutum praeditos'.

⁶ His freedom is always limited by circumstances, decorum and usefulness: 'ma solo ricordiamo che la libertà de' pittori nelle cose sacre deve essere accompagnata sempre da probabilità, decoro e giovamento'; Paleotti, "Discorso", book II, chapt. 32, 406.

⁷ Ibidem, Book II, Chapt. 3: 'perché ora non siamo sul speculare le proposizioni dogmatiche, ma solo per mostrare come si debba mettere in pratica l'ufficio delle immagini'.

⁸ Paleotti, "Discorso", book II, chapt. 52, 497: 'che debba muovere molto i pittori dell'immagini sacre, che sono taciti predicatori del popolo'.

⁹ Both archbishops took their own lives as models for their potential successors; Prodi P., *Il Cardinale Gabriele Paleotti (1522–1597)*, 2 vols. (Rome: 1959; 1967); idem, "San Carlo Borromeo e il cardinale Gabriele Paleotti: due vescovi della riforma cattolica", *Critica Storia* 3 (1964) 135–151.

¹⁰ Paleotti, "Discorso", Proemio, 120: 'i pittori, per non essere comunemente meglio disciplinati degli altri nella cognizione di Dio, né essercitati nello spirito e pietade, non possono rappresentare, nelle figure che fanno, quella maniera di divozione ch'essi non hanno né sentono dentro di sé'.

¹¹ Ibidem, book I, chapt. 3: 'che non basta solo esser buono artefice, ma, oltre l'eccellenza dell'arte, essendo egli di nome e di professione cristiano, ricercano da lui l'immagini ch'egli farà, un animo et affetto cristiano, essendo questa qualità inseparabile dalla persona sua, e tale ch'egli è ubligato di mostrarla ovunque fia bisogno'.

perspective, the painting can be seen as the 'libro degli idioti',¹² and therefore the visual arts represent a universal language. Undoubtedly the post-Tridentine authors developed new ideas about the relation between the artist, the visual arts and the audience.

It is one of the central ideas of Paleotti's and Ottonelli's line of reasoning, that the visual arts are a basic anthropological constant of the human condition.¹³ In this respect, they compare the visual arts, with the rhetorical arts, also regarding the inherent norms and purposes.¹⁴ Paleotti, Ottonelli and Bellarmino not only emphasize the didactic function of the images but also their mnemotechnical function.¹⁵ Bellarmino assumes that, within the field of human experience, the optical sense is superior to all other senses: Everything that man comes to know or recognize, be it intellectual or sensorial, he learns by images.¹⁶ Paleotti and Ottonelli compare the necessity of images for the Catholic faith with the necessity of the sacraments.¹⁷ This example shows the nexus between the sacred art and the sacraments: There are no arts without sacraments and these, in return, cannot exist without any visual arts, as Bellarmino points out. As a consequence, without knowledge of the sacraments no absolution could be given, and knowledge

¹² Ibidem, book II, chapt. 33, 408.

¹³ Paleotti, "Discorso", book I, chapt. 1, 127 and chapt. 4, 139: 'Diciamo dunque che tra le grazie meravigliose et eccellenti, di che piacque all'eterna provvidenza d'Iddio signor nostro adornare l'uomo sopra tutte l'altre creature, una ve ne fu singolarmente privilegiata, che egli solo con l'arte et industria potesse imitare e rappresentare l'istesse opere che Dio con le sue mani aveva fabbricato'.

¹⁴ Ibidem, book I, chapt. 21, 215; also Scavizzi G., *The Controversy on Images. From Calvin to Baronius* (New York: 1992) 137; idem, *Arte e Architettura sacra* (Rom: 1982); idem, "The Cross: A 16th Century Controversy", *Storia dell'Arte* 65 (1989) 27–43. Bellarmino, "Controversiae", vol. III, book II, chapt. 8, 218–219.

¹⁵ Bellarmino uses this term in the way of the Aristotelian tradition, Bellarmino, "Controversiae", vol. III, book II, chapt. 20, 247.

¹⁶ Bellarmino, "Controversiae", vol. 3, Book II, Chapt. 7, 216: 'Homo quidquid cognoscit sive sensu, sive intellectu, per imagines cognoscit'; fundamentally about the concept of "memoria" and the Aristotelian and scholastic tradition Yates F.A., *The Art of Memory* (Chicago: 1966), especially chapter 3.

¹⁷ Paleotti, "Discorso", Book I, Chapt. 3, 137: 'come in alcuni sacramenti hanno detto i sacri teologi che, per essere di somma necessità, è stata ancora istituita la materia loro tale che sia commune e pronta al bisogno di ciascuno [following some examples of special sacraments like baptism]; così per lo bisogno universale delle immagini, pare ch'ogni materia loro sia applicata'; also Prodi P., "Ricerche sulla teoria delle arte figurative nella Riforma cattolica", *Archivio Italiano per la storia della Pietà* 4 (1965) 123–212, here 139 and following.

of the sacraments, especially for the 'idioti' could only be achieved by paintings.¹⁸

In this perspective, the visual arts had to find a certain way of expression, in order to reach different audiences, and to meet their different expectations and needs. As an alternative to the criticized discrepancy between the *low-levelled* public arts and the hermetic arts of the elite, Paleotti and Ottonelli demanded an *ars una* with a Christian motivation and a capacity to integrate, that would force all classes under the aesthetic influence of the Catholic Church.¹⁹ Therefore, they systematically divide the mass of the public into four groups of perception. The quality of an artist would show, if he could reach and satisfy everybody according to his personal capacities and needs: the painters by presenting interesting aesthetic concepts, the intellectuals by developing an ambitious iconography, the uneducated people by mere beauty, and the clergy by the anagogic character of the painting.²⁰

As mentioned before, the post-Tridentine theologians developed parallel rules for the sermons. Their basic goal, the reconstruction of a Catholic society, showed also in sacral arts and in rhetoric. As an objective of the media, this was always underlined by Paleotti and Ottonelli. For sermon and visual arts, such a point of view resulted in a certain interdependent relation between the two – as it can be seen in the relation between word and image in the emblematic.²¹ Just as the influence of the images is immediate and effective, so is the influence of a preacher. The sermon gave the audience, especially the mass of illiterate ones, the opportunity to react emotionally.²² The

¹⁸ Paleotti, "Discorso", Book I, chapt. 24, 224. The practical importance for some decorative programmes in Bologna, e.g. S. Paolo and S. Maria dei Servi, is described by Göttler C., "Jede Messe erlöst eine Seele aus dem Fegefeuer." Der privilegierte Altar und die Anfänge des barocken Fegefeuerbildes in Bologna", in Jezler P. (ed.), *Himmel, Hölle, Fegefeuer. Das Jenseits im Mittelalter* (Zurich: 1994) 149–164, esp. 161–164.

¹⁹ Kemp W., "Kunstwissenschaft und Rezeptionsästhetik", in idem (ed.), *Der Betrachter ist im Bild* (Berlin: 1992) 7–28, here 10. Paleotti frequently refers to the discussions about the arts of Michelangelo; esp. Cali M., *Da Michelangelo all'Escorial. Momenti del dibattito religioso nell'arte del Cinquecento* (Turin: 1980) 138–142 and 164–170.

²⁰ Kemp, "Kunstwissenschaft", 10.

²¹ Declercq G., "Stylistique et rhétorique", XVII^e siècle 38 (1986) 212–237, here 215.

²² Luria K.P., "The Counter-Reformation and Popular Spirituality", in Dupré L. – Saliers D.E. (eds.), *Christian Spirituality, vol. 18, Post Reformation and Modern* (New York: 1989) 93–120, here 95. On the relation of rhetorics and sermons Otto O., "Zur Kritik am rhetorischen Predigtverständnis", in *Rhetorik*, vol. V: *Rhetorik und Theologie* (Tübingen: 1986) 1–12.

believers should be moved by artistic and very often artificially produced emotions to live virtuously and piously.²³ The post-Tridentine theologians, and especially the preachers, had to present the mass of the lay public a sort of 'summa', or, in other words, topography of the Catholic faith.²⁴ In sermons, one should recognize the models of the Catholic reform. Therefore, the lifestyle of the preachers not only had to be unimpeachable but should encourage emulation.²⁵ As a kind of a rational induction, the life of a self-supervising preacher should exemplify the order of life, as a visible demonstration of the presence of God, so to speak.

In order to convey and succeed with this new Catholic order, all post-Tridentine authors emphasized the objective of 'persuasione', which they had adopted from ancient rhetoric.²⁶ So they were well prepared or, as Frederick John McGinness put it, they had all weapons for the eloquent war.²⁷ According to their mental and psychological capacities, the audience should be impressed by metaphors from the bible.²⁸ Later it also required a social, intellectual and emotional classification of the laic mass – which had been penetrated by sermons and images. The political aim was to constitute a *res christiana*.²⁹ Despite

²³ Bellarmino R., "De ratione formandae concionis" (Rome: 1593), reprinted in Le Bachelet X.-M., *Actuarium Bellarminianum, Supplément aux oeuvres du Cardinal Bellarmin* (Paris: 1913) 655–657, here 655: 'Finis christiani concionatoris esse debet docere fideliter quae populum oporteat vel deceat scire ex doctrina divina, et simul movere ad virtutes consequendas et vitia fugenda'.

²⁴ Paleotti, "Discorso", *Istruzione*, 35: 'Ma perché sono altri particolari peccati, ché sogliono essere più proprii, e frequenti di queglii, che lavorano et forse non così conosciuti da predicatori; però perché molta utilità riesce nel saperli, riprendere opportunamente, cercheranno d'informarsi prima sopra di essi da' Curati de luoghi'.

²⁵ On the function of the preacher in general, but predominantly referring to protestant examples Magass W., "Der Prediger und die Rhetorik", in *Rhetorik*, vol. 5: *Rhetorik und Theologie* (Tübingen: 1986) 13–26; Breuer D., "Der Prediger als Erfolgsautor. Zur Funktion der Predigt im 17. Jahrhundert", *Vestigia Bibliae* 3 (1981) 31–48.

²⁶ The "persuadere" was much more emphasized in the treatises of Botero, Valerio or Granada, see McGinness F.J., *Rhetoric and Counter-Reformation Rome: Sacred Oratory and the Construction of the Catholic World View 1563–1621* (Berkeley: 1982), 241–250 and idem, "Preaching Ideals and Practice in Counter Reformation Rome", *Sixteenth Century Journal* 11 (1980) no. 2, 109–127 and Fumaroli M., *L'âge de l'éloquence. Rhétorique et "res literaria" de la Renaissance au seuil de l'époque classique* (Geneva: 1980) 148–155.

²⁷ McGinness, *Rhetoric*, 201: '[...] war with his eloquence for the sake of God's kingdom'; see also 240–245.

²⁸ Paleotti G., *Istruzione per li predicatori destinati alle ville, o terre* (Rome: 1578) 34.

²⁹ Fumaroli, *L'âge de l'éloquence* 141.

all criticism of the scholastic tradition the post-Tridentine authors did not ban intellectual discourse from sermons.³⁰ But their line of reasoning is, in the end, centered on the emotions of the people – which should be aroused by all real and symbolic meanings, and finally be controlled.

The theories for an eloquent and a visual war of the new Catholic order were developed at the same time. As mentioned above, Paleotti and Ottonelli adopted the objective of the ‘persuasione’ from rhetoric. Devoutness, piety and virtuousness should be the result of persuasion.³¹ Bellarmino tries not only to clarify and to promote his essential criteria of hierarchy, order and discipline. What’s more, he wants to present them as a both material and pictorial image of the true church. The planned disciplining of the images, the artist and the public can be understood as one of the main aspects of theological treatises of the theory of images and sermons in the 16th and 17th centuries. The post-Tridentine theologians took in account the specific qualities and capacities of the images. Not only did they try to discipline the external images as well as the productive artist, they also believed in the necessity to control the internal images. They were well aware of the fact, that it was impossible to scrutinize and to gain control over the non-collective images. Therefore, they rather tried to influence the internal images by pictorial propaganda.³² Their main purpose was not to reach collective communities by means of sermons or paintings, but to provide a society that had fallen apart into separate individuals with a new collective, confessional identity, by searching for its *image*, its aesthetic in images and sermons.

As one of the last universal mediaeval powers the papacy tried to form its residence corresponding to its ideas of rule and power. With the loss of a real position of power since the middle of the 16th century, a change occurred towards a representation of the spiritual claim for world-wide recognition. The goal was to give the Catholic Christianity a visible center and capital. The theoretical concept of an *ecclesia triumphans* required an appropriate representation – or, as mentioned

³⁰ Also Grendler P.F., *Critics of the Italian World (1530–1560)*, Anton Francesco Doni, Nicolò Franco and Ortensio Lando (Wisconsin: 1969) 110–120.

³¹ Michels N., *Bewegung zwischen Ethos und Pathos. Zur Wirkungsästhetik italienischer Kunsttheorie des 15. und 16. Jahrhunderts* (Münster: 1988) 145.

³² The term “propaganda” was mainly coined by pope Gregor XV in 1622 by founding the “Sacra Congregatio christiano nomini propaganda”.

above, an *ecclesia visibilis*, as Bellarmino put it.³³ Despite the missing political influence, Rome achieved the status of a capital of the arts and the sciences. In fact, it was the center only of the Catholic part of the *res publica Christiana*, but it claimed to be the universal center of a *res publica letteraria*. Especially during the pontificate of Urban VIII and Alexander VII (1655–1667), Rome was remodelled into a *sacrum theatrum*.³⁴

Bartholomew and the theological setting

Images played not only a crucial role in the debates with the Protestants, but also for the missionary politics, especially of Spain and Portugal. Their politics must also be understood as a construction of a *sacrum theatrum* for the ‘spiritual conquest’.³⁵ What was the conceptual context of the visual representation? This refers to the reception of the presented post-Tridentine concepts and their reception in the Portuguese territories. In the following one of the most important Portuguese theologians, who also participated in the council of Trent was the later archbishop Bartholomew of Braga. Like in other territories different synods were held – like in Porto and Lisbon in the 16th century and in Salvador de Bahia in the early 18th century.³⁶ Bartholomew³⁷

³³ Concerning the importance of Rome for the European memory Krautheimer R., *The Rome of Alexander VII, 1655–1667* (Princeton: 1985), and idem, *Three Christian capitals: topography and politics* (Berkeley: 1983). Instead of the excessively copious literature on the so-called High Baroque see some newer publications about Gian Lorenzo Bernini: Bernardini M.G. – Fagiolo dell’Arco M. (eds.), *Gian Lorenzo Bernini. Regista del Barocco* (Milan: 1999) and Weston-Lewis A. (ed.), *Effigies & Ecstasies. Roman Baroque Sculpture and Design in the Age of Bernini* (Edinburgh: 1998).

³⁴ Fumaroli M., *Rome et Paris – Capitales de la République européenne des Lettres* (Hamburg: 1999). Fumaroli speaks of a second “High-Renaissance” under the pontificate of the Barberini pope, 13–14, 49–55 and 135–144.

³⁵ Gruzinski S., *La guerre des images de Christophe Colomb à “Blade Runner”, 1492–2019* (Paris: 1990), Gruzinski S., *La colonisation de l’imaginaire. Sociétés indigènes et occidentalisation dans le Mexique espagnol XVI^e–XVIII^e siècle* (Paris: 1988); Gruzinski S., *L’Amérique de la Conquête peinte par les Indiens du Mexique* (Paris: 1991).

³⁶ Palomo F., *A Contra-Reforma em Portugal 1540–1700* (Lisbon: 2006) 17–41 and 57–67. About the synod in Salvador de Bahia Feitler B. – Souza E.S. (eds.), *Sebastião Monteiro da Vide: Constituições primeiras do arcebispado da Bahia* (São Paulo: 2010) 17–23, 36–41, 54–72; Ochi Flexor M.H., “As constituições primeiras do Arcebispado da Bahia: intercessões na arte”, *Revista do Instituto Histórico e Geográfico Brasileiro*, 164 (2003) no. 420, 11–52.

³⁷ Araújo M.B., “Frei Bartolomeu dos Mártires e a sua época. Subsídios para um estudo”, in Associação dos Arqueólogos Portugueses IV (ed.), *Centenário da morte de*

should be understood as a parallel to Roberto Bellarmino in his efforts to establish a new post-Tridentine theology together with his practical manuals like his *Estímulo de Pastores* (1564)³⁸ or his *Catecismo ou Doutrina christiana* (1562),³⁹ which were republished several times and translated into many languages. His main work is organized in so called ‘quaestio’, which discuss all theological and liturgical questions. The debate on images and their worship appear in “Quaestio LXXXIV – De Adoratione”, “Quaestio LXXXV – De Sacrificiis” and “Quaestio XCIC – De Idolatria”.⁴⁰

In his introduction Bartholomew justifies the adoration of the images in opposition to idolatry. His emphasis lies also in his argument to show the parallels between sacred art and sermons. In the first passages Bartholomew distinguishes between the forbidden worship of ‘things’ as holy in themselves or the allowed worship that recognizes the divinity of creation. Therefore external worship and its exhibition – even the genuflection in the presence of an emperor, a king, a bishop, or a priest – is allowed as long as it is executed with ‘moderation’.⁴¹ Important for his discussion is the distinction between an inner and outer sphere, which is important for the distinction between internal and external images. He doesn’t call it idolatry when the same external honor is exhibited to God and to a created thing, such as genuflection or prostration, so long as that action stems from an understanding that these acts differ in form although they seem the same in the material world.⁴² His other direction to oppose the arguments attacks the Protestants, especially the Anabaptist, who were also persecuted by the orthodox

Dom Frei Bartolomeu dos Mártires. Actas do Colóquio comemorativo, (Lisbon: 1995) 37–52 and Cadafaz de Matos M., “A obra de Frei Bartolomeu dos Mártires numa óptica bibliográfica, no Portugal europeu e no oriente (1564–1596)”, in *ibidem* 63–98; an earlier biography Sousa L. de, *Vida de Dom Freu Bartolomeu dos Mártires*, 3 vols. (Lisbon: 1948).

³⁸ Published first in Latin under the title *Stimulus pastorum ex gravissimis sanctorum Patrum sententiis concinnatus, in quo agitur de vita et moribus episcoporum aliorumque praelatorum*; Bartolomeu dos Mártires, *Estímulo de Pastores*, tradução portuguesa de M. Barbosa Pinto – A. Freire, introdução e notas R. de Almeida Rolo (Braga: 1981).

³⁹ Bartholomew of Braga, *Catecismo ou doutrina cristã e práticas espirituais*, vol. I of *Obras Completas* (Braga: 1962).

⁴⁰ Bartholomew of Braga, *Theologica Scripta*, vol. IV (Braga: 1974), 877–886; 1075–1078.

⁴¹ Bartholomew of Braga, *Theologica Scripta*, vol. IV, 877.

⁴² Bartholomew of Braga, *Theologica Scripta*, vol. IV, 877–878.

Lutherans.⁴³ In the second article Bartholomew discusses, 'whether worship entails embodied performance'. He deepens his analysis especially in the matter of the equivalence of prayer and internal worship. Bartholomew emphasizes the distinction between internal and external. For him the internal is always principal, and can be found without the external. Also vocal prayer has a strong connection to the mind; therefore, according to him, it has the same inward meaning, prayer being conclusively called an interior act. Therefore he had to introduce internal worship as a category and to relate it to emotions and intellect. In Bartholomew's perspective, internal worship entails two acts, one intellectual and one emotional. For him devotion or feeling were focused on obsequiousness to the divine, which is an act of will and emotion. In the first place, however, interior worship entails that belief in divine superiority as an act of devotion.⁴⁴

In the third article "whether worship needs a special place" Bartholomew focuses on the general question of sacred space and its justification. He emphasizes that the entire world would be the home of God, but that God particularly appreciated special places to be dedicated to his worship.⁴⁵ In the LXXXV *quaestio* about the sacrifices Bartholomew approaches the topic of the images and the external worship via another way. He opens the physical experience a channel. Like Bellarmino he tries to construct a bridge between the scholastic tradition that only the intellectual knowledge constitutes an important value for receiving grace, and the physical and therefore emotional experience also creates a communicative channel for the individual believer. As main argument functions that the sacrifice itself is a sign for the sensual experience. With this kind of reasoning he approaches Bellarmino's and Paleotti's considerations that the adoration of the images constitutes almost a sacrament. Bartholomew refers to Thomas Aquinas by questioning the capacity of the senses to perceive things perfectly and for him it is natural to think intellectually that what was perceived is true, and so to manifest an internal sensibility determined by sensory perception. From these things he infers that the act of sacrifice is a perceptible sign that there is a more powerful spirit than oneself and a symbol of the debt of servitude and honor owed by natural law.⁴⁶

⁴³ Bartholomew of Braga, *Theologica Scripta*, vol. IV, 878.

⁴⁴ Bartholomew of Braga, *Theologica Scripta*, vol. IV, 879–880.

⁴⁵ Bartholomew of Braga, *Theologica Scripta*, vol. IV, 880–881.

⁴⁶ Bartholomew of Braga, *Theologica Scripta*, vol. IV, 882–883.

Because of the proximity of the sacrifice to idolatry Bartholomew tries to define the sacrifice more clearly by emphasizing that alone God would receive the sacrifice.

In the second part Bartholomew focused especially onto the worship of Mary, which rises above all other forms of adorations and plays a major role in the liturgical history of Portugal and its colonies. This also repels implicitly the Protestant critique that the adoration of Mary could be interpreted as idolatry. In the tradition of the Council of Trent he introduces his argumentation by stating that people should not sacrifice to the Blessed Virgin, but to God alone. But later in this paragraph he also states that by sacrificing to God, people likewise do honor to her. Constructing a basilica or altar for Mary, therefore, wouldn't mean to build a temple or altar for her, but to God alone. Bartholomew follows a rather pragmatic way to theologically diminish the importance of the adoration of Mary without condemning it like the Protestants.⁴⁷ The sophisticated argumentation of Bellarmino that the images possess the capacity of a communicative channel in his argumentation about his differentiation in a certain *media theory* was evolved by Bartholomew. He developed a parallel *media theory* by analyzing the performative character of the sacrifice itself. This means in consequence that the sacrifice becomes a sign, an image – and the image itself turns into a sacrifice. Finally he relates these aspects to the individual believer by describing it as an act of particular virtue – which constitutes the community like Bellarmino and Paleotti have expressed. Also Bartholomew concludes his argumentation with an attack of the Lutheran position.

In the larger context of superstition Bartholomew explains with more details and theological apparatus the problem of idolatry. Apparently this topic was fundamental within the missionary politics of the Portuguese church elite. More emphasis he puts on explanations, which kind of worshipping saints would be idolatry and which do not.

In his last article on idolatry Bartholomew continues his argumentation about the negative aspect of the images. As he had stressed the importance of the adoration, he has to conclude the negative side and analyze under which circumstances idolatry means an act of heresy. For Bartholomew it is clear that idolatry is not heretical when it does not have any dissent from those things which define faith. His argumentation follows that, for example, theft and fornication are vices

⁴⁷ Bartholomew of Braga, *Theologica Scripta*, vol. IV, 884–885.

that consist in external acts, while heresy and infidelity are considered internal acts. Therefore, a person who does not have executed an internal act does not properly have committed heresy, and so shouldn't be excommunicated.

Antônio Vieira and the emotional aspects of the images

In a second step these ideas were further developed by the Jesuit, politician, diplomat and intellectual Antônio Vieira, one of the most important Portuguese authors of the 17th century, whose sermons has been printed some years later and found largely distributed in Portugal and his colonies.⁴⁸ First I would like to analyze the value of the visual sense and the role of emotions in the sermon on the tears of Saint Peter from 1669 and second the sermon 22nd after Pentecost to present the use of the image metaphor for describing the objectives and limits of a good government. In the first sermon the image should be connected with the visual perception and the second one with the pictorial metaphor, political aesthetics and implicitly of the role of the visual arts.⁴⁹

We can find a specific and sophisticated acceptance in the transfer of the Italian concepts by Vieira. In his sermon about the tears of Saint Peter he exclaims the unique value of the eyes and also the perils that the theologians face in controlling this visual sense [Figs. 1–4]. He follows the usual topos in the literature and the visual arts of the 17th century, especially during the pontificate of Clement VIII, to whom a composition by Orlando di Lasso with the title 'The tears of Saint Peter' was dedicated as well as a painting from Carlo Dolci (1616–1686) from 1643 depicting the penitent saint [Fig. 5]. Also in the colonial context – here an example from Belém do Pará – the

⁴⁸ Cohen T.M., *The fire of tongues. Antônio Vieira and the Missionary Church in Brazil and Portugal* (Stanford: 1998), 50–149; Pécora A., *Teatro de sacramento. A unidade teológico-retórico-político dos sermões de Antonio Vieira* (São Paulo: 1994) 109–136; Bosi A., *Dialética da Colonização* (São Paulo: 2003), 4th edition, 119–148. See also some further context of the Brazilian missionary visual strategies Baumgarten J., "Bilder und Bildvorstellungen in der Missionspolitik: Vom posttridentinischen Italien ins koloniale Brasilien", *Das Achtzehnte Jahrhundert* 34 (2010), vol. II, 184–193.

⁴⁹ In general about the sermons Calafate P., "A munividência barroca de Antônio Vieira", in *Terceiro Centenário da morte do padre Antônio Vieira, Actas do Congresso Internacional*, 3 vols. (Lisbon 1999) vol. I, 119–133; and in relation to the "Baroque" architecture and decoration in Lisbon Caldas Carreira A.M., "Barroco: a retórica imagética", in *ibidem* 233–243. The specific aspects of the new concept of visuality within a theological concept in the 16th and 17th century were not further analyzed.



Fig. 1. Anonymous, masculine face, marble relief, detail. Museu de Arte Sacra, Belém, Brazil. Image © photography by the author.



Fig. 2. Anonymous, masculine face, marble relief, detail. Museu de Arte Sacra, Belém, Brazil. Image © photography by the author.



Fig. 3. Anonymous, feminine face, marble relief, detail. Museu de Arte Sacra, Belém, Brazil. Image © photography by the author.



Fig. 4. Anonymous, feminine face, marble relief, detail. Museu de Arte Sacra, Belém, Brazil. Image © photography by the author.



Fig. 5. Carlo Dolci, *St. Peter Penitent and St. Matthew with the Angel*, 1643. Painting on wood.
From Francesca Baldassari: *Carlo Dolci* (Torino: 1995), plates XIII and XIV.

representation of the tears were usual as two marble masks focus on the act of crying. It can also be inscribed in the tradition of religious sentimental arts.⁵⁰ 'Notable creatures are the eyes! Admirable instruments of nature; marvelous arts and skills of the providence. They are the first origin of sin; they are the first source of grace'.⁵¹ Vieira explains the connection between the visual sense and the translation of emotions in the following description of the capacities of the visual sense:

All the man's senses possess one objective; only the eyes have two. The ears hear, the tongue tastes, the nose smells, the sense of touch feels, only the eyes have two objectives: to see and to cry. [...] why is the office of crying united with such potency? Seeing is the happier action, crying the sadder one. Without seeing, as Tobias said, there is no joy, because the taste of all joys is seeing; in contrast, crying is the drop of pain, the blood of the soul, the ink of the heart, the gall of life, the liquid of sentiment. [...] And these are our eyes: they cry because they see, and see to cry. Crying is the lamentable aim of seeing; and seeing is the sad principle of crying.⁵²

The concept of the internal images and their relation to the emotions is illustrated by Vieira with the biblical history of the fall of man:

[...] crying is the consequence of seeing. But how does this consequence result? It results in a terrible way that complicates seeing and crying, being consequence of the one and the predecessor of the other. Seeing is followed by sin; and sin is followed by tears. After Adam and Eve have sinned, [...] both opened their eyes [...]. God created the human eyes as doors to look out openly, to remain closed whilst crying.⁵³

And later:

[...] our eyes are two sources, each with two channels and two registers: one channel that runs inside, and that opens the register of seeing; the other channel that runs outside, and opens with the register of crying.⁵⁴

The predominant role of the eyes for all psychological and rational evil occurrences is also mentioned in his description of the function of the tears:⁵⁵

⁵⁰ Imorde J., *Affektübertragung* (Berlin: 2004) 111–114.

⁵¹ Vieira A., *Sermões* (Lisbon: 1959) vol. V, 96.

⁵² Vieira, *Sermões*, vol. V, 98.

⁵³ Vieira, *Sermões*, vol. V, 99.

⁵⁴ Vieira, *Sermões*, vol. V, 103.

⁵⁵ In relation to other psychological aspects in Vieira's works Massimi M., *Palavras, almas e corpos no Brasil colonial* (Ipiranga: 2005) 205–218 and 233–244.

If man sins with bad steps, the feet pay; if he sins with bad deeds, the hands pay; if he sins with bad words, the tongue pays; if he sins with bad thoughts, the memory pays; if he sins with bad judgment, the understanding pays; if he sins in bad wishes and affects, his will pays: but do the sad eyes have to pay for everything and everybody? Yes; it is just that they pay for all, for they are the reason or instrument for all sins. [...] The soul has sinned, the eyes are guilty. [...] The body has sinned, the eyes are delinquents.⁵⁶

As in the former examples within the discourse about the eyes and the visual perception, the image and therefore the visual arts are also implicitly mentioned. Within this context of sin he also relates the importance of the word and the image, again, with a negative argumentation:⁵⁷ 'If the tongue was the one that has sinned, why must the eyes be accountable?'. Vieira explains: '[...] Even if the tongue was the one who pronounced the words [the negation of Christ], the eyes had already been guilty before: the tongue was the instrument, the eyes gave the reason'.⁵⁸ The analogy already mentioned by Paleotti of the sermons and the arts is generalized when Vieira asks: 'What do the eyes of Peter tell us? What do these great preachers, our eyes, tell us? [...] If one enters to see a tragedy like the passion of Christ, or those who have entered to see other representations and other theatres and their fruits, must they gather these visions [as fruits]?'.⁵⁹ This doesn't mean that Vieira condemns the act of seeing completely, but he combines it insolubly with the control of its affects: '[...] and if the eyes are the universal source of all of our sins, the rivers of our tears also constitute the universal satisfaction of all'.⁶⁰ Later he explains how to protect the eyes: '[...] Sin [...] enters through seeing, from seeing it passes on to the imagination, and from the imagination to the consent: you must then treat the eyes, as the source of the original peril, with the medicine of caution and resistance'.⁶¹ In conclusion Vieira rehabilitates the eyes of man by revealing the possible grace through the gaze of Christ which would illuminate the eyes of mankind: 'Let us close

⁵⁶ Vieira, *Sermões*, vol. V, 100.

⁵⁷ The importance of Vieira for the emblematics see Almeida I., "Aciato in Parnasus: Emblematic elements in Vieira's *Sermões*", in Gomes L. (ed.), *Mosaics of Meaning. Studies in Portuguese Emblematics* (Glasgow: 2009) 65–88.

⁵⁸ Vieira, *Sermões*, vol. V, 104.

⁵⁹ Vieira, *Sermões*, vol. V, 111.

⁶⁰ Vieira, *Sermões*, vol. V, 103.

⁶¹ Vieira, *Sermões*, vol. V, 112.

our eyes that we don't see the vanity and madness of the world. Let us open the eyes that they can undo, with the tears, that which you have negated and offended'.⁶² Thus Vieira relates the control of the internal images, the affects with the act of seeing itself, to the propositions of the post-Tridentine Italian authors as well.

The second sermon shows Vieira's interest in the visual arts by using them in a metaphorical speech outlining his political ideas. In the sermon 22nd Sunday after Pentecost he compares his main ideas with the doctrine of the prototype. He applies this idea of the image to the rules of government and a theory of representation: 'On the coin there was a dead image; on he who governed, a living one'.⁶³ In the following chapter Vieira again emphasizes the need for images: 'Assuming the necessity of images, to represent a supreme prince for the eyes of the world (which is more or less a theatre), bears great dignity, and the success of this great representation is also difficult and hazardous'.⁶⁴ Using a comparison from the Antiquity of images of Mercury with those of Jupiter, he explains that the representation of the latter, qualities of power and majesty, are easy to represent, whereas those of wisdom and prudence require more ability. In the next step Vieira again uses contemporary visual theory as well as the traditional ones in comparing and confronting the image and the mirror:

What I do acknowledge, is that the one is a real representation of majesty and is called mirror [...] while that of goodness is called image. [...] we can experience the same [difference] in the simplicity of images which we see in the mirror and the difficulty of those who show and represent themselves in and unto themselves. [These] are paintings or sculptures. The paintings are executed with many sketches, colours, shadows, clarity and darkness; and sculptures with much effort, hollowing out, polishing, using fullness and emptiness: the one as the other with much art, application and work. In contrast the images that are represented in the mirror, are painted without ink and are carved without iron, and appear perfect in one moment without work or ability as a natural reflection.⁶⁵

He therefore concludes that majesty is represented in the mirror because power and its execution are much easier to portray than that of goodness shown in universal altruistic/virtuous works. Just as you

⁶² Vieira, *Sermões*, vol. V, 116.

⁶³ Vieira, *Sermões*, vol. VI, 229.

⁶⁴ Ibidem.

⁶⁵ Vieira, *Sermões*, vol. VI, 230–231.

need arts, knowledge, and proportion for paintings and sculptures; to rule, you need goodness prudence, justice, integrity/wholeness, and consistency. Thus, Vieira adopts the ideas of Paleotti. Paleotti similarly transformed the concept of the prototype into the portrayal of an ambassador representing his prince. Bellarmino used his theological and political ideas to emphasize his *theology of visibility* using the terms order, clarity and hierarchy, which should be portrayed visually. Vieira developed this post-Tridentine theory of visualization to re-transfer these complex ideas onto his political and theoretical analysis.⁶⁶ However, Vieira also explains his purpose for the colonial context in a later passage. He asks how are the subjects in Brazil expected to show faith, obligation, obedience and respect for the images of Cesar i.e. the king and the Church when they are so far off in distant Lisbon or India? The subjects must implicitly accept the king's proportional image – in order to strengthen the role of this kind of simply painted or sculptured image of representation.⁶⁷

Conclusion

The post-Tridentine church tried to control the individual believer, especially their visual perception. The external images should be constructed and instrumentalized to discipline the internal ones. All senses should be reached and be influenced by a new post-Tridentine propaganda. Iconographic and illusionistic inventions were the most important means to realize the new concept of visualization. This concept set up a new relation between aesthetics and politics.

In the Portuguese reception by theologians and preachers like Bartholomew of Braga and Antônio Vieira we can not only find a reception of these ideas, but a significant development of its theological fundamentals like in Bartholomew or, especially in Vieira, a deepening of these concepts. In my opinion this can be explained by the superimposition of different patterns of paradigms: the anti-protestant,

⁶⁶ In this context can be mentioned parallels and reception of Saavedra Fajardo's concepts, inclusive his transfer of Machiavelli, of the mirror of government and the use of contemporary distinctions of different media, Mühleisen H.-O., *Die Friedensproblematik in den politischen Emblemen Diego de Saavedra Fajardos: ein Beitrag zur Staatsphilosophie aus der Zeit des Dreißigjährigen Kriege* (Munich: 1982).

⁶⁷ Vieira, *Sermões*, vol. VI, 234–235.

which implies an anti-Muslim argument, together with the missionary necessities. If we also take into consideration the sophisticated and auto-reflexive reception of the post-Tridentine visual politics and theology, as shown in the sermons of Vieira, the cultural transfer must be inscribed into a visual system of colonial and post-Tridentine society using simplification of Italian models to “unite” the distinctive and scattered Portuguese-American political, social and aesthetic society and its representations. The reception of the post-Tridentine concept demonstrates the condensed networking of image in theology. This included its relation towards politics and aesthetic discourses. In this context the above described visual system presents a multi-interdependent network of relationships of meanings that show not only a simple reception of Italian post-Tridentine debates in Portugal and the Brazilian colonies via the Iberian Peninsula but also a complex network and a deeply intellectual discussion about representation in the context of and in tension with a colonial society.

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- , *Stimulus pastorum ex gravissimis sanct. Patrum sententiis concinnatus, in quo agitur de vita et moribus episcoporum aliorumque praelatorum*; Bartolomeu dos Mártires, *Estímulo de Pastores*, tradução portuguesa de M. Barbosa Pinto, A. Freire, introdução e notas R. de Almeida Rolo (Braga: 1981).
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CIRCULATION AND RECEPTION OF PORTUGUESE BOOKS
IN THE 17TH/18TH CENTURY JESUIT MISSION OF CHINA,
MAINLY IN THREE BISHOP'S COLLECTIONS
(DIOGO VALENTE, POLYCARPO DE SOUSA AND
ALEXANDRE DE GOUVEIA)

Noël Golvers

Introduction

Within the broad and complex research area of the communications between European countries and the Far East (especially China and Japan) in the 17th–18th century and the place of the China Mission of the Jesuits therein, Portugal holds a particular place, as the basis of the *padroado* and the logistic platform for the Jesuit mission to the Far East, materialized in the *procuratura* (and *procurator*) *Missionum Orientalium* at the Colégio St. Antão. For all kinds of reasons, both internal (such as the loss of large parcels of the original historical documents) and external (such as the huge and wide-ranging ‘impetus’ in the research developed in other countries involved, such as France and Italy, a.o.), the role of Portugal in the cultural and scientific exchanges between Europe and China has not always received the attention it deserves¹ Yet, for the rather intense presence of Portuguese Jesuits in the field and their large participation in the mission in terms of personnel and other human means, the question quite logically arises whether and to what extent this participation also found a ‘cultural’ expression.² One of the possible indicators to measure such an expected impact is the circulation and use within this *padroado*-mission of Portuguese editions, i.e. books printed in Portuguese (the lingua franca and natural expression of the mission itself) or printed in whatever

¹ Cf. the assessment of Henrique Leitão: ‘However, speaking from the more restricted point of view of the Portuguese Jesuits in China, it is necessary to emphasize that much is still to be studied and understood’; Leithao H., “Jesuit Mathematical Practice in Portugal, 1540–1759”, in Mordechai F. (ed.), *The New Science and Jesuit Science: Seventeenth Century Perspectives* (Dordrecht: 2003) (229–247) 245, n. 6.

² Cf. the statistic data in Standaert N., “The Jesuit Presence in China (1580–1773): a Statistical Approach”, in: *Sino-Western Cultural Relations Journal* 13 (1991) 4–17.

language in Portugal. This is the theme of the present paper. Due to limitations of space, it cannot be a comprehensive investigation of all the data, and focuses mainly on three “private” collections, established by three bishops of Portuguese nationality, who each had a “personal” library, the holdings of which are completely (Valente) or at least sufficiently well described or represented in our sources. My question to these collections will be, what was the ratio of Portuguese books in them; which authors and titles are recognized; is there any connection discernable between the language and a particular field. For the same reason of space, I have to refrain from dealing with several external aspects of this topic, such as the part of book agents lobbying in Portugal to get books for free, or detecting and buying books in and outside the country; the publishers and printing centers represented; the supply lines etc. These I will discuss in more detail on another occasion.³

The book collection of Diogo Valente S.J. (1633)

As a bishop of Japan, Diogo Valente (1568–1633) – who had left Lisbon in mid-1618 and arrived in Macau in Nov. 1619 – assembled a fairly large “personal” library, partly brought from Portugal, partly completed afterwards with books from the ‘*procuratura*’ of the Japan province, and probably also from the Trigault collection. This basic collection was also enlarged, after his arrival in Macau, by later acquisitions from Portugal, for the publication date of at least 18 of the 42 Portuguese books located in his collection were only published after Valente had left Lisbon for China in mid-1618, confirming that the book supply from Lisbon to Macau to his address continued at least until late in the 1620s, and was probably never interrupted. Probably his books were ‘marked’; despite the rules of Jesuit librarianship, it was a common practice in the Jesuit mission of China, as many inscriptions (of the type: ‘ad usum’; ‘para ouzo de’, etc.) show. Although the books of Valente – together with the other books of the Jesuit library – had in principle disappeared when the Society of Jesus was suppressed (1763), one book in the present Beitang collection (Peking) seems to stem from his library, viz. a copy of Juan Sardinha Mimoso, *Relacion*

³ Golvers N., *The Circulation of Portuguese Books in the Jesuit Mission in China (17th/18th centuries)*, in print.

de la real tragicomedia con que los Padres de la Compañia de Jesus en su Colegio de S. Anton de Lisboa recibieron a la Magestad Catolica de Felipe II (Lisbon, Iorge Rodriguez: 1620);⁴ it bears the inscription '1621. Do bispo de Jappão', which can only refer to Valente; as it is not mentioned in the 1633 Inventory, we can assume it was – for one reason or another – already transferred to the library of the Jesuit college in Peking (Xitang) before he died.

At any rate, when this collection was inventoried at Valente's death on 28 October 1633, it had increased to the number of about 280 titles. The inventory, which was made at that moment exists in at least two copies, and is our only – but in principle complete – source for the reconstruction of the holdings.⁵ Of these 280, fifty were Portuguese books (i.e. 18% of the whole collection), mostly original Portuguese texts, translations from foreign editions being limited to Marcus Marulus' *Flos Sanctorum* in the translation of Marcos de Lisboa, *Livro insigne das perfeições das vidas dos gloriosos Santos do Velho e Novo Testamento* (Lisbon, F. Correa: 1579),⁶ and the *Vita* of Gonzales Silveira, translated from the Latin or Spanish model by Bernardo de Cienfuegos, i.e. Nicolau Godinho S.J.⁷

The Portuguese editions in this inventory mainly represent books on:

- (a) the Scriptures: Sebastião Barradas S.J., *Commentaria in concordiam et historiam IV Evangelistarum* (Coimbra, A. de Maris: 1599);⁸ Gregorio Baptista, *Annotationes in caput decimum tertium Sacrosancti Jesu Christi Evangelii secundum Ioannem* (Coimbra, N. Carvalho: 1621);⁹ Francisco de Mendo(n)ça, *Commentarii in IV Libros Regum* (Coimbra, D. Gomez d'Loureiro: 1621–1631);¹⁰ Balthasar

⁴ See Verhaeren H., *Catalogue de la bibliothèque du Pé-t'ang* (Peking: 1949) no. 3864.

⁵ For the publication of this list and an analysis of its contents see Golvers N., "The Library Catalogue of Diogo Valente's Book Collection in Macau (1633)", *Bulletin of Portuguese Japanese Studies* 13 (2006) 7–43; for more bibliographic details on the following titles the reader is referred to the notes in this article.

⁶ Barbosa Machado Diogo, *Bibliotheca Lusitana Historica, Critica, Cronologica* [...], 4 vols. (Lisbon Occidental: 1741), vol. III, 409. On the influence of Marcus Marulus in the (China) mission, see Lopez-Gay Jesus, "Marcus Marulus en la primitiva mission de los jesuitas en Asia", *Colloquia Maruliana* 4 (Split: 1995) 73–78.

⁷ I know no copies of this Portuguese translation (not in Sommervogel, *Bibliothèque de la Compagnie de Jésus*, vol. III, col. 1520).

⁸ Barbosa Machado, *Bibliotheca Lusitana*, vol. III, 681.

⁹ Ibidem, vol. II, 410.

¹⁰ Ibidem, vol. II, 206.

- Paez O.Trin., *Commentarii in Canticum Magnum Moysis* (Lisbon, P. Crasbeeck: 1620–1628), and *In Canticum Ezechiae* (Lisbon, P. Crasbeeck: 1622).¹¹
- (b) theology, e.g. the manuscript *Suma de Moral* of Lopo de Abreu.
- (c) pious lives: João de Lucena S.J., *Historia da Vida do S. Francisco de Xavier* (Lisbon, P. Crasbeeck: 1600);¹² Balthasar Paez O.Trin., *Sumaria Relação da Vida e Morte do Padre Frey Simão de Roxas* (Lisbon, P. Crasbeeck: 1625);¹³ Diogo do Rosario O.P., *Flos Sanctorum* (Lisbon, J. Rodriguez: 1613) etc.;¹⁴ the aforementioned *Flos Sanctorum* of Marcus Marulus in a Portuguese translation; Frei Luis de Sousa, *Vida de D. Fr(ei) Bartholomeo dos Martyres da ordem dos Pregadores, Arcebispo e Senhor de Braga* (Viana, N. Carvalho: 1619).¹⁵
- (d) meditation: Estevão de Castro S.J., *Breve Aparente e modo facil para ajudar a bem morer hum Christão* (Lisbon, J. Rodriguez: 1621);¹⁶ Nicolau Dias O.P., *Tratado da paixão de Nosso Senhor* (Lisbon, A. Ribeiro: 1580);¹⁷ Martin de Roa S.J., *Estado de las almas de Purgatorio* (Lisbon, G. da Vinha: 1624);¹⁸ António de Vasconcellos S.J., *Tratado do Anjo da Guarda* (Evora- Lisbon, F. Simões: 1621).¹⁹
- (e) liturgy: *Officia propria Ylyssiponensis Ecclesiae* (Lisbon, P. Crasbeeck: 1598);²⁰ *Litaniae Sanctorum cum Hymnis, precibus et orationibus pro necessitate temporis et devotione fidelium* (Lisbon, P. Crasbeeck: 1619); Alvaro Lobo, *Martirologio romano* (Coimbra, A. de Maris: 1591);²¹ *Passionaria, cum notis musicis*, by either Manuel Cardoso (1575) or Diogo Fernandes Formoso (1543);²² Fernão Martim Mascarenhas, *Officium Sancti Antonii Ulissiponensis* (Lisbon, G. a Vineia: 1623).²³

¹¹ Ibidem, vol. I, 456.

¹² Ibidem, vol. II, 682.

¹³ Ibidem, vol. I, 516.

¹⁴ Gusmão C. de Arouca, *Bibliografia das obras impressas em Portugal no seculo XVII, Letras M – R* (Lisbon: 2005) no. 565.

¹⁵ Barbosa Machado, *Bibliotheca Lusitana*, vol. III, 147.

¹⁶ Ibidem, vol. I, 753.

¹⁷ Ibidem, vol. III, 492.

¹⁸ *Bibliografia. Letras M – R*, nos. 512 ff.

¹⁹ Barbosa Machado, *Bibliotheca Lusitana*, vol. I, 412.

²⁰ Odriozola A., *Catalogo de livros liturgicos, españoles y portugueses impresos en los siglos XV y XVI* (Pontevedra: 1996) no. 408.

²¹ Barbosa Machado, *Bibliotheca Lusitana*, vol. I, 106.

²² Odriozola A., *Catalogo de livros* nos. 585–604.

²³ Barbosa Machado, *Bibliotheca Lusitana*, vol. II, 36.

- (f) pastoral practise: Francisco Fernandes Galvão, *Quaresmal*, i.e. probably his *Sermões* [...]: *primeira parte, que começa de quarta feira de Cinza ate a primeira oitava da Pascoa* (Lisbon, P. Craesbeeck: 1611);²⁴ Bartolomeo dos Martyres, *Stimulus (Stymulus) Pastorum* (Lisbon, F. Correa: 1564);²⁵ Manuel Rodrigues (Roiz) O.F.M., *Suma dos casos de consciência* (Lisbon, A. Álvarez: 1596);²⁶ Francisco Saraiva de Sousa O.S.B., *Baculo Pastoral de flores de exemplos* (Lisbon, P. Craesbeeck: 1624).²⁷
- (g) religious institutions, such as the *Constituições do arcebispado de Lisboa* (1537);²⁸ *Constituições (synodales) do bispado da Guarda* (1621);²⁹ *Constituições (synodales) do bispado de Miranda* (1563);³⁰ *Regimento do auditorio ecclesiastico do arcebispado de Evora* (1598);³¹ *Sacrum Provinciale Concilium Olyssiponense anno a Christo nato 1574 celebratum*;³² *Constituições do B(is)p(a)do de Coimbra* (1592);³³ (h) Canon Law: Diogo Brito de Carvalho, *Compendium diversorum titulorum Iuris Pontificii* (Lisbon, P. Craesbeeck: 1629).³⁴

The other items of the same collection, of a more 'secular' inspiration, concern

- (a) earlier Portuguese history: Luis de Torres de Lyma, *Compendio das mais notaveis cousas que no Reyno de Portugal aconteceram* (P. Craesbeeck: 1630);³⁵ the '*res gestae*' of João II [1481–1495] and Manuel I (1495–1521) by Damião de Goes (1567 and 1566–1576 respectively)³⁶ and of João III [1521–1557] by Francisco de Andrade (1613).³⁷

²⁴ Ibidem, vol. II, 145 (not mentioned).

²⁵ Ibidem, vol. I, 469.

²⁶ Ibidem, vol. III, 355.

²⁷ Ibidem, vol. II, 259.

²⁸ Ibidem, vol. IV, 1.

²⁹ Pinto de Matos R., *Manual bibliographico portuguez* (Porto: 1878) 176.

³⁰ Ibidem 179–180.

³¹ Anselmo A.J., *Bibliografia das obras impressas em Portugal no seculo XVI* (Lisbon: 1926) no. 775.

³² Copy in BNP, Res. 3108 P; Anselmo, *Bibliografia* no. 707.

³³ Pinto de Matos, *Manual bibliographico portuguez* 172.

³⁴ Barbosa Machado, *Bibliotheca Lusitana*, vol. I, 642.

³⁵ Ibidem, vol. III, 156–157.

³⁶ Ibidem, vol. I, 621 and 620.

³⁷ Ibidem, vol. II, 104.

- (b) religious foundations in Lisbon: Soror Maria Baptista O.P., *Livro da Fundação do mosteiro de S. Salvador da Cidade de Lisboa* (Lisbon, P. Crasbeeck: 1618);³⁸
- (c) the history of Portuguese expansion in the Far East: João de Barros, *Asia* (Lisbon, G. Galharde: 1552; 1553; I. de Barreira: 1563);³⁹
- (d) many reports on topical matters, either secular or religious: Anonymus, *Relação do recebimento e festas que se fizerão na Augusta cidade de Braga à entrada do Dom Rodrigo da Cunha* (Braga, Fructuoso Lourenço de Basto: 1627);⁴⁰ Jorge Cabral, *Relação Geral das festas que fez a Religião da Companhia de Jesus em Portugal na canonização dos gloriosos Santos Ignacio [...]* (Lisbon, P. Crasbeeck: 1623);⁴¹ António Gouveia, *Iornada do archebispo de Goa Dom Frey Aleixo de Menezes Primaz da India Oriental* (Coimbra, D. Gomez Loureyro: 1606);⁴² Frei Diogo Marques Salgueiro, *Relação das festas que a religião da Companhia de Jesu fez em a Cidade de Lisboa, na beatificação do Beato Francisco Xavier* (Lisbon, J. Rodriguez: 1621).⁴³
- (e) Portuguese civil law: Jorge de Cabedo, *Decisiones Supremi Lusitani Senatus Regni*, 2 vols. (Lisbon, J. Rodriguez: 1602–1604);⁴⁴
- (f) fictional literature by a Portuguese author, such as Latin *Poematum tomus primus* of Manuel Pimenta S.J. (Coimbra, D. Gomes de Loureiro: 1622);⁴⁵
- (g) the popular almanac, called: ‘Repertorio do Tempo’ (cf. also *infra*), and (h) other varia: Amador Arrais, *Dialogos* (Coimbra, A. de Mariz: 1589).⁴⁶

Many of these books cover the ‘personal’ (intimate) sphere of the missionary – who for the praxis of his own pious life, meditation and edification relied mostly on ‘Portuguese’ works he had brought (or

³⁸ Ibidem, vol. III, 420.

³⁹ Ibidem, vol. II, 606–607.

⁴⁰ *Bibliografia. Letras M–R*, no. 252.

⁴¹ Barbosa Machado, *Bibliotheca Lusitana*, vol. II, 795.

⁴² Ibidem, vol. I, 295.

⁴³ Ibidem, vol. I, 671–672.

⁴⁴ Barbosa Machado, *Bibliotheca Lusitana*, vol. II, 794.

⁴⁵ Ibidem, vol. III, 338. Another proof of Valente’s devotion to ‘national’ poetry maybe is hidden behind the obscure ‘*Carmina manu scripta †de remezist†*’ (no. 277 of the Inventory), which I could so far not recognize, but which I suppose may be a Portuguese author.

⁴⁶ Ibidem, vol. I, 123.

received) from home. Quite obviously, the 'national' influence is also prominently present in the domain of 'official' (ecclesiastical) representation, constitutional organization and judicial affairs connected with his Episcopal function, and in the field of history.

The collections of two bishops of Peking in the Beitang collection

Two other episcopal collections were those of Polycarpo de Sousa, SJ (1697–1757), bishop of Peking since 1740 and Alexandre de Gouveia, OFM (1771–1808), sent as a bishop to the Chinese capital in 1783, where he lived from his arrival in 1785 until his death in 1808 in the Nantang, the former Portuguese College. Contrary to Valente's collection, of which apparently only one volume survives, both libraries – precisely because of their location in Peking – survive mainly physically, viz. in the 'new' Beitang. This was established in 1860 by the Lazarists, and recuperated the remnants of the 'old' Jesuit libraries, especially that of the Nantang, which was closed in 1812. In the aforementioned catalogue of this new collection, which H. Verhaeren published in 1949, ca. 4,100 extant titles (in 5133 volumes) are mentioned. From various indications, especially a comparison with books mentioned in contemporary letters as then present in the libraries of one of the three Jesuit residences of Peking, it emerges that the number of books recuperated is indeed only a rest of the original collections, and that many books were lost after 1812; this implies that Verhaeren's catalogue only incompletely reflects the 18th-century holdings of the Nantang library as well, and a fortiori of the *nuclei* it had absorbed, such as the collections of P. de Sousa and A. de Gouveia. At any rate, of the 4101 titles mentioned, (only) 213 items (i.e. 5%) are productions published in Portuguese, to be found in the so-called "section Portuguese" (col. 1029–1084 [nos. 3545–3758]), published in and outside Portugal. If one counts the books *printed* in Portugal, also in other languages,⁴⁷ this gives a slightly different figure, viz. 294 of the 4101 extant numbers, or barely 7% of the total.

For an attribution of these books to one of the 'old' collections we are almost completely dependent on the book inscriptions, more precisely owner's marks or dedications referring to their name. Unfortunately,

⁴⁷ In addition to the 202 Portuguese items, 1 book in French, 1 in Bengal, 62 in Latin and 28 in Spanish.

of the 294 extant Portuguese books, only 139 (i.e. 47%) display book inscriptions. Of these, 24 items stem from de Sousa's collection, and 48 from de Gouveia's; in addition, for both collections external documentary evidence is also available, albeit to a different extent, which gives some more precise information on the growth process of both personal collections the providers, the supply routes, etc. Together they have 72 Portuguese items, or 23% of the totality of books in their libraries; these represent almost 50% of the Portuguese books, of which the owners / users could be recognized on the basis of an inscription. These proportions seem already from the outset to exclude a too direct connection between the 'nationality' of the(se) book owners (readers) and their reading preferences (probably in contrast with the indications regarding the French mission in the 18th century). In the next two paragraphs, I will analyze the holdings of both collections separately, in order to find particular aspects in the acquisition process, or – and especially – to catch individual accents of interests.

Books of Polycarpo de Sousa (1697–1757)

Polycarpo de Sousa arrived in China in 1725, and was called to Peking in 1726, as a procurator of the Portuguese mission, residing either in the Nantang, the Portuguese College or the Dongtang residence, a branch of the same college. At Court, he was appreciated as a specialist of Western "optics".⁴⁸ In 1740 he was appointed bishop of Peking.⁴⁹ He collected (i.e. partly brought, partly acquired in China: cf. *infra*) a lot of Western books, of which 95 items⁵⁰ – all easily recognizable thanks to an identical book stamp⁵¹ – are still extant in the Beitang collection, for they were integrated on his death in the 'residence library' of the

⁴⁸ 'Gostei do tocante à Optica per ter eu o nome em Palacio a titulo de faser canuculos' (1 May 1742), see Viegas A., "Ribeiro Sanches e o P. Polycarpo de Sousa, terceiro bispo de Pekim", *Revista de Historia* 10 (1921) (241–263) 250.

⁴⁹ Dehergne J., *Répertoire des jésuites de Chine de 1552 à 1800* (Rome: 1973) 259; Witek J.W., in *Diccionario historico de la Compañia de Jesus. IV. Piatti – Zwaans* (Rome – Madrid: 2001) 3616 (with bibliography).

⁵⁰ According to Verhaeren, *Catalogue de la Bibliothèque du Pé-t'ang* 93.

⁵¹ On de Sousa's books in the Beitang collection cf. *ibidem*, XXIII.

Nantang, where he lived.⁵² These books are subdivided over the successive chronological periods as follows:

Before 1600: 2 (nos. 892; 3557).

Between 1601–1650: 9.

Between 1651–1700: 24.

Between 1701–1750: 60 (i.e. 63,6%).

Between 1750–1800: 0.

Of these books, 40 items, i.e. 41% were printed in or after 1726, the year de Sousa arrived in Peking in the suite of Metello; by consequence, de Sousa must have acquired these items from Europe *after* his installment in China, which proves that also this collection was further extended thanks to the uninterrupted, continuous supply from Europe. Of these 40 titles, 12 items are Portuguese productions, so that this conclusion also holds for books acquired from Portugal. Some of the items described in Verhaeren's catalogue also enable us to have some idea of the origin of these books, providing even the names of some donors of books after he left Portugal, especially Inacio de Sousa, who left Lisbon in 1734, and died in the same year in Goa (cf. nos. 931; 941; 1180; 2402; 2671; 2932; 3780; 3831).⁵³ After 1737, P. de Sousa received a copy of Carolus Franciscus à Breno O.F.M., *Manuale Missionariorum Orientalium, in quo nedum Haereses omnes Orientalem Ecclesiam turpiter foedantes eliduntur, verum etiam Casus Morales* (Venice, Typogr. Balleoniana: 1726; cf. no. 125); in 1739 a copy of Manuel Gonzalez Tellez, *Commentaria perpetua in singulos textus quinque librorum Decretalium Gregorii IX* (Venice, N. Pezzana: 1699), exchanged in Peking with his fellow countryman Carlos de Resende against several other books, destined for the library of the *Chim tim fu* mission (no. 1725);⁵⁴ after 1739 a copy of Gaspar de Zamora S.J.,

⁵² In only one case, the transfer of a book from his collection to the library of the Jesuit college of Nantang before his death is mentioned: no. 4088 (see *infra*).

⁵³ From now on, the numerical references (no.) are to Verhaeren, *Catalogue de la Bibliothèque du Pé-t'ang*.

⁵⁴ Cf. one of the inscriptions: 'Em (17)39 os comutad o mesmo RP Carlos de Rezende com o P. Polycarpo de Sousa por equivalentes couzas p(ar)a a Rezid(enzi) a de Chim tim fu'. Carlos de Rezende was forced to leave the Zhending ("Chim Tim fu") mission in 1724 and resided in the Nantang, where he continued building a small book collection for that mission, probably preparing the missionaries' return, but certainly hoping for the promotion of the Zhending residence into a Jesuit college.

Sacrorum Bibliorum Concordantiae (Rome, heirs B. Zannetti: 1627; no. 3110). Other direct and particularly valuable information on book delivery we find in the correspondence between P. de Sousa and Antonio Ribeiro Sanchez (1699–1783), a Portuguese physician who resided since 1731 in the Imperial Academy of St. Petersburg, sending Western books from Europe to Peking and maintaining a scholarly correspondence with the Jesuits of both the Portuguese and the French mission in Peking.⁵⁵ One signed copy of a (recent) European publication received by Polycarpo de Sousa in Peking in 1734 through this ‘Russian connection’⁵⁶ – which confirms the efficacy of the connection – is extant, viz. P. Van Musschenbroeck, *Elementa Physicae Conscripta in Usus Academicos* (Leiden, S. Luchtman: 1734; no. 2294); it reached China in the same year it was published. The latest publication dates of books (either Portuguese or other) he once owned are 1744 (nos. 780; 1356; 3752, 3829 [?]) and 1749 (no. 2194), indicating that he continued receiving books also after he was appointed bishop of Peking (in 1740, consecrated 1743). The year 1749 indicates more or less the end of the extension of the same library, probably for reasons of (interruption of) communication, especially with the same Sanchez. In the same year 1749, de Sousa – expert in Western optics – also offered the only item, which has his name as donor of a book to the Portuguese College in Peking, i.e. the Nantang residence, where he resided since his arrival in 1726, viz. a copy of Robert Smith, *A Compleat System of Opticks* (London, S. Austen – R. Dodsley: 1738; no. 4088).⁵⁷

Of the totality of 95 books, which we can trace on the basis of an owner’s inscription to his ‘personal’ collection, twenty-four, i.e. 25% are genuine Portuguese productions, and deserve therefore our particular attention here. They represent:

- (1) spiritual and meditative books, such as Giovanni Pietro Pinamonti S.J., *Exercicios espirituales de S. Ignacio* (Coimbra, Real Collegio das Artes: 1726; no. 3707) and António Carneiro S.J., *Medita-*

⁵⁵ Published by Viegas A., “Ribeiro Sanches e os Jesuitas”, *Revista de Historia* 9 (1920) 81–87; 227–231; 256–270; idem, “Ribeiro Sanches e o P. Polycarpo de Sousa, terceiro bispo de Pekim”, *Revista de Historia* 10 (1921) 241–263.

⁵⁶ See the inscription: ‘Reverendo Admodum Patri Polycarpo de Sousa D(ono) D(edit) O(ptimus?).D(ominus) Sanchez’.

⁵⁷ ‘Polycarpus Episcopus Pekinensis Donavit Coll(egi)o Soc(ietatis) Jes(u) Pekin(i), anno 1749’.

- ções da payxão de Jesu Christo nosso redemptor* (1st ed. Lisbon, M. Rodrigues: 1729; cf. no. 3578).⁵⁸
- (2) pastoral books, focusing on the duties of parsons [*"parochi"*], viz. Sebastião d'Abreu S.J., *Institutio Parochi seu Speculum Parochorum* (Evora, Typografia Academica: 1700; cf. no. 712);⁵⁹ and Frey José de Santa Maria de Jesu, *Brados do Pastor às suas ovelhas* (Lisbon, M. Fernandes da Costa: 1731; cf. no. 3651);⁶⁰ on sacraments, especially Confession, see Martim Azpilcueta, *Manual de Confessores & penitentes* (Coimbra, J. de Barreyra: 1560 [sic]; no. 3557)⁶¹ and Benito Remigio Noydens, *Practica de curas y confesores, y doctrina para penitentes* (Lisbon, M. Manescal: 1680; no. 3827),⁶² the preparation of a Christian death: Estevão de Castro S.J., *Breve aparelho e modo facil pera ajudar a bem morrer hum Christão* (Evora, Officina da Universidade: 1672; no. 3582);⁶³ Gabriel Hevenesi S.J., *Arte da boa morte*, translated by Manuel dos Anjos (Coimbra, Real Collegio das Artes: 1732; no. 3645);⁶⁴ preaching, viz. João Pereira S.J., *Exhortações domesticas feytas nos collegios e cazas da Companhia de Jesus de Portugal & Brasil* (Coimbra, Real Collegio das Artes: 1715; no. 3701),⁶⁵ and other forms of exhortation: see An. [i.e. Simão Marquês S.J.] *Oração panegirica à veneravel imagem do glorioso patriarca S. Francisco de Assiz* (Lisbon, Regia Off. Sylviana: 1742; no. 3737).⁶⁶
- (3) prayers and songs: Pedro do Amaral S.J., *Canticum Marianum* (Eborae, Typographia Academiae: 1709; no. 786).⁶⁷
- (4) moral theology: Felice Potesta O.M.Obs., *Exame ecclesiastico no qual se contem todas as materias da Theologia Moral* (Lisbon, Typographia Academiae: 1731; no. 3711);⁶⁸ Francisco Larraga

⁵⁸ Barbosa Machado, *Bibliotheca Lusitana*, vol. I, 232.

⁵⁹ Ibidem, vol. III, 679.

⁶⁰ Ibidem, vol. II, 874.

⁶¹ For the important place of this manual in the 16th-cent. tradition of Confession books, see: Lurdes C. de – Fernandes M., "As artes de Confissão. Em torno dos Manuais de Confessores do século XVI em Portugal", *Humanística e Teologia* 11 (1990) 47–80; idem, "Do manual de confessores ao guia de penitentes. Orientações e caminhos da confissão no Portugal pos-Trento", *Via Spiritus* 2 (1995) 47–65.

⁶² *Bibliografia, Letras M – R*, no. 110.

⁶³ Barbosa Machado, *Bibliotheca Lusitana*, vol. I, 753.

⁶⁴ Sommervogel, *Bibliothèque de la Compagnie de Jésus*, vol. I, col. 397.

⁶⁵ Barbosa Machado, *Bibliotheca Lusitana*, vol. II, 719.

⁶⁶ I don't know any copy of this title.

⁶⁷ Barbosa Machado, *Bibliotheca Lusitana*, vol. III, 557.

⁶⁸ Copy in Bibl. Mun. Elvas, JHT 701 (translated by Manuel da Sylva Moraes).

- O.P., *Promptuario da theologia moral* (Coimbra, A. Simões Ferreira: 1735; no. 3656),⁶⁹ and Juan Eusebio Nieremberg S.J., *De la diferencia entre lo temporal y eterno* (Ebora, Oficina de la Universidad: 1678; no. 3823).⁷⁰
- (5) “natural” theology (?): Francisco Garau S.J., *El sabio instruido de la naturaleza en quarenta maximas politicas y morales* (Lisbon, T. Craesbeeck de Mello: 1687; no. 3790).⁷¹
- (6) mission history of China: Manoel de Faria y Sousa, *Imperio de la China y cultura Evangelica en el por los religiosos de la CJ* (Lisbon, Oficina Herreriana: 1731), on the basis of Alvaro Semedo S.J. (no. 3786).⁷²
- (7) Canon Law: Simão Marquês S.J., *Brasilia Pontificia sive Speciales Facultates Pontificiae* (Lisbon, M. Rodrigues: 1749; no. 2194);⁷³ Benito Pereira S.J., *Promptuarium Juridicum [...] circa universum Jus Pontificium* (Ebora, Typographia Academiae: 1690; no. 2406).⁷⁴
- (8) national heroes: Antonio Rodriguez da Costa, *De vita et rebus gestis Nonni Alvaresii Pyreriae* (Lisbon, P. a Sylva: 1723; no. 1394).⁷⁵
- (9) varia, such as one volume on Latin-Portuguese prosody: Benito Pereira S.J., *Prosodia in vocabularium bilingue Latinum et Lusitanum digesta* (Ebora, Typographia Academiae: 1741; no. 2414);⁷⁶ one on Latin grammar: Emanuel Álvares S.J., *De institutione grammatica Libri III* (Ebora, Typographia Academiae: 1744; no. 780);⁷⁷ and one on Coimbra logics: Gregorio Barreto S.J., *Nova Logica Conimbricensis* (Lisbon, A. Pedrozo Galram: 1711; no. 941).⁷⁸

All in all a varied collection of Portuguese books (in Portuguese, Latin and Spanish), with a huge degree of Jesuit covering, especially in such relevant domains as theology, (Canon) Law; mission history of China; education; meditation. Among these books (half of which were published after de Sousa left Lisbon), there is one which is conspicuously

⁶⁹ BNP R 12559 V (from the same translator).

⁷⁰ BNP R 9949 (not in Sommervogel, *Bibliothèque de la Compagnie de Jésus*).

⁷¹ BNP H.G. 5722 (not in Sommervogel, *Bibliothèque de la Compagnie de Jésus*).

⁷² Barbosa Machado, *Bibliotheca Lusitana*, vol. III, 259.

⁷³ Ibidem, vol. III, 718.

⁷⁴ Ibidem, vol. I, 510.

⁷⁵ Ibidem, vol. I, 376.

⁷⁶ *Bibliografia. Letras M–R*, no. 117.

⁷⁷ Barbosa Machado, *Bibliotheca Lusitana*, vol. III, 171.

⁷⁸ Ibidem, vol. II, 411.

older than all others, and therefore probably an 'important' book for its owner, viz. Azpilcueta's *Manual de Confessores*. While a whole series of items can be understood from private needs, such as spiritual and meditative aspirations, several others have a more professional character, linked to his responsibilities as a priest, i.e. a 'teacher', a preacher and an administrator of sacraments.

The Library of Alexandre de Gouveia (1771–1808)

Alexandre de Gouveia left Lisbon in April 1783, and he arrived in Peking on 18.01.1785, where he resided in the Nantang buildings (of the ex-Jesuits) until his death in 1808.⁷⁹ Since he had been elected to go to Peking, he had started collecting a large library, of which 215 items (representing 512 vols.) still survive,⁸⁰ after being assimilated posthumously and secondarily with the Nantang, and since 1860 with the Beitang collection, always remaining recognizable as such thanks to the (contemporary?) stamp. It is unclear whether all his books have been preserved, or whether the original collection was larger; there are some indications that suggest that at least part of his books were lost, as books offered to him by Manuel do Cenaculo, one of his main Portuguese supporters, are not in the Verhaeren catalogue (cf. infra).

The extant items are subdivided over the chronological sections as follows:

Before 1600: 2.

Between 1601–1650: 0.

Between 1651–1700: 11.

Between 1701–1750: 27.

Between 1751–1800: 170, i.e. nearly 82% of the 215 dated volumes.

⁷⁹ On the background of his election, and the preparation of his journey, see, apart from a contemporary biography (1787) Graça de Abreu A., *D. Frei Alexandre de Gouveia, Bispo de Pequim (1751–1808). Contribuição para o Estudo das relações entre Portugal e a China*. Universidade Católica Portuguesa. Coleção Estudos e Documentos, 9 (Lisbon: 2004); on his books in the Beitang: Verhaeren, *Catalogue de la Bibliothèque du Pé-t'an*, XXIII, and for an analysis of its holdings Beckmann J., "Bischof de Gouveia von Peking (1771–1808) im Lichte seiner Bibliothek", *Euntes Docete* 21 (1968) 457–479.

⁸⁰ Verhaeren counted 228 items.

The by far largest concentration of publication dates coincides with the period immediately preceding the departure of the bishop from Portugal and following his installment in Peking. A thorough analysis of these titles by Johann Beckmann reveals the 'modern' aspect of the collection, characterized by the marginal presence of classics, the rather large proportion of old Church fathers, 'classical' theologians and history (both ecclesiastical and secular), and especially a strong French orientation. All this may be typical for the intellectual background of someone educated at the renewed Coimbra College (after the Pombal reformation of the same in 1772), and imbued by the ideas of the Enlightenment. As Alexandre de Gouveia was sent in answer to the Chinese Emperor's demand for a new astronomical expert, it may not surprise that also books on mathematical and other sciences were in his library. The described characteristics may also be inspired by those people, who advised him on the composition of his library, when preparing his journey to China. This was in the first place Manuel do Cenaculo Vilas-Boas, bishop of Beja, later archbishop of Evora (1770–1814).⁸¹ From his correspondence (preserved in the Biblioteca Publica of Evora and the Biblioteca of the Acadêmia das Ciências in Lisbon) we know that Alexandre de Gouveia had asked him in September and December 1782 for this advice, especially with regard to 'books, which were a must in a bishop's library', and especially those he should buy in France.⁸² It may not be a surprise, therefore, that the composition and the particular accents of de Gouveia's library are similar to those of Do Cenaculo's collection;⁸³ neither will it be fortuitous that 71 of the

⁸¹ Marcade J., *Frei Manuel do Cenaculo Vilas Boas, évêque de Beja, archevêque d'Evora (1770–1814)*. Cultura Medieval e Moderna, vol. XII (Paris: 1978); Lourenço Vaz F.A. – Calixto J.A. (coords.), *Frei Manuel do Cenaculo. Constructor de bibliotecas* (Casal de Cambra: 2006).

⁸² Marcade, *Frei Manuel do Cenaculo* 220 (from a letter of 30.9. 1782, now in the Biblioteca Publica Evora [*Manuscritos da Casa Forte*], CXXVII/1–5, no. 218). At another occasion, by letter of 15-12-1782, Cenaculo had advised him to take with him 'the Bible of the bishops, in the French edition, the Bible of Duhamel, the Biblical commentaries of Dom Calmet, the ecclesiastical histories of Fleury and de Racine, the ecclesiastical conference texts of Luçon, Paris and Grenoble and other not specified books on the church discipline and ceremonial rituals' (according to Marcade, *Frei Manuel do Cenaculo* 240, n. 267, from a letter of 15-12-1782, now in Lisbon, Biblioteca A(cad.) C(iências), Manoscritos, Serie vermelha, 211/V, p. 47).

⁸³ For an analysis of this library and the concepts on its background, see: Vaz F., "As bibliotecas e os livros na obra de D. Frei Manuel do Cenaculo", in: De Paiz Hernandez M.I. – Catedra P.M. (eds.), *La memoria de los libros. Estudios sobre la historia del escrito y de la lectura en Europa y América*, Instituto de historia del libro y de

215 books, i.e. 33 % – or one third –, are indeed French publications (printed in Paris, Lyon, Avignon etc.), all but one issued in or before the year he left Portugal in 1783.⁸⁴ Still more convincing – because also speaking of real shipment – is Cenaculo's *Diario*, which contains the inventory of three “caixões” with books he had offered de Gouveia at his departure.⁸⁵

Last but not least, Do Cenaculo's correspondence contains still more letters of A. de Gouveia from Peking, in which he mentions books the latter wanted in view of his current research and interests, illustrating thus the further extension of the library in Peking.⁸⁶ An accurate verification of the publication data of the extant volumes confirms indeed that of the 215 items 33 (or 15%) were published after Alexandre de Gouveia had left Portugal in 1783; the year 1794 (the latest date of publication, found in nos. 2740 and 2741) gives an approximate indication as to the moment when this supply from Europe had stopped.

Thanks to the more or less precise book titles mentioned in this correspondence we can thus transcend the purely descriptive reconstruction of the holdings of the library (as in J. Beckmann's article), and see the same growing, in a continuous dynamic process, between counsels from Portugal, desiderata from Peking and shipments from the mother country. As such, it is especially an exceptional source on the continent-spanning collaboration between two Portuguese scholars, between the mother country and the Peking mission in the very last (post-Jesuit) phase of the Portuguese college Nantang. It is not amazing that in this carefully selected and built-up collection, I count 48

la lectura. Serie maior (Fundación Germán Sánchez Ruipérez: 2004) 483–498. Also the interest for ‘science’ corresponds to Manuel do Cenaculo's ideas on the place of science and technology in the education of a “modern” priest; see the observations of Lourenço Vaz F.A., “Ciência e Técnica na obra de D. Frei Manuel do Cenaculo (1724–1814)”, *Actas do 1º Congresso Luso-Brasileiro de historia da ciência e da tecnica*, 22–27 Outubro (Evora: 2001) 262–274.

⁸⁴ The only clear exception is Verhaeren, *Catalogue de la Bibliothèque du Pé-t'an*, no. 623, i.e. a copy of Jean-Jacques Rousseau, *Du contrat social, ou principes du droit publique* (Paris, Casin: 1791).

⁸⁵ See Evora, Biblioteca Publica Eborensis, codice CXXIX/1–18; a transcription of the latter is presented by Graça de Abreu, *D. Frei Alexandre de Gouveia* 197–198, but this transcription offers apparently many misreadings, which I have tried to correct.

⁸⁶ Graça de Abreu, *D. Frei Alexandre de Gouveia* 160, without precise references. For a more precise check-up of this correspondence, the basic instrument is Nobre Gusmão A., *Catálogo da Correspondência dirigida a D. Fr. Manuel do Cenaculo Villas Boas*, 6 vols. (Evora: 1944–1956).

Portuguese productions, i.e. 22,7%, almost all (44!) in Portuguese. Most of his books were published after 1783, i.e. after he left Portugal (nos. 202; 310; 658; 713; 853; 1000; 1332; 1882; 2740; 2741; 2945; 3553; 3589; 3590; 3593; 3598; 3604; 3612; 3635; 3636; 3641; 3642; 3643; 3655; 3658; 3674; 3708; 3709; 3726; 3727; 3746; 3747; 3814), i.e. a situation similar to what we found in de Sousa's collection. This creates in de Gouveia's library a rather paradoxical situation: while all the French books (as far as preserved: see *infra*) were acquired before he left Portugal, the greater part of the acquisitions after he was installed in Peking were Portuguese editions.

At any rate, these Portuguese productions – either taken with him or acquired afterwards – represent rather mixed contents, and represent *Lusitanica* (national history; statutes of the Coimbra University; Constitution of the Evora archbishopric), spiritual and pious books, other *catholica* including sermons, history of Christianity, moral philosophy; an English grammar and a French-Portuguese Dictionary, and a conspicuous segment of poetry, including foreign poets as the German Salomon Gessner (1730–1788; nos. 3635–3636) and the English Edward Young (1683–1765; no. 3758), both in a Portuguese translation. Mathematical science is only represented with 5 titles, of which two were translated from a French model written by an academician from Paris.

A last observation concerns the presence of several doubles and triples among the Portuguese books (always according to Verhaeren *Catalogue*), a remarkable observation in view of the cost of transport etc. of books from Portugal to China: see the doubles (triples) of Manuel do Cenaculo, *Cuidados literarios do prelado de Beja* etc. (Lisbon, S.T. Ferreira: 1791; cf. no. 3589 and 3590), the Portuguese translation of Salomon Gessner's *Idyllios e poesias pastoris* (Lisbon, S.T. Ferreira: 1784; nos. 3635 & 3636),⁸⁷ the *Poemas lyricos de hum natural de Lisboa* (Lisbon, S.T. Ferreira: 1787; nos. 3708 and 3709), the triple copies of Johann Gottlieb Heineccius' *Elementos de filosofia moral* (Lisbon, Jose da Silva Nazareth: 1785; nos. 3641–43),⁸⁸ and the Portuguese translation of François Nepveu S.J., *Espirito do Christianismo* (Lisbon, Typografia Rollandiana: 1782, nos. 3688–3689). Especially the double presence of the 'programmatic' *Cuidados [...]* suggest that de Gouveia – despite the costs of transport, taxes etc. – had brought

⁸⁷ In the translation of Joaquim Franco de Araujo Freire Barbosa.

⁸⁸ In the translation of Benito Jozé de Sousa Farinha.

these items for further diffusion among the (future) missionaries, to propagate his (in fact do Cenaculo's) particular 'idea' of a missionary program in China; however, it is not clear how the multiple presence of these poets fits in this perspective.

Concluding observations

The aim of this contribution was to check the circulation of Portuguese books within the China mission of the *padroado*, mainly on the basis of three "personal" book collections made up by Portuguese missionaries in Peking as a test case. All three collections were constituted in the same professional circumstances, as a hand library to support the bishop in his manifold functions, although these circumstances were not exactly the same, as Valente and de Gouveia built up their collections *after* the appointment – i.e. in view of the new function – and P. de Sousa only received his appointment in 1740 (1743), after a long stay in Peking. At any rate, all three collections appear as a "living" or "active" collection, as they were continuously extended by new acquisitions also after the arrival of the "owner" in China. The character of a bishop's library emerges in the selection of titles, with books on the internal organization of the main Portuguese bishoprics in Portugal in Valente's library, and books on the bishop's duties, Canon and Civil Law, pastoral praxis and liturgy in all three of them. Among the convergences one should also mention the somewhat surprising presence of fictional literature, more precisely poetry: with a limited place in the case of Valente (Horace; Pimenta; an unidentified †remezis†), but in de Gouveia's library representing a much wider scope, with European cult authors, such as the Italian Neo-Latin poet Jacopo Sannazaro, the German Salomon Gessner, the French Voltaire and the English *Weltschmerz*-poet Edward Young, the three last read in a Portuguese translation.

More conspicuous are the differences between the three collections, first with regard to the position of the sciences. Almost absent in Valente's library – although we have the complete inventory – and limited there to an 'old' medical book of Johannes Mesua (8th/9th cent.) still circulating in XVIth century Europe, together with a classic textbook of Jesuit education, Clavius' *Epitome Arithmeticae Practicae* –, in that of P. de Sousa the sciences are represented by (only) three – very recent, non-Portuguese – books (P. Van Musschenbroek; João de Castro;

Robert Smith), certainly to be complemented with several other – lost – titles mentioned in the correspondence (the mathematicians D. Gregory, C. Wolff, J. Keil, a.o.), whereas they are well represented in de Gouveia's book collection.⁸⁹ The latter's selection emerges in general as the most balanced, covering a very wide range of interests. This, and the particular titles he had selected for each domain – also theology – has been characterized as a product of his education at the 'new' Coimbra university after Pombal's re-organization (1772), and the preferences of the *Luzes*. Compared to this, Valente's library, constituted some 150 to 170 years earlier, reflects the preferences of a late-Humanistic era.

In all three the Portuguese printings – the central topic of this investigation – are more or less equally represented, first in quantitative terms, with 22 to 25 % of the books in de Sousa and de Gouveia's collections, which is not very different from the rate of 18% (i.e. 50 of the 280 titles) we found for the personal collection of Diogo Valente. The Portuguese 'factor' is related mainly to 'national' matters, either secular or religious (including liturgy), contemporary and historical, the intimacy of private religious life (in meditation, piety and spirituality) and some forms of private intellectual distraction, i.e. the aforementioned (secular and religious) poetry (no novels).

The by far largest part (between 75 and 82%) of these libraries of Portuguese readers were thus filled by *non*-Portuguese publications, produced in other European printing centers. In the case of Valente these were almost exclusively Spain and Italy, afterwards – thanks to 'foreign' bookshops in Lisbon and a small network of 'book agents' elsewhere in Europe, some stable and reliable (such as the Portuguese João de Castro in London and Antonio Ribeiro Sanchez in St. Petersburg), some occasional (and less efficient) – books were also acquired from Holland, England, France and Russia. Since P. de Sousa was active in Peking as a procurator of the Mission (since 1729) and was involved in the handling of book deliveries for his colleagues in the Nantang residence, such as Ign. Kögler, André Pereira etc., this circulation is also perceived and echoed by the 'neighbours' from the French Jesuit residence Beitang, especially Antoine Gaubil (1689–1759), who jealously reports on the large amounts of money the 'Portuguese' spent on the acquisition of books in Paris, England,

⁸⁹ Cf. Beckmann., "Bischof de Gouvea" 468.

Italy and Holland; not by pure coincidence, the name of P. de Sousa is mentioned in the immediate context, confirming 'ex aliunde' the scant information on these activities in the remnants of his correspondence with Ribeiro Sanchez.⁹⁰ It thus appears that Portuguese readers such as P. de Sousa (and his colleagues) had a broad interest in, and a broad specter of opportunities to get "foreign", i.e. non-Portuguese books in China, to complement the fields in which 'native' Portuguese editions were present; one of these fields was the sciences.

Two further questions concern the representativeness of these collections for the common Portuguese Jesuits, and their circulation and impact. While the former question can hardly be answered because of the very few data on the reading patterns of the Portuguese missionaries – who very rarely discussed the 'book theme' in their letters to Europe – some more data are available for the reception of Portuguese books and collections, both in and outside the own group.

The books of the three described collections were part of a "personal" i.e. in principle a 'closed' collection, accessible in a limited way. Yet, according to the rules of common Jesuit librarianship, the books of a Jesuit were, after his death (re)integrated in the residence library, and (again) became accessible to all. This happened in all probability with the books of Valente's collection after 1633, which should have been inserted in the 'common' library of the Colégio Madre de Deus; a series of books mentioned from Macao, a.o. by the Italian Jesuit F.-X. Filippucci (who stayed there and compiled several manuscripts during his term as Provincial between 1680–1683), which coincide with books mentioned ca 50 year earlier in Valente's inventory are probably his books. The same certainly happened with P. de Sousa's books, which

⁹⁰ See Simon R., *Correspondance de Pékin* (Geneva: 1970) 527: 'Par les grandes dépenses que les Portugais font, seulement à Paris, pour les livres qu'ils en font venir, jugés de ce qu'ils font icy et ailleurs pour la mission. D'Angleterre, de Rome, de Hollande ils font venir livres et autres choses [...]. Le P. Pereyra a de la Cour de Portugal ce qu'il veut, et le Roy de Portugal [i.e. João V], charmé du zèle des Portugais pour la mission, leur procure bien des secours, et vient de nommer évêque de Péking le P. Sousa, qui est icy procureur des Portugais'. Only some very rare confirmations of this we find in the extant book inscriptions; the role of France appears in an inscription in a copy of the *Magnum Bullarium Romanum* (Luxemburg, André Chevalier: 1730; Verhaeren, *Catalogue de la Bibliothèque du Pé-t'an*, no. 1140), apparently in 1731 bought via France ('Comprado [...] por via d França') and another of Johannes Nadasi, *Annus Dierum Illustrium Societatis Jesu* (Rome, Varesius: 1657), addressed to 'Monsieur l'Evêque de Peking recommandé au R.P. Hervieu a Macao' (Verhaeren, *Catalogue de la Bibliothèque du Pé-t'an*, no. 2300); the latter died in Macao in 1746, a date which falls in the lifespan of P. de Sousa.

were incorporated in the Nantang college library; the assimilation of A. de Gouveia's books marked the definite end of the acquisitions of the same Nantang collection.

More explicit – and more revealing, although always slight in number and substance – is the evidence of the documentary sources on the circulation and impact of (these and) other Portuguese books outside the milieu of Portuguese missionaries. The titles concerned are: (a) *Repertorios do tempo*, represented anonymously in the library of Diogo Valente (Macao, 1633), but in the edition by Andre de Avelar (1546–1595), cited also in the 1650s and early 1660s in the Portuguese College Xitang in Peking by missionaries from the German Assistancy, such as A. Schall von Bell (1592–1666) and Ferdinand Verbiest (1623–1688),⁹¹ (b) topical publications such as the comet description *Tratado dos cometas que appareceram* (sic) *em Novembro passado de 1618* [...] of Manuel Bocarro Frances (Lisbon, P. Craesbeeck: 1619),⁹² turned by the same Verbiest into an argument of his apologia for A. Schall; (c) the *Thesouro de prudentes* of Caspar Cardoso de Sequeira (flor. 1612),⁹³ a popular encyclopaedia with a wide range of topics, including popular medicine, astrology, elementary arithmetics etc., copies of which the Italian Jesuit Francesco Brancati (1607–1671) had seen in the Jesuit libraries of Shanghai and Macau, which were worn by frequent consultation, thus proving the wide success of the title within the Jesuit mission, in all probability not only among Portuguese Jesuits;⁹⁴ (d) in the 2nd half of the 18th century also the *Pharmacopea Tubalense chimico-galenica* of Manuel Rodriguez Coelho, 1st part (Lisbon Ocidental, A. de Sousa da Silva: 1735); 2nd part (Lisbon, J. Da Silva da Natividade: 1751) was read (quoted) by Jean-Joseph-Marie Amiot (1718–1793) in the French residence;⁹⁵ (e) a special and atypical case of reception we have in the case of the Greek Constantine Phaulkon

⁹¹ Barbosa Machado, *Bibliotheca Lusitana*, vol. I, 137; see Bothelho da Costa A., “O Repertorio dos Tempos de Andre do Avelar e a astrologia em Portugal no seculo XVI”, in Martins R.A. – Martins L.A.C.P. – Silva C.C. – Ferreira J.M.H. (eds.), *Filosofia e historia da ciência no Cone Sul: 3º Encontro* (Campinas: 2004) 1–7.

⁹² Barbosa Machado, *Bibliotheca Lusitana*, vol. III, 197; see the fac-simile reprint published by H. Leitao (Lisbon: 2009).

⁹³ Barbosa Machado, *Bibliotheca Lusitana*, vol. II, 339; Carolino L.M., “Scienza, politica ed escatologia nella formazione dello ‘scienziato’ nell’Europa del XVII secolo: il caso di Manuel Bocarro Francês – Jacob Rosales”, *Nuncius* 19, 2 (2004) 477–506.

⁹⁴ Cf. Archivum Romanum Societatis Jesu, Japonica-Sinica, vol. 143, fol. 70v.

⁹⁵ See the printed version in: *Mémoires concernant l’histoire, les sciences, les arts, les mœurs [...] des Chinois*, vol. V (Paris, Nyon: 1780), 499.

(ca. 1647–1688), a “strategic” Catholic convert in Ajutthaya (Siam), who expressed serious interest in some peculiar sermons of Antonio Vieira S.J. (1608–1697), more particularly one with regard to courtiers and therefore more or less relevant for his own [and short during] situation at the Siam Court;⁹⁶ (f) To these should finally be added such informal types of publications as the *Gazeta de Lisboa*, since its 1st issue (Jan. 1716) a not negligible source of information for the Portuguese missionaries in China, not the least also on new publications in their own “patria”.⁹⁷ A few other items, such as several parts of the *Commentarii Conimbricenses* and the Portuguese catechism *Cartilha*, also found their way to a Chinese readership, through translations made by Portuguese Jesuits, such as João de Rocha (1565–1623).⁹⁸

All in all, it emerges from this small scale investigation that the reception of Portuguese printings, despite the widely diffused knowledge of the Portuguese language, a true ‘lingua franca’ of the China Mission and generally accepted (and used) by the ‘foreign’ missionaries, was read rather rarely; the most revealing and determinant indicator of this may be that one closed group of 172 books (with the inscription “<ex Bibliotheca> P<atrum> Gall<orum> S<ocietatis> J<esu> Pekini”) in the nearby French Beitang library, had only one (!) Portuguese printing, viz. a copy of I. Contador de Argote, *Vida e milagres de S. Caetano Thiene* (Lisbon, Pascoal da Sylva: 1722). Observations like these probably reveal a minor cultural prestige of Portuguese printings; the positive exceptions, and the signs of external interest concern “specialized” texts, which imposed themselves on the readers, also non-Portuguese ones.

⁹⁶ In a private communication, Liam Brockey proposed to identify this unspecified sermon either with the “Sermão do Bom Ladrão” (1655) or the “Sermão da Terceira quarta-feira da Quaresma” (1669) (cf. *Sermões do Padre Antonio Vieira*, vol. III, 1683, col. 317 ff. and vol. I, col. 299 respectively).

⁹⁷ See Belo A., *As gazetas e os livros: a ‘Gazeta de Lisboa e a vulgarização do impresso em Portugal (1715–1760)* (Lisbon: 1997).

⁹⁸ On the *Cartilha* and its Chinese reception, see Dehergna J., “Catéchisme et catéchèse des jésuites de Chine de 1584 à 1800”, *Monumenta Serica* 47 (1999) 447.

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AN IMPERIAL REPUBLIC: MANUEL SEVERIM DE FARIA
SURVEYS THE GLOBE, 1608–1655

Liam Matthew Brockey

A letter was sealed at the Jesuit college at Tuticorin on the Fishery Coast of Southern India in late September 1634. Its destination was half a world away, a modest mansion on the Largo das Portas de Moura in the city of Évora. Despite the vast distance it would traverse, the author of the missive attested to a lively correspondence between Southern Portugal and that ‘corner of India to where nothing ever arrives’. António Saraiva averred that letters were sent yearly – first around Cape Comorin to Cochin, onward to Goa, from thence along the Cape Route across the breadth of the Indian and Atlantic Oceans to Lisbon, and finally by horseback or mule train across the Alentejo plain to Évora. In this short letter Saraiva, the rector of the Tuticorin college and former missionary in Jaffna in Ceylon, sent news of the revival of the region’s pearl fisheries and expressed his hopes for brighter days. He described the five coastal towns where he managed the communities of *parava* Christians who were ‘the only consolation’ he had. His outlook for Portuguese India was bleaker still: he denounced the prevailing greed among his compatriots who only cared for ‘wheeling and dealing, and affairs of little worth’. As such, Saraiva lamented, the Portuguese were ‘not only captives of the Dutch on the sea, but discredited on land by its most vile negroes’, that is, the Hindu Nayaks of Madurai. News from home was nevertheless greatly appreciated, and in closing Saraiva entreated his correspondent to transmit good wishes to two other residents of Évora, his sister and widowed mother.¹

Who was the assiduous epistolary of the Alentejo, sending and receiving letters from the far corners of the globe in the early seventeenth century? It was Manuel Severim de Faria, canon and *chanfre*,

¹ António Saraiva to Manuel Severim de Faria, ‘Costa da Pescaria’ [Tuticorin], 27 September 1634, Biblioteca Nacional de Portugal, Lisbon, *Reservados* Codex 7640, fol. 75r–v.

or precentor, of the Cathedral of Évora.² Regarded by contemporaries as one of the most erudite men in Spain and Portugal, he commanded prodigious stores of information that he gathered from and shared with a vast network of correspondents. Born in 1584, Faria was the scion of a noble household and the heir to a position of high rank in the cathedral of one of the wealthier archdioceses in Southern Europe. Yet despite his social standing and importance within the Portuguese church, he had no ambitions to greater ecclesiastical dignities. He did not pursue elevation to the episcopacy or appointment to royal commissions beyond the walls of Évora. Indeed, he only made four significant journeys in his entire life – if the trip from Lisbon, his place of birth, to the Alentejan capital is counted – and but once did he leave Portugal (and then simply to fulfill a vow at the Marian shrine of Guadalupe in Castilian Extremadura and afterwards to visit Toledo, Madrid, and the Escorial).³ Like the thirteenth-century cathedral where he held the office of *chantre*, which made him responsible for the regularity and dignity of sacred rituals, Faria was a fixture in Évora.

Regardless of his reasons for staying close to home, Faria enjoyed a wide perspective over the world, one that stretched far beyond what can be seen from the majestic towers of his church. Starting in 1608, when he inherited the office of canon from his uncle Baltazar de Faria Severim, through his abdication of that post in 1642 to his nephew Manuel de Faria Severim, and to his death in 1655, Faria gathered knowledge from across Europe and around the world, and sponsored its diffusion.⁴ Like his contemporaries who sustained the Republic of Letters through the constant exchange of correspondence, Faria constructed a vision of the world from the mails. He shared news, he

² Although the translation of the term *chantre* is precentor, the functions and dignities associated with this office varied greatly across Europe during the premodern period. A description of the duties of the office in early modern Évora is in Pereira I. da R., “Subsídios para a História da Igreja Eborense, Séculos XVI e XVII”, *Arquivos do Centro Cultural Português* 4 (1972) 177–241, esp. 192–194.

³ On his journeys in Portugal, see Serrão J.V., *Viagens em Portugal de Manuel Severim de Faria 1604-1609-1625* (Lisbon: 1974). His notes about the Castilian leg of his 1604 journey can be found in Dios A.M. de, “Itinerario hispánico del Chantre de Evora, Manuel Severim de Faria, en 1604”, *Revista de Estudios Extremeños* 42, 1 (Jan.–April 1986) 139–185.

⁴ For a brief biographical sketch of Severim de Faria and a tentative bibliography of his works, see Vasconcelos J.L. de, “Severim de Faria: Notas Biográfico-Literárias”, *Boletim da Segunda Classe da Academia das Ciências de Lisboa* 8 (1914) 235–266, and Vasconcelos J.L. de, “Severim de Faria: Segunda Memória”, *Boletim da Segunda Classe da Academia das Ciências de Lisboa* 10 (1917) 359–371.

debated points of history, language, and geography, he helped supply printers with manuscripts, and he received exotic items for his collection of curiosities. But instead of participating in a circle of correspondents restricted to Portugal or Castile, his network stretched from Japan to Brazil, and it kept him informed on events in places even farther afield. The resulting ebb and flow of information through his hands contributed to making Évora one of the intellectual centers of early modern Europe, as well as an important pole of the joint Spanish and Portuguese empire that claimed to rule over most of the globe.⁵

It may seem surprising that a relatively small, landlocked town was a focal point in such a vast empire. After all, even today Évora barely extends beyond its medieval and early modern walls, ramparts which firmly girded the city in the 1600s. It has no port for riverine commerce and it stands amid pasture lands, olive groves, and vineyards that stretch unbroken until the semi-barren borderlands on the edge of Castilian Extremadura. The city does not seem to fit into the classical definition of a pole of empire, since it was neither an administrative center or a cradle of conquistadores. Even newer interpretations of empires, with their attention trained on economic fluxes and migrations of peoples, would not likely include Évora; it was a city of some regional importance, but not one of Portugal's principal emporia. The reasons for Évora's importance within the Portuguese empire must therefore lie somewhere other than in the city's seeming stasis. As this chapter will argue, it was erudition and religion that forged the links between the Alentejan capital and the rest of the world. Évora was home to a training center for Jesuit missionaries, educated men who traveled the globe with apostolic goals, and the *chantry* of the city's cathedral church was one of their most important patrons. It was their bond, rooted in the relationship between two important ecclesiastical corporations but cemented through personal friendships, that contributed to the preservation of Portuguese imperium in Asia, Africa, and the Americas during the seventeenth century and beyond.

That the Portuguese empire faced grave crises in the seventeenth century is beyond question. Historians are in accord that the *Estado do Brasil* and the *Estado da Índia* underwent profound transformations

⁵ On literary culture in seventeenth-century Évora, see Pires M. da C.F., *Os Acadêmicos Eborenses na Primeira Metade de Seiscentos: A Poética e a Autonomização do Literário* (Lisbon: 2006) esp. 49–58.

in the 1600s, when a shift occurred from a primary emphasis on long distance commerce in Asia to land-based forms of colonization in Brazil (and parts of India). These changes amounted to a wholesale reconfiguration of the empire aimed at ensuring its survival in the face of encroachment from European and Asian rivals. Scholars have examined these political and economic shifts with considerable rigor, but have given less attention to the intellectual, religious, and cultural changes during the same period.⁶ Yet such intangible shifts were also necessary for the survival of the empire beyond the seventeenth century. Flows of information between scholars, missionaries, and crown servants were crucial in maintaining Portuguese cultural solidarity during the sixty year interlude from 1580 until 1640 when Portugal and its empire was one of many components of the Spanish monarchy.

It has seemed natural to many scholars, especially those from the older, nationalist school of Portuguese historiography, that the geographic space controlled by the Portuguese crown before the advent of Habsburg rule would revert to its former lords if a new native dynasty emerged. Language, geography, and traditions of independence before 1580 were asserted as sufficient criteria for Portuguese political independence, especially since Portugal did at length sever its bond to Castile. Yet this 'state of nature' was not a foreseeable outcome in the first four decades of the seventeenth century, and remained in doubt at least until the Bragança dynasty's military victories in the late 1660s. Moreover, securing the territorial integrity of continental Portugal was a vastly different challenge than holding together the dispersed colonies of the empire. So if the *Estados* of Brazil and India were to emerge, they would need to be re-established, in intellectual and religious terms, as well as political and economic ones. Thankfully for the proponents of empire, solid foundations for that re-establishment existed in 1640. Among scholars in the first half of the seventeenth

⁶ A general overview of this topic is in Curto D.R., "Cultura escrita e práticas de identidade", in Bethencourt F. and Chaudhuri K. (eds.), *História da Expansão Portuguesa*, 5 vols. (Lisbon: 1998) vol. II, 458–531. More recently, the topic of natural philosophy, or 'science', as a venue for intellectual exchanges throughout the Portuguese empire has received greater attention. See, for example, Fontes da Costa P. and Leitão H., "Portuguese Imperial Science, 1450–1800: A Historiographical Review", in Bleichmar D. – de Vos P. – Huffine K. – Sheehan K. (eds.), *Science in the Spanish and Portuguese Empires, 1500–1800* (Stanford, Calif.: 2009) 35–53, and Walker T., "Acquisition and Circulation of Medical Knowledge within the Early Modern Portuguese Colonial Empire", in *ibid.* 247–270.

century there existed clear conceptions of the proper limits of the Portuguese empire, as well as a tradition of imperial history which was refreshed at a crucial moment. Men such as Manuel Severim de Faria, the protagonist in this story, placed their intellectual energies in the service of Portugal's imperial project, serving as authors and patrons for the 'natural and moral history' and maintaining their networks of correspondents both within and without the bounds of the empire. It was upon their intellectual foundations that the restored empire of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries would be built.

The discussion that follows will examine the network of connections established by Manuel Severim de Faria during the first half of the seventeenth century during the time he was canon and *chantré*. On the one hand, it will demonstrate how Faria's scholarly tastes mirrored those of other, more well-known citizens of the Republic of Letters from Northern Europe, and how his activities were typical for seventeenth-century literati. This point, as the other contributions to this volume also make clear, serves to expand the traditional definition of that scholarly community to include individuals from beyond England, France, and Germany. On the other hand, this chapter will show that Severim de Faria's place within a larger *République des Lettres* afforded him a different view over contemporary scholarly panoramas. Although he shared many common preoccupations with the antiquarians, jurists, and other *érudits* of Northern Europe, his connections to the servants of crown and church within the Portuguese empire gave him different food for thought. Faria's far-flung correspondents informed him about the cultures, languages, and history of the world's different peoples, as well as about the challenges faced by the Portuguese in their drive to expand or simply maintain their overseas dominions. As such, his circle of sociability reinforced the bonds between agents of empire whose functions were not military or economic, but artistic, intellectual, or, primarily, religious; in short, it was an imperial republic.

What kind of scholar was Manuel Severim de Faria? His intellectual profile and activities mark him as member of the Republic of Letters, that early modern network of scholars who continually trafficked knowledge across national boundaries. Indeed, he shared many of the traits of his fellow 'republicans' scattered across Europe: he had studied at university, where he earned doctorates in philosophy and theology; he owned a large library whose riches he generously shared with his peers; he engaged in correspondence with other learned men using

Latin as well as vernacular Romance tongues; he amassed a collection of natural specimens and manmade artifacts which he organized in museum-like fashion; he kept abreast of politics and publications at home and abroad; and he earned a reputation as one of the pre-eminent antiquarians of his day, commanding prodigious reserves of secular and ecclesiastical arcana.⁷

Severim de Faria's work also had a distinctly Iberian flavor. Indeed, many of his surviving manuscripts could easily be described as the work of an *arbitrista*, one of those men who continually devised new solutions to Spain's myriad problems as the feeling of financial ruin and imperial decay crept across the Habsburg Monarchy in the seventeenth century. But that term seems too limiting to describe Severim de Faria, since he had truly catholic interests. Like other erudite men of his day, he rarely ceased to write but he dispensed only a fraction of his store of knowledge in print. Only four substantial works were published under his own name, the first in 1624 and the other three (two of which were devotional treatises) within six years of his death in 1655. Given Faria's reputation for erudition, the prolific Spanish poet and playwright Lope de Vega could only lament this state of affairs by declaring: 'He has written much, but for his modesty and to our harm he abstains from publishing it'.⁸

The characteristic of Faria's life and work that made them different from those of his peers elsewhere in Europe was the vast geographic scope of his intellectual activities. But how did he establish a network of contacts that stretched from Brazil to Japan? The answer lies in the web of relationships that he cultivated over the years in Évora. For a provincial capital, the city had more than its fair share of important civic bodies: a municipal council, ancient noble households, a cathedral chapter, an Inquisition tribunal, a university, and houses of the major religious orders. Significantly, one institution combined two early modern corporations in one: the University of Évora (founded in 1559) was staffed and managed by the Society of Jesus. In fact, 'university' was simply another name for the Jesuits' *Colégio do Espírito*

⁷ Many of main characteristics of the 'republican' form of scholarship are described in Miller P., *Peiresc's Europe: Learning and Virtue in the Seventeenth Century* (New Haven, Conn.: 2000); while the best short introduction to the subject remains Fumarioli M., "La République des Lettres", *Diogenes* 143 (1988) 131–150.

⁸ Cited in Vieira M.L.S.A., "Introdução", in Severim de Faria Manuel, *Discursos Vários Políticos*, ed. Vieira (Lisbon: 1999) xv.

Santo, the order's second-largest house in Portugal. Yet unlike Coimbra, where the Jesuits' college was merely one among a number of schools run by religious orders, the men of the Society constituted the largest academic community in Évora. Moreover, since it was home to a large teaching faculty and a Jesuit novitiate, this college was also one of the principal recruiting grounds for missionaries. As I have discussed elsewhere, the vast majority of Jesuit missionaries trained in Portugal studied at either Évora or Coimbra.⁹ Yet they only became aware of their missionary assignments months, if not weeks, before leaving for the docks of Lisbon. Before that time, they were regular participants in the university's academic life, holding disputations on philosophical or theological topics or displaying their eloquence in Latin poetry and prose. Members of the city's literate elite, such as Manuel Severim de Faria, loomed large in their audiences as critics, patrons and admirers.

Faria shared more than just academic interests and physical proximity with the Évora Jesuits. He had studied in their midst before joining the cathedral chapter; and his friendly disposition and ready patronage secured for him the loyalty of many future missionaries. In return, they sent him news and curiosities from their distant mission stations. Let us take a tour of the exotic horizons that they opened up to him through their letters. Among the first surviving pieces of correspondence sent to Severim de Faria from overseas were those from farthest away, from East Asia. In late 1618, Manuel Dias the younger wrote from Macau, the Portuguese colony on the China coast, with news of martyrdom in Japan, persecution in China, invasions from Manchuria, and 'the newest and most amazing thing', a comet.¹⁰ A few months later, Manuel Dias the elder also sent him a letter from Macau, a report with rich contents that included the translation of a mandarin's memorial about the Manchu menace, a treatise on Chinese music, further observations about celestial phenomena, and the promise of a disquisition on the Chinese 'way of studying, taking examinations, and earning degrees'.¹¹

⁹ See Brockey L.M., *Journey to the East: The Jesuit Mission to China, 1579–1724* (Cambridge, Mass.: 2007) 207–233.

¹⁰ Manuel Dias the younger to Manuel Severim de Faria, Macau, 18 November 1618, Biblioteca Nacional de Portugal, Lisbon, Ms. 29, no. 22.

¹¹ Manuel Dias the elder to Manuel Severim de Faria, Macau, 15 January 1619, Biblioteca Nacional de Portugal, Lisbon, Ms. 29, no. 23.

The network of correspondents that Faria established in the 1620s and 30s was a reflection of the global reach of the missionary commitments of the Portuguese branch of the Society of Jesus. Starting in the 1540s, the Jesuits working under Portuguese royal patronage had opened missions in Asia, Africa, and South America. These endeavors had matured by the time of Severim de Faria, encouraging intrepid missionaries to take the spread of Christianity – as well as of Portuguese rule, in many cases – beyond the coastal confines where Jesuit pioneers had made their first apostolic forays in the mid-sixteenth century. Faria received missives about these enterprises from the East, as well as from the West and the South. For example, in 1621 Manuel Gomes sent word of his five-year expedition to Maranhão, on the northern coast of Brazil, of how he and a fellow Jesuit escorted an army of three hundred native Americans as well as a chorale of indigenous singers to ease the work of conversion in virgin territory.¹² That same year, Mateus Cardoso offered news of the discovery of veins of copper in the mountains beyond Benguela, a new settlement on the Angolan coast. ‘Here at the College,’ he wrote from Luanda, ‘we melted the samples, and the copper is very fine and without a doubt contains gold’.¹³

Faria’s most reliable group of correspondents over the decades were the Jesuits at Goa. That city was the capital of the Portuguese *Estado da Índia* and home to three of the Society’s largest communities in Asia, the Professed House (where the relics of Francis Xavier were kept), and the two colleges of São Paulo, *o novo* and *o velho*. The senior Jesuits in these residences led public lives of preaching, ritual, and erudition, in many regards similar to that of the *chantre*, minus his generous benefice. Responding to Severim de Faria’s requests over the years, they prepared treatises (or forwarded others’ writings) on Asian themes and sent them aboard the fleets returning to Lisbon. In 1634, for example, Manuel Barradas, a missionary retired from years spent in Southwest India, sent a treatise that he had written ‘regarding the gods and laws of the heathens’ in India, in addition to three

¹² Manuel Gomes to Manuel Severim de Faria, [Lisbon?], 2 June 1621, Biblioteca Nacional de Portugal, Lisbon, Ms. 29, no. 31, fol. 1r; 2r.

¹³ Mateus Cardoso to Manuel Severim de Faria, Luanda, 16 March 1621, in Brásio A. (ed.), *Monumenta Missionaria Africana*, 15 vols. (Lisbon: 1952–1988) vol. VI, 567.

other works composed during his ill-fated voyage to Ethiopia.¹⁴ Álvaro Tavares, the rector of New St. Paul's, was especially diligent in sending such items to Faria, since he recognized that they were 'the curiosities that Your Mercy most esteems'.¹⁵ Tavares's letters from the mid-1630s mention his sending, among other items, 'a curious relation of the city of Aden and that part of Arabia' as well as a sample of Persian script obtained from an Armenian merchant at Agra so that the canon could examine 'their method and style of writing'.¹⁶

In addition to sending him treatises, Faria's correspondents helped supply him with a collection of exotica that one panegyrist described as 'worthy of a prince'.¹⁷ For instance, Mateus Cardoso forwarded an object that had been given to him by a pair of missionaries who had traveled into the Angolan hinterland. They had called the piece a 'unicorn's horn', but Cardoso averred that it was actually from a rhinoceros. This veteran of the West African missions also sent Faria a skull from a manatee 'that Your Mercy will be pleased to see because it has teeth like a human, especially the lower molars'.¹⁸ At the Jesuit college in Goa, Álvaro Tavares acted as a kind of procurator for Faria, his yearly letters often tabulating the gifts being sent to Évora from all across Asia. In one dispatch from 1633, Tavares referred to the following items: 'a large coconut shell from the Maldives for making a pitcher', 'half a dozen shells from Melinde for medical uses', 'a rhinoceros's tooth', 'a unicorn's horn', an example of Chinese painting 'that can be put in a frame', and a calligraphy set with a tray, brush, and hard ink, 'all from Japan'.¹⁹

Manuel Severim de Faria was always eager to learn of the vicissitudes of empire from his correspondents. During the tumultuous decades of the early seventeenth century, they kept him aware of the Portuguese triumphs and tragedies that occurred in Asia, Africa,

¹⁴ Manuel Barradas to Manuel Severim de Faria, Goa, 12 December 1634, Biblioteca Nacional de Portugal, Lisbon, *Reservados* Cod. 7640, fol. 76r.

¹⁵ Álvaro Tavares to Manuel Severim de Faria, Goa, 15 February 1635, Biblioteca Nacional de Portugal, Lisbon, *Reservados* Cod. 7640, fol. 101v.

¹⁶ *Ibid.*, fol. 101r; and Álvaro Tavares to Manuel Severim de Faria, Goa, 20 February 1636, Biblioteca Nacional de Portugal, Lisbon, *Reservados* Cod. 7640, fol. 115v.

¹⁷ Barbosa J., "Vida de Manuel Severim de Faria escrita pelo adicionador [1740]", in Severim de Faria Manuel, *Notícias de Portugal*, Vaz F.A.L. (Lisbon: 2003) 299–300, 300.

¹⁸ Cardoso to Faria, Luanda, 16 March 1621, in Brásio (ed.), *Monumenta*, vol. VI, 568.

¹⁹ Álvaro Tavares to Manuel Severim de Faria, Goa, 6 February 1633, Biblioteca Nacional de Portugal, Lisbon, *Reservados* Cod. 7640, fol. 71v.

and the Americas. For example, he learned of the Dutch capture of Brazil and Angola – as well as their subsequent recapture by the Portuguese – from men who lived in Salvador da Bahia and Luanda. In 1633, Álvaro Tavares in Goa sent Faria two accounts of the wars in Ceylon and East Africa that his fellow Jesuits had witnessed there in the company of Portuguese captains.²⁰ As he remarked in his letters to Évora, Tavares tried to be especially diligent in sending such items since he recognized that they were ‘the curiosities that Your Mercy most esteems’.²¹ Faria also received regular dispatches about the protracted wars between the Portuguese and the V.O.C. (Dutch United East India Company) across Asia, including Manuel Xavier’s ‘Relation of the capture of the fortress of Galle on the Island of Ceylon by the Hollanders on March 13, 1640, written by a prelate of a religious order who was present’. This particular report was completed by Xavier on September 30, 1640, a few scant weeks before the yearly armada left Goa en route to Lisbon.²²

Given his sympathies to his brethren of the cloth, Severim de Faria was keen to hear of the progress of the overseas missions. But with few exceptions, the 1630s and 40s produced few occasions for celebrating the march of the faith. Several of Faria’s friends were involved in the debacles in Ethiopia and Japan, where thriving missions were reduced to naught when missionary ambitions conflicted with indigenous political struggles. For years Faria exchanged letters with Afonso Mendes, a Jesuit who won a rapid promotion from Scripture professor at Évora to Latin Patriarch of Ethiopia after giving an oration to Philip IV, both before and after his captivity and subsequent exile from East Africa. In similar fashion, the Jesuits at Macau kept the *chantry* informed about the successive waves of martyrdoms in Japan. One loose sheet found in his letter book shows how Faria tallied the palms attained by the last priests to be hunted down by the Tokugawa regime – a list which includes Cristóvão Ferreira, whom Faria believed to have been ‘hung by his feet’ until he died, but who had actually apostatized under

²⁰ Ibid., fol. 71r.

²¹ Álvaro Tavares to Manuel Severim de Faria, Goa, 15 February 1635, Biblioteca Nacional de Portugal, Lisbon, *Reservados* Cod. 7640, fol. 101v.

²² Manuel Xavier to Manuel Severim de Faria, Goa, 30 September 1640, Biblioteca Nacional de Portugal, Lisbon, *Reservados* Cod. 7640, fol. 197r–v. The treatise that he sent, ‘Relação da tomada da fortz.a de Gale na ilha de Ceilão pellos Olandezes em 13 de Março de 1640 feita p. hũ prelado de hũa religião q se achou prez.e a tudo’ can be found *ibid.*, fols. 201r–205r.

torture.²³ Other reports came from Jesuit procurators who traveled to Europe for the purpose of raising funds and escorting recruits for the mission fields. For example, when Álvaro Semedo traveled from China to Rome in the late 1630s, he paid a visit to Faria at Évora. Along with a set of Eastern curiosities, Semedo carried 'many excellent annual letters' to satiate the *chantré's* desire for news of the Jesuits' apostolic enterprises.²⁴

To highlight the place of the Society of Jesus in Faria's network is not to intimate that the Jesuits had a monopoly on his attentions. In the panoply of secular and religious correspondents who exchanged letters with him were also Franciscans, Augustinians and Dominicans who kept him abreast of their own missionary work. Foremost among these men was Faria's brother Frei Cristóvão de Lisboa, a Franciscan Recollect whose career took him first to Brazil and later to Angola. After rising swiftly through the ranks in that recently-founded branch of the Order of Friars Minor, Frei Cristóvão was charged with establishing a new missionary province in Maranhão in the early 1620s. Once in Brazil, he met with great resistance from the Portuguese settlers and from the Jesuits who had already commenced evangelizing the area's indigenous populations. Frei Cristóvão's letters offer a counterpoint to the chorus of Jesuit successes intoned in the letters which reached Évora from Asia. From South America, Faria heard tales of shipwreck, arduous treks through jungles, ambushes, hunger and disease; a series of lamentations punctuated by references to his brother's knowledge of Brazilian flora and fauna. In 1627, Frei Cristóvão mentioned that he was putting the finishing touches on an illustrated 'treatise of the birds, plants, fish, and animals', the first such pictorial account of tropical plants and wildlife.²⁵ Another of Faria's correspondents, Frei Lucas de São Paulo, sent news of the Order of St. Augustine's efforts in Persia and the Euphrates Valley while bemoaning a lack of news from Portugal to 'cheer those who live in exile, far from home, friends,

²³ Manuel Severim de Faria, "Martires de Japão q vem nas cartas da Nao q chegou o anno de 1635", Biblioteca Nacional de Portugal, Lisbon, *Reservados* Cod. 7640, fol. 102r.

²⁴ Manuel Barradas to Manuel Severim de Faria, Goa, 20 October 1637, *ibid.*, fol. 141v.

²⁵ Frei Christóvão de Lisboa to Manuel Severim de Faria, Maranhão, 20 January 1627, Biblioteca Nacional de Portugal, Lisbon, Mss. 29, no. 28, fol. 2r. The manuscript was only published in the 1960s, but a newer edition exists. See Frei Christóvão de Lisboa, *História dos Animaes e Árvores do Maranhão*, ed. J. Walter (Lisbon: 2000).

and relatives, in a climate so opposite to that of our temperate Entre Douro e Minho.²⁶

It would appear that this last friar protested too much. For if there was one thing that Severim de Faria shared with his correspondents overseas, it was news from home. Indeed, the *chantre* has recently been dubbed, in a flight of interpretive fancy, the ‘father of Portuguese journalism’ for the yearly reports of events that he sent to his friends around the globe.²⁷ Most of these reports remained in manuscript, but Faria published at least one ‘news summary’ about the events of 1625 and 1626 in Portugal and ‘the rest of the Occidental and Oriental Provinces’ under the pseudonym Francisco de Abreu. As its full title promises and its contents demonstrate, it contains many ‘particularities and curiosities’ from the far corners of the globe, digested by Faria from the letters that he received from his numerous contacts.²⁸

Faria forwarded printed gazettes from around Europe to his friends overseas, as well as manuscript summaries of the affairs that transpired at European courts and battlefields and across the Spanish and Portuguese empires. For example, in October, 1637, Manuel Barradas wrote from Goa to acknowledge receipt of a ‘brief relation of news written longhand and others printed in Flanders’.²⁹ This Jesuit most likely referred to Faria’s summary from the previous year, which had been completed in February, 1636, a few weeks before the yearly *armadas* left Lisbon for India in late March or early April. That particular report offered a précis of the state of politics, economics, religion, and diplomacy across Europe and around the globe; including notes on the prices of meat and bread in Portugal, promotions within the ecclesiastical ranks, and the state of construction on the Palacio del Buen Retiro in Madrid. In his remarks the seemingly endless wars in Germany between Bourbons and Habsburgs, Faria noted the following: ‘The French gave occasion for the King of Spain to consider them

²⁶ Frei Lucas de São Paulo to Manuel Severim de Faria, Goa, 9 February 1634, Biblioteca Nacional de Portugal, Lisbon, *Reservados* Cod. 7640, fol. 78r.

²⁷ Sousa J.P. – Pinto M., – Silva G., *A Gênese do Jornalismo Lusófono e as Relações de Manuel Severim de Faria* (Lisbon: 2007).

²⁸ Abreu F. de (pseud. Manuel Severim de Faria), *Relação Universal do que se succedo em Portugal, & Mais Provincias do Occidente, & Oriente des do Mes de Março de 625 até todo Setembro de 626. Contem Muitas Particularidades & Coriosidades* (Braga: 1627).

²⁹ Barradas to Faria, Goa, 20 October 1637, Biblioteca Nacional de Portugal, Lisbon, *Reservados* Cod. 7640, fol. 141r.

as declared enemies, because upon seeing that the relics of the Swedish army were extinct and that there was no one on the Protestant side who could take the lead against the house of Austria, the King of France began to resurrect that league...³⁰ Read in sequence, as they were preserved in Faria's personal notebooks, these annual reports offer a detailed overview of early seventeenth century economics, culture, and politics, both secular and religious.³¹

The exchange of letters and objects between Manuel Severim de Faria in Évora and his correspondents around the globe helped to strengthen the bonds of friendship among Portugal's far-flung agents of empire. Yet we must move beyond the mere recognition of circles of sociability, regardless of how impressive their scale, to inquire whether this network produced other results. The most important effect of the creation and maintenance of this global network appears to be the sense of common cause that it engendered among its participants. But how did the exchange of information create such sentiments toward the Portuguese imperial project? The most straightforward answer is that through their writings, the members of Faria's circle preserved the memory of the deeds and wisdom of those who built the empire in preceding generations. Of course, the definition of empire is a slippery one. In this essay, I have suggested that it was a political unit, but many of the men mentioned above worked outside of the strict political boundaries of the Portuguese empire as missionaries in China, Japan, Ethiopia, or elsewhere. Moreover, they may not have understood themselves in the quality of agents of empire, that is, of representatives of a coherent colonial agenda (if one indeed existed in the early seventeenth century). More often than not, Faria's missionary contacts saw themselves as fulfilling a divine plan to spread the gospel to the ends of the earth, a plan which may or may not have run parallel to the ambitions of the Portuguese crown.

None of the men mentioned here, however, would have denied that they were living in an empire. Their empire stretched as much across

³⁰ Manuel Severim de Faria, 'Relação dos Successos de Portugal, e Mais Provincias do Occidente, desde Março de 1635 até Fevereiro de 1636', Biblioteca Nacional de Portugal, Lisbon, *Reservados* Cod. 241, fol. 306r.

³¹ Faria also wrote another manuscript chronology of events, his *Anais*, portions of which have been preserved. See Manuel Severim de Faria, *Anais de Portugal*, Évora, Biblioteca Pública e Arquivo Distrital, Codex CIII/2-12.

the vastness of the mind as it did across the expanses of the earth. This was especially the case in the early seventeenth century, when the pervasive notion of decline (fomented especially by Northern Europeans with a clear eye to the successful advance of their own imperial objectives) began to curl the edges of the map of empire traced during the reigns of Kings Manuel I and João III drawn in early 1500s. The subordinate position of the Portuguese empire within the Habsburg Monarchy in the late sixteenth and early seventeenth century only served to further drive notions of an independent Lusitanian sphere farther from the reality of contemporary politics. Manuel Severim de Faria, standing as he did at the center of a vast network of Portuguese correspondents, was aware of the various challenges created by this state of affairs. Yet he was sufficiently cognizant of the glories of the past to accept the fact that the empire which flourished under the dynasty of Avis would simply disappear because the attentions of the rulers in Madrid seemed focused elsewhere. Faria had a clear picture of the imperial balance sheet, with new gains and losses tallied based on each letter he received.

His response to this state of affairs was to invest in the writing of history and the patronage of others who shared their knowledge of the Portuguese empire with him. Curiously, Severim de Faria did not devote himself to recapitulating the glorious deeds of the first generation of colonists and conquistadores. Rather he focused on lionizing those men who had initiated the process of preserving the memory of empire: the poet Luís de Camões, the sixteenth century chronicler João de Barros, and the later imperial historian Diogo do Couto. Severim de Faria's first published work, *Discursos Vários Políticos* (first edition Évora, 1624) offered the first biographies of these three men. While none of these men can be deemed founders of empire, much less conquistadores, their writings were fundamental in shaping a vision of the Portuguese empire which existed principally in the mind.

The most famous individual of this trio is Luís de Camões. While Severim de Faria may have harbored some special sentiments towards Camões due to the fact that the two men were distant relatives, the *chantre* had other reasons for celebrating the poet's memory. First of all, Severim de Faria was an active participant in the literary debates among intellectuals in early seventeenth century Évora. In the years after Camões's death in 1580, the poet's work was heralded as the standard for Portuguese verse at a time when there was no lack of renowned poets. As time went by, however, critics were divided over

whether it was possible (or even beneficial) to find fault in any part of Camões's work. Severim de Faria was among those who refused to see flaws in the poet's *obra*, and clashed vigorously with others, such as Manuel Pires de Almeida, who suggested that some of his verses were less than perfect.³² Secondly, Severim de Faria was committed to bringing descriptions of the Portuguese empire to a wider reading public or, perhaps better put, to making his readers better understand their empire. In this task he sought to inspire his readers with the remembrance of things past. Referring to Camões's *Lusíadas*, he claimed:

It is not possible to explain in few words the utility of this Poem, because there is no one who reads it who does not become inflamed with an admirable desire for glory, and to employ his life in illustrious deeds, spending it in adventures for the faith, for the king, and for the country.³³

A similar refrain runs through Faria's biography of João de Barros, the man whom he considered the father of imperial historiography, or at least its Portuguese school. Barros's primary work was his *Décadas da Ásia*, a chronicle of the creation of the Portuguese empire structured along the lines of Livy's history of the foundation of Rome. While not the only mid sixteenth-century author who wrote about the early overseas conquests, Barros was, in Severim de Faria's estimation, the best. Other chroniclers seemed to content themselves with recounting the Portuguese advance down the African coast and onward to Asia and America, while the author of the *Décadas* offered a combination of historical narrative with extensive discussions of geography, politics, religion and economics: Barros made imperial history into an art. To be sure, he had a privileged perspective on matters colonial, having served the crown at El Mina, the fortified trading outpost on the coast of modern Ghana, and in Lisbon as treasurer, and later factor, of the *Casa da Índia*, the central overseas archival repository and commercial institution. This combination of experience and access to information helped make Barros's *Décadas* the ideal type for writing about the empire. Not only did its organization and style hearken to classical models but it obeyed what Severim de Faria called 'the component laws of history' – rules ignored by 'many moderns, who begin

³² Pires, *Os Académicos Eborenses* 49–58.

³³ Severim de Faria, *Discursos*, ed. Vieira 129.

their histories as if they were writing a letter'.³⁴ It should be added that besides his massive chronicle, Barros wrote a number of moral and grammatical treatises, books which dealt with two themes dear to Severim de Faria's heart, language and virtue.

There was also a third element that the *chancre* had in mind when he praised João de Barros's publications: honor. Severim de Faria wrote to defend the honor of his subject, and in turn, the honor of the Portuguese nation. It is worthwhile pausing to stress the importance of honor, and in particular its place within early modern social constructs, in order to understand why Faria persisted in his scholarly efforts for half a century. His concern for Portuguese honor was especially important when he championed the accomplishments of poets and historians, since their breed of heroism was not marked by valiant deeds or feats of arms which might have had greater resonance with Faria's contemporaries. As much in his biography of Camões as in his lives of Barros and Diogo do Couto, the latter being the chronicler who continued the *Décadas da Ásia* after Barros's death, the *chancre* sought to reveal how others from across Europe had published knowledge that had been acquired from the Portuguese without giving them due credit. For example, while on the one hand he praised Barros for sharing information about the Indies, as well as a Chinese book and a Persian manuscript, with the famed sixteenth-century scholar Paolo Giovio, Faria criticized the Italian for writing at length about the Orient without citing his (Portuguese) sources. He invoked Pliny, praising the Roman polymath for including a catalog of the authors upon whom he had relied, while condemning ranks of early modern scholars 'who imitate the silence of Giovio rather than the recognition of Pliny'.³⁵

Faria was further motivated to celebrate the historians of empire, including the chronicler Diogo do Couto, in order to disprove a pervasive moral judgment leveled against the Portuguese empire. According to this old canard, the Portuguese had sought out the route to India and had conquered a set of colonies there solely out of greed. Yet Faria would have no truck with the idea that the Portuguese were driven only by base motives. The work of the missionaries across Asia, in Africa, and in the Americas seemed sufficient proof that his compatriots had other motives. But Faria went on to enumerate other gifts

³⁴ Ibid. 49.

³⁵ Ibid. 44–45.

that the Portuguese empire had given to the world. In the context of a discussion of the *materia medica* found in India and discussed in Garcia de Orta's *Coloquios dos Simples, e Drogas* (first published Goa, 1563), the *chante* denounced 'the little reason with which some foreigners contend that we went to India only with greed for its riches, and not with curiosity to show to the world the wonders that nature has worked there'.³⁶

The examples cited here come from Faria's published writings, but he was not alone in his task of preserving the honor of the Portuguese nation. He enlisted his numerous contacts to help him, putting his wealth and prestige in the service of empire by acting as patron for his literary colleagues around the globe. In addition to channeling fresh information from overseas to authors in Iberia, he paid for the publication of manuscripts which were sent to him. One example of each of these types of endeavor will suffice. Manuel Barradas, Severim de Faria's friend in Goa, forwarded to Évora a manuscript survey of the Hindu religious system written by Jacobo Fenicio, a Jesuit stationed near Cochin on the Malabar Coast. After digesting the text himself, the *chante* shared it with Manuel de Faria e Sousa, who included selections from Fenicio's work in his *Asia Portuguesa* (written 1640, published 1666). And in another instance, Manuel Xavier, another Jesuit in India, in 1631 sent Faria an account of the feats of arms of Nuno Álvares Botelho, the admiral who won celebrated (albeit fleeting) victories at Ormuz and Malacca and who also served as governor of the *Estado da Índia* in the late 1620s. Xavier forwarded his text at the suggestion of his superior, who assured him that an account of 'the prowess and marvelous feats of the Portuguese nation' would be the 'most valuable and prized pearl' that he could send to Faria from the East.³⁷ Snatching Botelho's heroism from the maw of oblivion, Faria in turn commissioned the publication of *Victories of the Governor of India Nuno Álvares Botelho* in 1633. By late October of the same year, readers in India (including Xavier and his Jesuit confreres) as well as in Madrid had received copies of the text.³⁸ According to its preface, King Philip IV was so moved by Xavier's account that he conferred further

³⁶ Ibid. 57.

³⁷ Manuel Xavier to Manuel Severim de Faria, Goa, 20 December 1631, Biblioteca Nacional de Portugal, Lisbon, *Reservados* Cod. 7640, fol. 3r.

³⁸ Manuel Xavier to Manuel Severim de Faria, Goa, 19 October 1633, Biblioteca Nacional de Portugal, Lisbon, *Reservados* Cod. 7640, fol. 45r.

privileges on the hero's widow and ordered that a copy of Botelho's portrait to be shipped forthwith to the royal court.³⁹

As this evidence shows, the principal goal of the intellectual efforts of Faria and his circle was to preserve the memory of those who contributed to the Portuguese imperial project. The writing of history, to them, was as important to the preservation of the empire as the heroic efforts of soldiers, missionaries, and merchants. Here again Faria took the lead, commissioning new works from his friends overseas and attempting to ensure that they would reach audiences in Europe and beyond. For example, in 1624 he petitioned Frei Vicente de Salvador, a Franciscan who had been born in Salvador da Bahia, to commence a *História do Brasil*. This work, the first political and natural history of the Portuguese colony, was dedicated to Faria, yet it remained in manuscript until the nineteenth century. Nevertheless, Frei Vicente recognized the importance of Faria's efforts, asserting that the extension of his patronage to authors in the overseas colonies was tantamount to 'giving life to the dead, resurrecting their memory which time had already sealed in the tomb, and imparting spirit and fervor so that their writings appear and each of them enjoys writing and composing his history'.⁴⁰ Writing from India, Manuel Xavier echoed these sentiments in his praise for Faria's efforts to ensure that 'the captains and soldiers of India would see that their services would not be totally without reward; nor that their efforts and valor be buried and detained within the confines of the Orient'.⁴¹

Manuel Severim de Faria was nonetheless a practical man. He was well aware that the Portuguese empire needed more than memory to save it from the real depredations of European and Asian rivals. The letters that he received from the Americas and Asia in the 1630s and 40s were a chorus of impending doom, as the vast space that had served as the backdrop for the *beaux gestes* of the preceding century was besieged by the English, French and, above all, Dutch. Late in his life – in a work published in the year of his death, although written some years before – Faria's views on practical matters of imperial administration finally came through in print. His *Notícias de Portugal* (1655)

³⁹ Xavier Manuel, *Vitorias do Governador da India Nuno Alvarez Botelho* (Lisabon, António Álvares: 1633), preface.

⁴⁰ Frei Vicente de Salvador, *Historia do Brazil* (Rio de Janeiro: 1889) 3.

⁴¹ Manuel Xavier to Manuel Severim de Faria, Goa, 20 December 1631, Biblioteca Nacional de Portugal, Lisbon, *Reservados* Cod. 7640, fol. 3r.

was a set of essays outlining plans for regaining the Portuguese glory of the past. Here Faria observed a link between the country's sparse population and the vastness of the empire, suggesting that a radical reduction in the number of Portuguese fortresses overseas would dim the hopes of farmers who chased after riches in the Indies.⁴² He also insisted that the empire had forsaken its commitment to foster the spread of the Gospel, calling for the urgent establishment of seminaries in Western Africa for the creation of an indigenous clergy in those lands. Such a project, he contended, would not only 'gain an almost infinite number of souls for the Catholic Church, but a very profitable commerce for the kingdom as well'.⁴³ Economic calculations like this one – the fruit of decades of correspondence with missionaries who dealt with the real challenges of funding their apostolic endeavors – were mirrored in his concern for restoring the faded glory of the East India trade. For as his missionary brethren informed him, the fate of the *Carreira da Índia* lay in the hands of greedy men who overloaded its ships with more than they could carry, imperiling not only the spread of Christianity but the survival of empire.⁴⁴

By 1655, it was almost too late for a revival of the Portuguese empire in the way that Manuel Severim de Faria would have deemed appropriate. His *Notícias* were indeed old news. The proposals that the *chambre* published that year were not heeded by the new monarchs of the Bragança dynasty, not any more than if he would have let them lie among the dozens of other such treatises on imperial recovery that he left in manuscript. Perhaps Faria realized this fate in the final years of his life, as he left behind his canonry and began to frequent the silence of the Carthusian monastery on the outskirts of Évora, where he was eventually buried. Or perhaps he was to the end under the spell of his cousin Camões, whose epic contains a dissonant note of disillusionment near the end, when the poet vows to cease singing of an unworthy nation: 'Não mais, Musa, não mais, que a Lira tenho/

⁴² Faria, *Notícias* 22.

⁴³ Ibid. 210.

⁴⁴ See, for example, his reference to a letter from Francisco Barreto, the bishop of Cranganore in Southern India, about the overloading of the ship he travelled upon. Ibid. 214.

Destemperada e a voz enrouquecida,/ E não do canto, mas de ver que venho / Cantar a gente surda e endurecida'.⁴⁵

Manuel Severim de Faria's presence faded away in Évora soon after his passing. By the early 1700s, the editor of a second edition of his *Notícias de Portugal* lamented that after his death even his collection of curiosities 'disappeared in such a way that there is nothing left of it but a memory full of regret'.⁴⁶ Nevertheless, the empire that Severim de Faria had helped to preserve through his scholarly efforts survived him. While expansion in the West and contraction in the East would forever change the *Estados* of Brazil and India in the generation after his, the empire itself continued. Until the last quarter of the twentieth century, it continued to pay regard to the monuments of virtue, honor, and language that the *chante* had erected. Even if Portugal's grip on its empire for most of the modern era was tenuous, it owed its considerable longevity to the fact that its far horizons were only visible in the mind's eye.

⁴⁵ Canto X:145; 'No more, my Muse, no more; my Harp's ill strung, / Heavy, and out of tune, and my Voice hoarse: / And, not with singing, but to see I've sung / To a deaf people and without remorse'. Translation from Fanshawe Richard, *The Lusiad, or, Portugals Historicall Poem written by Luis de Camoens* (London, A. Moseley: 1664).

⁴⁶ Barbosa, 'Vida de Manuel Severim de Faria', in Severim de Faria, *Notícias* 300.

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II. PORTUGUESE LITERATURE AND THE REPUBLIC OF LETTERS

ANTÓNIO FERREIRA'S *CASTRO*:
TRAGEDY AT THE CROSS-ROADS

Thomas F. Earle

Castro and drama in sixteenth-century Portugal

António Ferreira's verse tragedy *Castro*, based on a famous incident taken from the history of Portugal and written in Portuguese, is a product of the middle years of the sixteenth century. Ferreira (1528–1569) was, of all the great poets of Renaissance Portugal, the one most closely associated with the University of Coimbra. He spent around ten years there, leaving with a doctorate in July 1555.¹ Although he cannot be said for a certainty to have composed in Latin, he probably did so.² Despite the origins of the tragedy in the Portuguese Middle Ages and the use of the vernacular, *Castro* is deeply indebted to classical and to Neo-Latin literature and must be understood in the wider context of Portuguese humanism.

Some of the greatest works of Portuguese Renaissance literature belong to the 1550s. Indeed, it is very probable that while Ferreira was working on his tragedy, most likely between 1553 and 1559,³ Camões was busy with *The Lusiads* in distant India. By that time the poets had learnt to handle the new decasyllabic line and the verse forms associated with it which Francisco de Sá de Miranda had brought from Italy to Portugal in the 1520s. However, in the 1550s the intellectual environment, which in earlier decades had been in some ways surprisingly open, was beginning to become more restricted.⁴ The university came entirely under ecclesiastical control in 1555,⁵ the year Ferreira left it, and the educational policy of the Society of Jesus, with its emphasis on

¹ Ferreira António, *Poemas Lusitanos*, ed. T.F. Earle (Lisbon: 2000) 7.

² Ferreira, *Poemas Lusitanos* 548; 642–643.

³ Ferreira, *Poemas Lusitanos* 626.

⁴ For an interesting recent account of the inquiring attitude of one Portuguese humanist of the first half of the sixteenth century, João Roiz de Sá de Meneses, see Tarrío A.M., *Paisagem e erudição no humanismo português* (Lisbon: 2009) 95–107.

⁵ Brandão M., *A inquisição e os professores do Colégio das Artes*, 2 vols. (Coimbra: 1948–1969) vol. II, 931–933.

religious and moral teaching – tempered, it is true, by classical learning – was beginning to take effect.

However, *Castro* is a perfectly constructed Senecan tragedy and at the same time a play in which there are more questions than there are answers. In Ferreira's open-ended attitude to many issues, including whether or not the piece should be regarded as a tragedy, it is possible to see parallels with Sá de Miranda's dialogue eclogue *Basto*, probably written in the 1540s, which is an unresolved debate about the virtues of the solitary and of the social life. There are also parallels with *The Lusiads* itself, in which Camões frequently questions the heroic values which the poem ostensibly seeks to uphold. The most famous instance is the speech of the Old Man of Restelo, who rebukes the voyagers for their ambition just as they are about to leave Portugal, and whose words are never answered.⁶

Nevertheless, in the context of Portuguese theatre *Castro* is an isolated work, both in formal terms and because it is imbued with the tolerance of a more enlightened age. Ferreira's play owes nothing to the theatrical tradition of Portugal, the *autos* of Gil Vicente and his contemporaries, and there is nothing like it in Spain, either. No one else in the Iberian Peninsula wrote a vernacular tragedy that follows so closely the stylistic conventions of ancient, and especially Senecan drama.⁷ In the early sixteenth century some vernacular tragedies had been written, but outside the Iberian world. By the time Ferreira wrote his tragedy a number of Italian playwrights had composed tragedies using non-Greek material: Giovan Giorgio Trissino, author of *Sophonisba*, first published in Rome in 1524 and followed by twenty other editions in the sixteenth century, Giovanni Rucellai and Giovan Battista Giral di Cinzio. Ferreira did not follow their plots, though the idea of using an incident from the history of his own country may have come from a reading of their plays. He must also have had knowledge of some of their solutions to the problems posed by ancient dramatic and lyric metres.

Mention should be made of another development which seems to have been something of a literary dead end, the work of the Spaniard, Fernán Pérez de Oliva. He wrote a prose adaptation of Sopho-

⁶ *The Lusiads*, Canto IV, stanzas 95–104.

⁷ See Hermenegildo A., *La tragedia en el Renacimiento español* (Barcelona: 1973), where he concludes that if university tragedies were written, they have not survived, 89.

cles, *Electra*, with the title *La venganza de Agamemnón*, and another of *Hecuba*. In these Spanish adaptations the role of the chorus – which is an extremely important feature of *Castro* – is very much diminished.⁸ *La venganza de Agamemnón* was published in Burgos in 1528, and a Portuguese version, by Henrique Aires Vitória, followed in 1536, but if Ferreira knew these pieces, they left no trace in his work.

For Ferreira, the obvious literary models for tragedy were Latin. Latin drama meant, above all, the plays of Seneca, but not only those: there were also Neo-Latin tragedies whose work he must have known, and even Greek ones, if they were available in Latin translation, as will appear shortly. However, there are more intertextual references in *Castro* to Seneca than to any other dramatist, a fact which has long been recognized.

The lyrical opening of the play, in which Inês is discovered picking flowers with the chorus, and then has a dialogue with her nurse, recalls the opening of *Octavia*, in which the heroine's initial address to the dawn is also followed by a scene with her nurse.⁹ Later in Act I the scene between Pedro, the heir to the throne of Portugal, and his secretary is an example of what A.J. Boyle calls the Senecan 'passion-restraint' scene.¹⁰ Pedro himself, convinced that as a prince he need not obey the common laws of humanity (ll. 367–76), is a Senecan tyrant in the making, while his father's Act II monologue recalls the weak Agamemnon of *Troades*. Inês is not herself a typical Senecan heroine, but she is involved in a scene where she has to plead for her life, and that of her children, before a powerful male, the king. Seneca wrote scenes of this kind, for instance, *Troades*, Act III, in which Andromache tries to save her son Astyanax from Ulysses, or Medea's plea to Creon in *Medea*, ll. 179–300. Finally, Ferreira's messenger in Act V, who reports Inês's execution, has many predecessors in Senecan tragedy.

Many of these scenes are built up by monologues, sometimes delivered in the presence of a confidant, and by passages of stichomythia, while the acts are separated by choral odes. The chorus also intervenes

⁸ See Pérez de Oliva Fernán, *Teatro*, ed. C. Peale (Córdoba: 1976) xx–xxii.

⁹ Ferreira's play is concerned with the downfall of Inês de Castro, the mistress of Pedro, heir to the throne of Portugal, and the mother of his children. Here, to avoid confusion, the heroine of the play will be referred to by her Christian name – as she often is, in Portugal – while her surname provides the title of the play.

¹⁰ Boyle A.J., *Tragic Seneca: An Essay in the Theatrical Tradition* (London: 1997) 157.

in the action of Acts I, III and IV, though it is not a major player. All this shows the influence of Seneca.

The influence of the Latin language on Ferreira's writing has been noted by the various critics who have found words and phrases borrowed from Seneca and from other writers of Latin, not all of them ancient, in his text. There are passages where a dense web of allusions to Roman literature can be found.¹¹ Soares also notes the importance of Diogo de Teive's Latin tragedy, *Iohannes Princeps*, to *Castro*, and Teive was not the only sixteenth-century tragedian whose work Ferreira probably knew.

Diogo de Teive was a friend of Ferreira. His play was written only a few years before *Castro*, and is Senecan in structure and in the details of its language, but it shows clear signs of conformity towards the new ecclesiastical moralism. It is quite easy to see the links between Teive's play and the Jesuit drama which became the dominant mode of serious drama in Portugal from the late 1550s onwards. Against the background of *Iohannes Princeps* and the Jesuit tragedies which followed it *Castro* seems like a message from a vanishing age.

Teive's tragedy was one of many laments for the premature death of Prince João, heir to the throne of Portugal, who died on 2 January 1554. His son, the future King Sebastião, was born posthumously on the 20th of the same month. There is no mention of this happy event in the play, suggesting that it was composed in the space of a few weeks in the immediate aftermath of João's death. It was published in 1558, in a volume with several other Latin poems by Teive, all dedicated to members of the Portuguese royal family or their immediate entourage.¹² Ferreira was close to Teive, to whom he dedicated two important poems, an eclogue, 'Tévio', and a lengthy verse letter, Book II 4, and he could have read the play in manuscript. Whether he learnt much from it is uncertain, because it lacks the tension of *Castro* and the verbal similarities uncovered by Soares are mostly common-places, as she explains.¹³ The speeches and choruses of *Iohannes*

¹¹ This was discussed nearly a century ago by Wickersham Crawford J., "The influence of Seneca's tragedies on Ferreira's *Castro* and Bermúdez' *Nise lastimosa* and *Nise Laureada*", *Modern Philology* 12 (1914) 39–54. The fullest modern treatment is probably in Soares N., "A *Castro* à luz das suas fontes", *Humanitas* 35–36 (1983–1984) (271–348) 343.

¹² See Diogo de Teive, *Tragédia do Príncipe João*, ed. and transl. by N. Soares (Lisbon: 1999) 22–3.

¹³ *Ibidem* 108.

Princeps narrate the progress of the prince's fatal illness, mourn his death and find some consolation in the Stoic resolve of his father, King João III, but Teive does not allow any of the characters – who are all connected to the royal family – to come into conflict with each other. The prince, whose death gave rise to the tragedy, never even appears on stage.

The Jesuits first staged a play in Portugal in May 1556, in the College of Santo Antão in Lisbon. That play, *Acolastus*, had originally been written by a Flemish Protestant, Gulielmus Gnapheus, but the Portuguese and their Spanish colleagues who were based in Portugal soon began to write plays of their own. Though the language of these plays was Latin, and even Senecan, their content and style were far removed from the classical world, and had a good deal in common with medieval religious theatre. From that tradition they derived their great length – Luís da Cruz's *Sedecias* took two days to perform – and large cast, in the case of *Sedecias* around forty, excluding the chorus. From the start, spectacle and music played a large part in the performances. All this is very foreign to *Castro*, a play of fewer than 1800 lines in which there are only eight speaking roles. The only action of the play – the execution of Inês – takes place off stage and there is no indication that spectacle or music were in any way important. Most significant of all, for the purposes of the present article, is the complete absence from *Castro* of the confident moralizing that was so prominent a feature of the Jesuits' plays.¹⁴

Ferreira was more in sympathy with writers of a previous generation than with his contemporaries. He was a young student in Coimbra while George Buchanan – who was his senior by some twenty years – was there in the late 1540s. By then all Buchanan's plays – the two original tragedies, and the two translations of Euripides – had been written, though not yet published.¹⁵ Erasmus' Latin versions of Euripides, which Ferreira may also have known, date from earlier in the century. Here were six interesting and challenging plays in Latin, whose overall meaning or meanings are far from clear-cut: Buchanan's *Baptistes* and *Jephthes*, and, by Euripides, *Alcestis* and *Medea*

¹⁴ The information about Jesuit drama derives mostly from Miranda M., "Miguel Venegas S.J. e Luís da Cruz S.J.: o mestre e o discípulo", in Nascimento A. – Barros M. (eds.), *Luís da Cruz, S.J., e o teatro jesuítico nos seus primórdios* (Lisbon: 2005) 75–88, esp. 79–85.

¹⁵ *George Buchanan, Tragedies*, ed. P. Sharratt and P.G. Walsh (Edinburgh: 1983) 4.

(translated by Buchanan) and *Hecuba* and *Iphigenia in Aulide* (translated by Erasmus). It is uncertain whether Ferreira knew Greek well – he probably did not.¹⁶ However, the skilful versions of Euripides would have given him some insight into certain aspects of Greek tragedy. It is striking, for instance, how three of the Greek plays, *Alcestis*, *Hecuba* and *Iphigenia in Aulide*, as well as *Jephthes*, are built around the voluntary sacrifice of a young woman. This is the case with *Castro* also. For all Ferreira's obvious admiration for Seneca, Inês is not a Senecan heroine. She is not a vengeful fiend like Medea, nor a passive victim of circumstance, like Polyxena. In her ambiguous final speech, which combines love of life with acceptance of death in almost equal measure, and which will be discussed in more detail later, she reflects the wider ambiguities of Ferreira's profoundly unsettling play.

Critics of *Castro* have long understood that the drama is open to contradictory interpretations. In order to appreciate them, it will be necessary here to give a brief outline of the plot, which concerns the judicial murder of Inês de Castro, lover of Prince Pedro, the heir to the throne of Portugal. The event, which took place in 1355, is historical, but the murder had been given literary treatment many times when Ferreira came to write his tragedy, and his attitude to it is that of a poet, not a historian.¹⁷ In the joyful opening of Act I Inês and her nurse recall the early history of the love affair. The female characters leave, and Pedro enters, followed by his secretary, who fails to convince his master of the need to give up Inês, by whom he has had two children. Act II presents his father, King Alfonso IV, with a painful dilemma. His instinct is to pardon Inês, who has committed no crime, but his counsellors argue that her death is necessary for the safety of the state. Act III, to be discussed in more detail later, is mostly concerned with Inês's premonitory dream and the arrival of news that she is to die. In Act IV Inês confronts the king and his counsellors, and convinces the king at least of her innocence, so that at the climax of the play he allows her to leave, admitting that of the two she is the stronger character. Immediately the counsellors turn on him and the weak king yields to their

¹⁶ See Ferreira, *Poemas Lusitanos* 514–517. For the possible influence of Theocritus on one of Ferreira's eclogues see *ibidem*, 559–560 and the bibliography assembled there.

¹⁷ See Castro A., "Inês de Castro. Da crónica à lenda e da lenda ao mito", in Botta P. (ed.), *Inês de Castro* (Ravenna: 1999) 45–53.

arguments, giving them permission to act as they think best. Inês is accordingly killed, off stage. In Act V Pedro returns, to hear the news of his lover's death and to declare vengeance on Alfonso.

As far back as 1952 A.A. Coimbra Martins noticed that although some of the characters, notably Pedro and Alfonso, speak of a determining fate that rules their lives and that of others, the action of the play does not bear out their words. For all the plays's evident formal debts to Seneca, *Castro* does not present 'la confrontation d'une âme et de son destin', to use Pierre Grimal's words about Roman tragedy.¹⁸ As Coimbra Martins points out, in her long scene in Act IV Inês 'ne fait que placer des hommes totalement libres devant leur responsabilité totale'.¹⁹ Fate and free-will therefore come into conflict, but Coimbra Martins's argument that the king is free to pardon Inês is not entirely convincing because, in the end, he does not do so. Instead, he yields to his counsellors. Something, therefore, prevents him from acting in the way that he knows is right. That something is his own weakness of character, his reluctance to rule, explored in a monologue at the end of Act II, and his inability to impose his will directly on his son. These failures of authority derive from the king's residual feelings of guilt deriving from his rebellion against his own father (Pedro's grandfather) King Dinis. All this does not add up to the *fatum* of the Romans, but at the same time it constitutes a political and psychological impediment that prevents Alfonso from acting as he knows he should have done.²⁰

Critics of *Castro* have known for a long time that there is another unresolved debate in the play, between the claims of individual justice on the one hand and those of the needs of the state on the other. So in the Act II debate Alfonso insists on Inês's innocence while the counsellors maintain that she should die, for the sake of the "common good" which justifies "dubious acts".²¹ The debate is normally seen in the context of the polemic surrounding Machiavelli's political

¹⁸ Grimal P., "Les tragédies de Sénèque", in Jacquot J. – Oddon M. (eds.), *Les Tragédies de Sénèque et le théâtre de la Renaissance* (Paris: 1973) (1–10) 9.

¹⁹ Martins A., "La fatalité dans la *Castro* d'António Ferreira", *Bulletin d'histoire du théâtre portugais* 3, 2 (1952) (169–195) 193.

²⁰ Further discussion in Earle T.F., *Castro de António Ferreira* (Lisbon: 1990) 26–36.

²¹ ll. 665–666: 'O bem comum, senhor, tem tais larguezas / com que justifica obras duvidosas'. All quotations from *Castro* are taken from Ferreira, *Poemas Lusitanos*. All the translations, from Italian, Latin and Portuguese, are mine.

theories.²² The more difficult question to decide is which side the play comes down on.

The events on stage certainly imply that no morally unjustifiable act can ever be politically expedient, for the death of Inês does not promote the common good, as the counsellors believe that it will. Instead, it leads to the breakdown of the political order and of family relationships. In Act V Pedro vows to lead a civil war against Alfonso, who he no longer regards as his father: 'You are not my father, and I am not your son, but your enemy'.²³ By this argument, Ferreira would have structured his play so as to bring out clearly Cicero's views about expedience in Book 3 of *De Officiis*. In a well-known passage Cicero, basing himself on the Stoics Panaetius and Zeno and on Aristotle, declares the incompatibility of *utilitas* (expedience or usefulness) and *turpitudine* (baseness) particularly in a political context. The idea is put over in simple and memorable language: 'Nothing is useful which is not at the same time honourable, nothing is honourable which is not at the same time useful'.²⁴

The action of the play seems not to admit of any other reading, but what is curious is that the point about expedience is never made explicitly. Neither the king or the counsellors win their argument, which is conducted for the most part through stichomythic dialogue in which point scoring is more important than rational discussion. Later on, at the end of Act IV, Ferreira gave himself an opportunity for moralizing, but does not take it. This is the moment (ll. 1503–1525), immediately following Inês's death, when the chorus tell the king of their sense of outrage at what has just happened. In tragedy the chorus is conventionally the voice of morality and good sense, and in *Castro* they are properly appalled at the cruelty of Inês's end. But when it comes to apportioning blame, of drawing a lesson from what has occurred, they twice fudge the issue.

The scene is not part of a choral ode, and the chorus enters into dialogue with the king. They – or rather a single actor, speaking for the rest – say: 'I see your mind assaulted by a thousand waves, o king.

²² Recently in Albuquerque M., *Maquiavel e Portugal* (Lisbon: 2007) 52, but in the early 1960s the same issue was raised by Saraiva A.J. and Lopes Ó. in their well-known *História da literatura portuguesa* (4th edition, Porto: n.d.) 291–292.

²³ l. 1767: 'Não m'ês pai, não sou filho, imigo sou'.

²⁴ 'Nihil vero utile quod non idem honestum, nihil honestum quod non idem utile', see Cicero, *De Officiis*, ed. M. Winterbottom (Oxford: 1994) III, 7,34. The discussion continues in III, 8,35–36.

Your concern is good; the advice [you have received from the counsellors] is faithful (*leal*); the deed is cruel'. A few lines later they are equally ambiguous: 'We do not blame you: nor do we excuse the rude hands of your ministers, constant in their advice, cruel in their deed'.²⁵ There is no doubt, therefore, that the judicial murder of Inês was cruel, but much uncertainty as to whether it was avoidable. Twice the counsellors, the instigators of the deed, are called faithful and constant, and indeed, in the circumstances in which they found themselves, it is difficult to see what other advice they could have given. As Pedro had rejected his secretary's advice to give up his mistress voluntarily, only force remained as a way of preserving Portugal from the grave dangers threatened by Inês's continued existence. At any rate, that is the frequently repeated view of the counsellors who, like the heroine of the play, are the victims of the king's weakness and indecision.²⁶

So the tragedy's political ambiguity is intimately related to the unresolved question about fate and the limits of human freedom discussed previously. Inês's death is cruel and unjust, and it leads, not to greater public security, but to civil war. Clearly, it should not have happened, but that does not mean that there was necessarily some means of preventing it.

*Ferreira's treatment of the chorus*²⁷

The play's ambiguities are not those of meaning only. There are formal or structural ambiguities also, particularly noticeable in Ferreira's treatment of the chorus. The choral odes, which occupy about 20% of the play, contribute greatly to its questioning, unsettled atmosphere.²⁸ Yet they have been very little studied.

²⁵ *Castro*, ll. 1506–1508: 'Eu vejo teu esprito combatido / de mil ondas, ó Rei. Bom é teu zelo; / o conselho leal; cruel a obra' and ll. 1514–1516: 'Não culpamos a ti: nem desculpamos / as descorteses mãos de teus ministros, / constantes no conselho, crus na obra'.

²⁶ For further discussion of this point, see Earle T.F., *Castro de António Ferreira* 52.

²⁷ Some of the material in this and in the following section of the present article has already appeared, in Portuguese, in Earle T.F., "A *Castro* de António Ferreira e a concepção estoica do tempo", *Euphrosyne* 38 (2010) 243–252.

²⁸ 369 lines out of a total of 1776.

Nearly all the tragedies in the Graeco-Roman tradition have choruses. They are an important feature of the work of the Greek tragedians of the 5th century B.C., of the Roman tragedies of Seneca, of the Italian ones of the first half of the sixteenth century and of Neo-Latin writers like George Buchanan or Diogo de Teive. Because of the existence of the sixteenth-century translations, those by Erasmus published many times, it would be difficult to claim categorically that Ferreira had no knowledge of Euripides. However, much of what was important about Greek, as opposed to Roman tragedy escaped him. In particular, Ferreira does not seem to have known the metrical structure of the choral odes of Greek tragedy, though their tripartite structure was appreciated by some Italian scholars, Trissino for example.

Greek choruses have a strophic structure 'whereby a strophe is followed by an antistrophe. The antistrophe repeats the series of metrical units (not the words) of the strophe [...] The strophe and antistrophe may be followed by a single odd stanza called the epode'.²⁹ The description of the strophic structure comes from a modern scholar, but Trissino was aware of it also, discussed it in his *Poetica* and imitated it in two of the choruses of *Sophonisba*, ll. 185–228 and 596–681. Ferreira's choruses, however, have a bi-partite structure, of which the two sections are metrically distinct, and in which there is no sign of an epode.

Ferreira's consistent preference for bipartite and metrically distinct odes is probably his most original contribution to the choral tradition. Seneca uses this technique in some of his odes, but not with Ferreira's consistency. However, Seneca is likely to have provided the inspiration, because in other respects Ferreira's treatment of the chorus is similar to his.

From Seneca Ferreira learnt to place his choral odes at the end of each of Acts I to IV. In Greek tragedies, especially those of Aeschylus, the chorus has an important part in the action of the play, as well as performing the lyric interludes. Seneca greatly reduced the dramatic role of the chorus, and Ferreira does likewise. In *Castro* the chorus is formed by girls from Coimbra, the university town which forms the setting of the play. Outside the odes they have very little to do. The girls are on stage throughout Act I, because they join the heroine in

²⁹ Battezzatto L., art. "Lyric", in *A Companion to Greek Tragedy*, ed. J. Gregory (Malden: 2005) 151.

picking flowers, though without speaking, and in the second half of the act comment unfavourably on Pedro's arrogant behaviour towards his secretary. In Act III, in which the male characters do not appear, they bring the news of Inês's impending execution, and at the end of Act IV they criticize the cruelty and injustice of her death, lines discussed above. It is easy to find parallel situations in Seneca: the chorus is horrified by Atreus's cruelty in *Thyestes*, ll. 743–748, and supplies details of the narrative in *Oedipus*, ll. 998–1009 and 1040–1.

So in *Castro*, as in Seneca's tragedies, the main role of the chorus is to sing or recite the odes which divide the acts. For ease of reference, Ferreira's bipartite odes will be numbered I.1, I.2, II.1 etc.

In discussing the metres of the choral odes of *Castro* it is important to distinguish the various kinds of line used by Ferreira from the strophic structures into which he organized them. Classical Latin poetry is based on quantity, but poetry in a modern Romance language is based on syllable count and stress pattern. By the time that Ferreira came to write *Castro*, in the 1550s, the Italian dramatists of earlier in the century had already completed the task of finding a way of representing Seneca's metres in their Romance language. They simplified them greatly, reducing the plethora of metres used by Seneca to no more than four or five. Ferreira seems to have followed them, or at least there is no line in his tragedy to which it is not possible to find a metrically equivalent line in the plays of his Italian predecessors.

The result is not really classical Latin metres in Portuguese. There was simply no way that Seneca's iambs, trochees or anapaests could be reproduced in Portuguese, let alone the more complex lines like the Glyconic, the Pherecratean, or the lesser and greater Asclepiad. But it was possible to give the flavour of classical verse, by avoiding rhyme, virtually unknown in antiquity, and also through the repetition of unusual – in Portuguese – rhythmic patterns. One such pattern, used by Ferreira in II.1, III.1 and IV.2, was the Sapphic line.

The Sapphic line, as used by Seneca or, more famously, by Horace, consists of a complex pattern of long and short vowels which cannot be copied in Portuguese. But the line also has a strong rhythmic pulse, with a marked beat on the fourth syllable: 'Integer vitae, scelerisque purus' or 'Persicos odi, puer, apparatus'. That aspect, at least, of Latin prosody is easy to imitate in a modern Romance language, by giving the standard ten-syllable line a main stress on the fourth syllable. It was also possible to reproduce the Latin caesura, with a break normally after the fifth syllable. Such lines are very frequent in the

poetry of the Portuguese Renaissance: there are many in *The Lusíads*, for instance. Camões mixes them with the much more numerous lines which have a principal stress on the sixth syllable to give his verses rhythmic variety. What he does not do is repeat them, but in *Castro Ferreira* does, for example in the last chorus, IV.2, which starts with twenty-two unrhymed Sapphic lines. Interspersed among the Sapphics is their little brother, the Adonian, with only five syllables, but once again with a strong beat on the fourth.³⁰

The effect of the heavy, pounding rhythm is to suggest the dance, which was a feature of the choruses of Greek tragedy, if not necessarily of Seneca. But more important, perhaps, is the strangeness of the hypnotic pulse, without parallel in earlier Portuguese verse, which forces the audience to realize that it is witnessing, not a homely Vicentine *auto*, but something entirely new, a classical tragedy, but in Portuguese.

The Italian or Portuguese Sapphic line was not the only possible adaptation of an ancient lyric metre. Another was the unrhymed six-syllable line, with a stress on the sixth syllable, used by Ferreira in II.2 and III.2.³¹ This was perhaps an imitation of the Senecan Glyconic. It is not a close imitation: the Glyconic does not have an obvious repeated pulse, and it has eight syllables, not six (or seven, if the syllable after the last stressed vowel is counted). It may be that imitation is achieved visually, rather than through the ear, as on the printed page the repeated short lines look like a chorus from a Roman tragedy. So choruses II.2 and III.2 look like *Thyestes*, ll. 336–403, for example.

In finding ways of adapting classical metres to Portuguese Ferreira does not go beyond Italian models. However, he was much more original when it came to devising an overall metric pattern for his odes. I mentioned above that each of the four choral odes is a double ode. Now is the time to look at that in more detail.

Chorus I is about the power of love, for good and for ill. The first chorus consists of four ten-line stanzas, rhymed, and made up of a pattern of ten- and six-syllable lines. The second chorus, about the

³⁰ For a discussion of the Sapphic meter, see Teyssier P., “La *Castro* est bien d’António Ferreira”, *Arquivos do Centro Cultural Português* 10 (1976) (695–733) 716–719.

³¹ See also Bataillon M., “Advenimiento de la poesía heptasílabo moderna en España”, in *Varia lección de clásicos españoles*, translated by J. Pérez Riesco (Madrid: 1964) 214–237.

disasters of love is, perhaps not surprisingly, twice as long. It has eight nine-line stanzas, again rhymed, but with a different rhyme scheme, and a different pattern of long and short lines. In short, we can say that the chorus at the end of Act I consists of two Petrarchan *canzoni*, but two *canzoni* which look, and sound different.

Perhaps this is the moment to discuss why there should be rhymed stanzas at all in an otherwise unrhymed tragedy. The inspiration is probably Italian. In his *Poetica* of 1529 Trissino says that unrhymed verses are best, but excepts the choruses of tragedy, '[...] which are concerned with love and with eulogies'.³² Giraldi Cinzio, in his *Discorsi*, also says that sweetness is achieved through rhyme, and the first chorus of his tragedy *Orbecche* (published in Venice in 1543) is a five-stanza *canzone* in praise of love.³³ But neither of these two dramatists have metrically contrasting choruses in the way that Ferreira does.

The choruses of Acts II and III of *Castro* are very similar to each other. In each case chorus 1 consists of Sapphic stanzas, nine in Act II, eight in Act III, while chorus 2 speaks unrhymed six-syllable lines, divided into stanzas of irregular length. The Sapphic stanza is made up of three Sapphic lines and a final, short Adonian. It is a stanzaic form very common in Horace, but used only once by Seneca, and never by the Italian writers whom Ferreira might have read. There is a chorus consisting only of Sapphic stanzas at the end of Act III of Teive's *Iohannes Princeps*, but no contrasting second chorus. The contrast in *Castro* between the Sapphics and the six-syllable lines which follow is very striking, and perhaps was inspired by Seneca's solitary lyric of this kind, in *Medea*, ll. 579–606. Seneca begins with seven Sapphic stanzas and then adds seven more, each of these consisting of eight Sapphic lines – as opposed to the more normal three – and an Adonian. Here, then, is an ode which might have inspired Ferreira, because it is divided into two contrasting metrical halves, even if the two poets chose different metres in the second half of their composition.

Ferreira achieves his boldest contrasting scheme at the end of Act IV. There a sestina – a modern Romance form, without parallel in antiquity – is followed by a second chorus of thirty-five Sapphic lines broken up by two irregularly spaced Adonians. Metrically, the second

³² '[...] che trattano de amore e di laudi'. See *Trattati di poetica e retorica del cinquecento*, ed. B. Weinberg, 4 vols. (Bari: 1970–4) II 7.

³³ For the Italian tragedies I have used *Teatro del cinquecento, tomo 1, La Tragedia*, ed. R. Cremante (Milan: 1988).

chorus is very like one in *Troades*, ll. 814–60, but Seneca never wrote a sestina, nor anything like one. It must have an Italian origin. The final chorus of Giovanni Rucellai's *Rosmunda* (Siena: 1525) is a sestina, and in *Orbecche* there is another, at the end of Act III, in which alternate stanzas are taken by the chorus and by the Nurse. Ferreira's sestina is not rhymed, but each line ends with one of six words (love, eyes, death, life, name, earth),³⁴ which occur in different combinations in the six stanzas of the poem.

Castro is unique in its consistent use of metrically contrasted double choruses. There are none in the Italian tragedies of before his time, nor in the Neo-Latin tragedies of Buchanan and Teive. In ancient Greek tragedy the only possible example would seem to be Euripides, *Hippolytus*, ll. 1102–1150, where, according to some scholars, a chorus of huntsmen alternate with a chorus of females. But Ferreira probably did not know the play, and in any case the supposed bi-partite structure is an object of controversy.³⁵ There are, however, a few in Seneca, but they are scattered. One has already been mentioned, *Medea* ll. 579–606, with its two types of Sapphic stanza. Another is *Hercules Furens*, ll. 830–894, where forty-four long Sapphic lines are followed by some much shorter Glyconics. It was probably choruses like these that inspired Ferreira, but the decision to make exclusive use of metrically contrasting odes seems to have been his alone.

It is now time to turn to the themes of the odes and here, once again, Ferreira's originality becomes apparent. The double choruses are divided metrically because in each of the contrasting odes a different point of view is expressed about the subject under discussion. Superficially, *Castro* is a tragedy of fate and death. However, the sense of inevitability is dependent on human action, and in Ferreira's Catholic world human action is not necessarily evil. Every character has the potential to act for the good, and human action has the capacity to be life affirming, as well as life denying. In each of the double choruses the dual nature of human activity is explored. After each act the first chorus stresses its positive aspect, while the second stresses the negative.

³⁴ *amor, olhos, morte, vida, nome, terra.*

³⁵ I am indebted to Prof. Stephen Harrison for this reference. For the controversy, see the edition of the play by M. Halleran (Warminster: 2000) 243–244.

Chorus I.1 is the famous ode in praise of love that has already been mentioned. It begins with some of the best-known lines of the play:

Quando Amor nasceu
nasceu ao mundo vida,
claros raios ao sol, luz às estrelas (ll. 483–485).³⁶

The immediate connection of love to life is important. Ferreira takes care to tie the choral odes to the action of the play, so that the chorus's general reflections are relevant to the situation of the characters. In the last line of this chorus Inês is mentioned by name, and it becomes clear that the renewing power of love is associated with her, and more particularly, with her two children, who are several times mentioned and are on stage in Act IV, though they do not speak.

Ode I.2, the most Senecan of all the odes, is built from a series of references to classical mythological tales: like some of the odes of *Phaedra*, from which it clearly derives, it alludes to the destructive effects of love, even among the divine inhabitants of Olympus. Ferreira's inclusion of a reference to one of the characters in the final lines of several choruses makes it possible to read the end of I.2 in that way. The attack on the negative effects of love concludes: 'and thousands upon thousands wept for the blind prince's repentance of his vain happiness'.³⁷ One editor, Sousa da Silveira, claims that the prince is not Pedro – even though his violent protestations of love are heard in the concluding scenes of Act I – but the god of love himself. Sousa da Silveira's edition is generally excellent, and the reading is certainly possible, but Pedro could also be meant, if the thousands who wept are taken to be those who were caught up in the violence which followed Inês's death.³⁸

At the end of Act II the balance between the optimistic and the pessimistic view of life is maintained, this time in the context of the contrast between tragic inevitability and the human capacity to act well. Act II is essentially the King's act. He debates unavailingly with his counsellors over the rights and wrongs of Inês's execution, and concludes with a monologue which balances his good heart with his moral

³⁶ 'When Love was born, life was born to the world, bright rays to the sun, light to the stars'.

³⁷ 'e mil, e mil choraram, / do vão contentamento / ao cego ifante, seu rependimento' (ll. 593–595).

³⁸ Sousa da Silveira (ed.), *Castro in Textos quinhentistas* (Rio de Janeiro: 1945).

weakness. The first chorus, seemingly speaking to themselves, rejoice that they can follow the golden mean, while the high position of kings makes them subject to all the disasters of evil fortune. The sentiment is commonplace, and can be found in some of Seneca's choruses, for example *Oedipus*, ll. 882–914 and especially *Agamemnon*, ll. 57–107.³⁹

It might seem that Ferreira's chorus, like Seneca's, sees the unhappy fate of kings as inevitable, but the ode develops a moral meaning, which is that anyone who desires more than they should is liable to disappointment. The last stanza of the ode – which like the odes of Act I includes a reference to the character who has just been on stage – applies this judgement to the king: 'Great King, why do you wish never to have had a kingdom? Why do you call your crown heavy? Because of the weight of your soul, which bears you down'.⁴⁰

The lofty position of the king exposes him to greater risk than his subjects have to face, but in the end what brings him down is a consciousness of guilt, his rebellion against his father, seen as a desire for excessive power. In other words, Ferreira's chorus is not, or is not only a statement about tragic inevitability. There is also a moral message which, like so much in the play, derives from Stoicism. The condemnation of ambition is no more than a Stoic commonplace, and might well be in the repertoire of a writer without much first-hand knowledge of ancient philosophy. However, it is clear from Act III that Ferreira was a writer who had a good understanding of Stoic doctrine. From the Stoic belief that through the application of reason anyone can live a decent life that the chorus derives its message of hope. By following good advice it is possible to overcome a moral failing and achieve an 'honest mean' (l. 821).

The second chorus sees no possibility of moral improvement and speaks only of justice, that divine justice which weighs upon those who defy their parents. The chorus condemns Alfonso not for being a king, but for being an over-ambitious one. One of the functions of the Senecan chorus is narrative, to inform the audience of events which took place before the action of the play begins. In the first chorus of *Thyestes*, for example, the chorus retells the crime of Tantalus – who killed his children and served them up in a banquet – which was

³⁹ Discussed by Wickersham Crawford, "The influence of Seneca's tragedies" 46.

⁴⁰ ll. 847–850: 'Rei poderoso, tu porque deseas / nunca ter reino? Porque essa coroa / chamas pesada? Polo peso d'alma / que te carrega'.

the origin of the subsequent horrors which befell the members of the house of Atreus. With great ingenuity Ferreira uses his chorus II.2 for the prehistory of his play. D. Alfonso IV's rebellion against his father, D. Dinis, was a act of disobedience repeated in the next generation in D. Pedro's refusal to yield to his father's wish that he should abandon his relationship with Inês. The ingenuity lies in the way that Ferreira is able to show how the royal house of Portugal, like the house of Atreus, suffers from recurring patterns of behaviour which will have tragic consequences. But there is a world of difference between Seneca's melodramatic crimes and the very human disputes between fathers and sons in the Portuguese play.

The all-male Act II is followed by the all-female Act III, in which Inês tells her Nurse of her fears for her future, which are confirmed by the chorus. Nevertheless, their first ode, perhaps the most Stoic of all the odes, is once again optimistic. Stoicism was not just an ethical system. It include logic and physics also, and thus formed a harmonious whole, which could be identified with the reason that ruled the world. When the chorus of Act III considers the question of death, the end of every life, it weaves together a commentary on morals and on the nature of the physical world, which is subject always to time.

The very obvious contrast, visual and rhythmic, between the two odes is continued at the level of content, although awareness of the passage of time is a constant, both in the poem in Sapphic stanzas and in the six-syllable lines of the second ode. For the Stoics, time, life and death were indifferent issues because, in themselves, they have no ethical or other value. However, man can make use of them, for harm or for good, and so they can bring with them happiness or unhappiness, depending on the use that is made of them. It is indeed the use that is made of time, for good or for evil, that is the theme of the two choral odes. In the final chapter of his study of Stoicism, which is concerned with Stoic views of time, J.M. Rist returns to this point several times: 'The standard Stoic theory [...] was that only the present is fully real', 'for them [the early Stoics] immediate moral action is important, not duration of time' and 'the life of the rational soul, when it is living well, is complete at any time'.⁴¹ It is this last point which is the main concern of the first chorus.

⁴¹ Rist J., *Stoic Philosophy* (Cambridge: 1969) 278; 282–283.

It was indeed a topic close to the Stoics' heart, and had been discussed by Seneca in his well-known essay, *De brevitae vitae* (*On the shortness of life*). Ferreira, and the other Portuguese humanists, could have consulted it in Erasmus's edition, which was reprinted several times. In the dedication Erasmus recorded his admiration for Seneca's moral teaching, but at the same time rejected aspects of Stoicism which were incompatible with Christian teaching, for example, the doctrine of the materiality of the soul.⁴² This balanced approach to the work of a pagan writer would certainly have appealed to Ferreira.

The essay about the shortness of life is concerned solely with ethics, and so was acceptable to the Christian reader. Seneca criticizes the *occupati*, people who waste their lives in the pursuit of wealth or other worldly advantages, and is especially contemptuous of lovers, who 'spend their days waiting for the night, and the night in fear of the coming of the day'.⁴³ Such people are never satisfied with what they have and always hope for more, which they can only obtain after some time has passed, over which they have no control. The wise man, on the other hand, squeezes the most out of each passing moment, making use of it for the practice of virtue or the study of philosophy, and that way acquires an understanding of life and death.⁴⁴ Wisdom, then, consists in living in harmony with time.

The optimistic first chorus explains how, if you have a good reputation and live a virtuous and chaste life 'you will overcome time and laugh at death'.⁴⁵ Since virtue is its own reward,⁴⁶ it can be regarded as being outside time, because the man who performs a good deed does it now, without thought of reward or punishment, in other words, without thinking about the future. Such moments of fulfilment can be retained in the memory and can be saved – the poem is full of metaphors of money and treasure – against the coming of death. So to overcome time is to live with or in time, because the man who experiences completely those moments of fulfilment which time offers is free of the painful awareness of the inevitability of death.

⁴² The dedication to Peter Tomiczki, Bishop of Cracow, can be found in Allen P.S. (ed.), *Opus epistolarum Des. Erasmi Roterodami*, vol. VIII, 1529–1530 (Oxford: 1934) (25–39) 31.

⁴³ Seneca, *De brevitae vitae* 18,5: 'Diem noctis expectatione perdunt, noctem lucis metu'.

⁴⁴ Ibidem 19,2: '[...] vivendi ac moriendi scientia [...]'].

⁴⁵ ll. 1146–1147: '[...] vencerás o tempo, / rir-te-ás da morte'.

⁴⁶ l. 1144: 'Esta [a virtude] se salva em si mesma'.

Ferreira's chorus recalls Seneca's essay, and also some famous lines of Horace, memorably translated by Dryden:

Happy the man, and happy he alone,
He who can call today his own:
He who secure within can say,
'Tomorrow do thy worst, for I have lived today'.⁴⁷

The chorus addresses 'blind youth', described as such in the first strophe and in the last, but it is probable that they have in mind the heroine of the tragedy, as will appear shortly.

The first chorus laughs Stoically at death, but the second exposes its horrors. The ode begins 'After loving comes death',⁴⁸ but that is not meant to be a universal truth. It is the love which does not obey reason, more particularly the disordered love felt by the prince (who is referred to by his title in l. 1160) which ends in disaster. Those who do not follow the path of reason are subject to the contingency of existence, in the second chorus imagined as the figure of death which stalks Inês. Her murder is foretold with a physicality which has some, but not all of the gruesomeness of Seneca's descriptions of violent death, for example that of Hippolytus in *Phaedra*, ll. 1093–1104.

There is no doubt that the second chorus have in mind Prince Pedro, Inês's lover, the blind, harsh prince, as they once again call him, though he is not present on stage. They have good reasons to criticize him, because he had not followed the good advice of his secretary who, in Act I, had tried to persuade him to abandon his lover. In ll. 1163 and 65 the chorus refer back to the earlier scene explicitly. But there is another reason also, more relevant to the theme of time, which is that Pedro came too late to save Inês from death: 'You are sleeping, or strolling around, while through the fields of the Mondego cruel death comes running'.⁴⁹ The same point is made in the last stanza of the ode (ll. 1211–1213).

Pedro did not come in time because he was convinced that nothing could separate him from his beloved. His impassioned words are recalled by Inês in Act I: 'Nothing can separate me from you, by guile

⁴⁷ Horace, *Odes* III, 29, 41–43: 'Ille potens sui/ laetusque deget, cui licet in diem/ dixisse vivi'. See also Hammond P. (ed.), *The Poems of John Dryden*, 2 vols. (London: 1995) vol. II, 374.

⁴⁸ l. 1152: 'Após amor vem morte'.

⁴⁹ ll. 1166–1169: 'Tu dormes, ou passeias,/ e pelos campos vem/ do Mondego correndo/ a cruel morte [...]'.

or force – not fortune, not men, not stars, fates or planets’.⁵⁰ This affirmation indicates that he had not learnt the Stoic lesson that life should be lived in the present, in all its plenitude. Rather, he imagines a future happiness with his lady. However, events turn out differently from what he had expected – necessarily so, because no one can control what is to come. Accordingly, therefore, the two choruses of Act III express the attitude of the wise man and the foolish man in the face of time.

Inês’s murder happens, off-stage, at the end of Act IV, and it is not surprising that the choruses of Act IV are about death. Once again it is envisaged in different lights. The serene sestina shows how the death of Dona Inês (named in l. 1526) has brought her eternal fame and glory in the next world. It is the prince who has really died, ll. 1550–1, but even he will be reunited with Inês in heaven, l. 1555. By contrast, the final chorus expresses the shock of the murder, the cruelty of the perpetrators and the desire for revenge, which is announced in Act V. It is in this chorus that the word ‘tragedy’ is used, for the only time in the play, to describe an event that has happened in this world: ‘Let us all weep the sorrowful tragedy, which this cruel death will leave in the world’.⁵¹ In the final chorus, devoted entirely to the grief of the living, the tragedy is a cause for horror, but in the sestina which precedes it death is the gateway to a higher existence.

All four of Ferreira’s odes are, then, double odes, in which each ode contrasts metrically and thematically with its companion poem. Seneca remains the prime inspiration for Ferreira’s tragedy, and yet there are only one or two Senecan odes which have the metrical opposition which is so important to *Castro*. It is not easy, either, to find odes by Seneca divided into two thematically distinct halves, though there are some.

There is a chorus from *Medea* which begins with a curse on the first sea voyager (a possible source for the Velho do Restelo episode of *Os Lusíadas*): ‘He was too bold who first cut through the treacherous waves in so fragile a vessel’.⁵² However, the poem ends with

⁵⁰ ll. 167–169: ‘Não poderá fortuna, não os homens,/ não estrelas, não fados, não planetas,/ apartar-me de ti por arte ou força’.

⁵¹ ll. 1565–1566: ‘Choremos todos a tragédia triste,/ que esta crua morte deixará no mundo’.

⁵² ll. 301–302: ‘Audax nimium qui freta primus/ rate tam fragili perfida rupit’.

a celebration of man's control of the sea and the new worlds which oceanic exploration has opened up. In the last line, with its famous mention of 'ultima Thule' (distant Thule) the chorus hope that there will be no end to oceanic exploration. Yet the anapaestic ode is metrically consistent, and the negative and positive aspects of sea travel do not have equal weight: Seneca gives sixty-three lines to the upheavals caused by sailors, and only fourteen to the visionary final section of the ode.

There was a brief discussion earlier of an ode from *Hercules Furens* which falls into two metrically contrasted sections. The two sections differ in mood, though they do not advance contrasting philosophical positions. The Sapphic lines are a gloomy reflection on the inevitability of death, but the shorter passage in Glyconics celebrates Hercules's return to Thebes from his visit to the Underworld.

In *Phaedra*, ll. 959–998 there is another anapaestic ode in which praise of the order of the natural world preceeds a gloomy statement of the instability of human life, governed by a capricious fortune. This is the view of it taken by A.J. Boyle in his major study of Seneca's dramas.⁵³ However, the editors of the Cambridge University Press edition of the play seem oblivious to the ode's duality.⁵⁴ This may simply be a critical failure, or it may point to a deeper uncertainty about the structure of Seneca's odes. Yet Ferreira at least must have seen some of them as having a clear two-part form, or else it seems hard to explain what is the very evident duality of his choruses.

Inês de Castro: a Stoic heroine?

It is clear that Ferreira conceived of his choruses not just as a way of introducing moralizing comment, but also, and principally, as a way of emphasizing the contradictory nature of the action and characters of his play. This is especially the case with Inês, who is the only one of them to develop psychologically as the piece progresses. By the time of her death, in Act IV, she is quite different from the naïve girl of

⁵³ Boyle, *Tragic Seneca* 65.

⁵⁴ Seneca, *Phaedra*, ed. M. Coffey and R. Mayer (Cambridge: 1990) 172: 'In anapaestic dimeter the chorus sing about the changeableness of fortune'.

the play's opening scenes. The change of personality begins to become evident in Act III.

All the actors in Act III are women, and the men are excluded throughout. The Act begins with a dialogue between Inês and her nurse, in which the heroine recalls a premonitory dream, threatening the violent death which does indeed occur in the next act. There are a number of such dreams in Seneca's plays. Later the chorus enters, to tell of the arrival of armed men, with orders from the king that Inês must die. She takes some time to understand the news, but when she does, in the final speech of the act, the audience notices that something in her has changed profoundly. For the first time, she thinks for herself and takes her own decisions. The first of these is to dismiss her nurse, the faithful confidante whose advice she had previously sought, and followed, and who leaves the stage at this point, never to return. Inês also decides to remain where she is, despite the chorus's urging that she should flee: 'I shall remain, alone, but innocent. I wish no more help. Let death come, and may I die, but innocent'.⁵⁵

This does not mean that she wants to remain entirely alone. She asks the chorus to stand by her (l. 1118) but, from now on, and throughout the whole of the first scene of Act IV, she defends herself before the king, using her own words and without seeking assistance from anyone. This is a woman very different from the Inês of Act I, who has her lover's words by heart and repeats them (ll. 168–75). Those words included Pedro's statement of his unfounded belief in the inviolability of his love.

It is possible to argue that the psychological change which Inês undergoes derives from a more mature understanding, on her part, of the Stoic conception of time. The immature woman of Act I and the opening scenes of Act III does not know how to live in harmony with time, and consequently becomes its victim. A good example is the opening of the long speech in Act I in which she explains to her nurse the reasons for her feeling of well-being: 'O nurse, a fair day has dawned for me, a day when I can rest [from my fears]'.⁵⁶ This makes a striking contrast with her first line in Act III after waking from her dream: 'It has never dawned so late for me as today'.⁵⁷ Inês's Act I joy

⁵⁵ ll. 1107–1109: 'Eu fico, fico só, mas inocente./ Não quero mais ajudas, venha a morte./ Moura eu, mas inocente'.

⁵⁶ ll. 30–31: 'Ó Ama, amanheceu-me um alvo dia,/ dia de meu descanso'.

⁵⁷ ll. 904–905: 'Nunca mais tarde pera mim que agora/ amanheceu'.

was the consequence of a meeting with Pedro, who had made her the speech about fortune already quoted and promised that she would be his queen: 'I proclaim you princess, mistress of my love, and of the great estate which awaits me'.⁵⁸

The words 'which await me' are the key. They show that the prince – and Inês, who in Act I still believed in him – think about the future, that future which, according to the Stoics, is outside our control. And it is precisely because of her fear of the future that the Castro of Act III, Scene 1 suffers, because she fears the death that, after all, comes to all of us. According to the Stoics the foolish man, or woman, is always the victim of time, hurled from one emotional extreme to another – a point made by the nurse at the start of the play, when she sees tears in Inês's eyes, just at the moment when she is supposed to be happy: 'I see new extremes. Joy in your words, tears in your eyes. Who makes you sad and happy together?'.⁵⁹

At the end of their final encounter, in Act III, the nurse tries to persuade Inês to enjoy the passing moment, in the way recommended by the Stoics. She invites her to contemplate her children and the beauty of nature – the river, the fields, the golden sky, the birds singing (ll. 1046–1065). Maternal love and the appreciation of landscape are both virtuous pleasures, as is everything which is related to nature, because it is governed by reason. Consequently, the nurse concludes: 'Lady, remember to enjoy this for a while with redoubled pleasure, safe from fortune and its terrors, mistress of what is good, and of this earth'.⁶⁰

This is one of the play's more dramatic moments because, immediately after this speech, the chorus enters with the news of the heroine's imminent death. All the same, the nurse is right when she tells Inês that she is 'safe from fortune', because the enjoyment of nature in all its plenitude is a pleasure which endures. It occupies the mind fully while it lasts, and after it is over, it is retained in the memory. Such pleasures are parallel to those praised in the first choral ode of Act III.

⁵⁸ ll. 170–172: '[...] por ifante te nomeio,/ do meu amor senhora, e do alto estado/ que me espera'.

⁵⁹ 'Novos estremos vejo. / Nas palavras prazer, água nos olhos. / Quem te faz juntamente leda, e triste?'

⁶⁰ 'Cuida, senhora, de lograrest isto / em algum tempo com dobrado gosto, / segura da fortuna, e de seus medos, / senhora do teu bem, e desta terra' (ll. 1065–1069).

And so the end of Act III is a moment of choice for Castro. She could take a gamble on a better future and flee from the king's wrath, which is what the chorus advises her to do. Or she could stay put and defend herself, aware of the proximity of death, but determined to seek justice and to live to the utmost those moments of life which remain to her. As we know, she decides not to flee, opting for the choice which a Stoic would consider better. To understand exactly why she does so, it will be necessary to return to Act III once again.

In the first two scenes of the act, in other words, before the chorus enters with the news of her death, Inês's unease does not derive exclusively from her fear of what might be about to happen her. She also feels guilty about her affair with Pedro: 'How can my soul be happy in its guilt? Men judge me harshly, and I fear God'.⁶¹ Once again she finds consolation and wisdom in the words of her nurse, who explains that the opinions of the world count for nothing to the woman whose conscience is at rest (ll. 1014–1018). It was an idea dear to the Stoics, to Seneca, for example, who in *De vita beata* says: 'Let us strive therefore for what is best, and not for what is usually done, and for what gives us eternal happiness, not what the common herd approves of, for they are the worst judges of the truth'.⁶² In addition, the nurse continues, if there was sin, it is now purged (l. 1021) because the lovers are now 'joined in a holy bond'.⁶³ ('confederados santamente', l. 1023). The phrase is a vague one, because the question of whether or not Pedro secretly married Inês after his first wife's death was a matter of controversy. However, the thought of the 'holy bond' uniting the lovers is an additional reason why Inês, at the end of the act, prefers a confrontation with the king to flight and possible safety. It is also a first indication of how Stoicism is not the only motive for Inês's behaviour.

Nevertheless, Inês's defence of herself before the king in Act IV is, at least in part, a proof that she has learnt the Stoic lesson that the proper use of time is to live each instant to the utmost. Her lengthy speeches

⁶¹ 'Como estará a alma leda em culpa sua? / Julgam-me mal os homens, e a Deus temo' (ll. 1028–1029).

⁶² Seneca, *De vita beata* 2,2: 'Quaeremus ergo, quid optimum factu sit, non quid usitatissimum, et quid nos in possessione felicitatis aeternae constituat, non quid vulgo, veritatis pessimo interpreti, probatum sit'.

⁶³ 'confederados santamente' (l. 1023).

quite literally prolong her life. In this, she tells the king, God is on her side, for he 'gives time for life, and waits for time to pass just so that he can forgive'.⁶⁴ Her words and behaviour contrast strongly with those of the counsellors, who argue against her. Right from the start of the act they urge the king to act swiftly.⁶⁵ They do so because they believe that the sooner Inês is executed the sooner will life return to the kingdom of Portugal (ll. 1331–1333). As already mentioned, they are mistaken, because Inês's death leads directly to the civil war announced in Act V. So they are like the *occupati* of whom Seneca says:

The greatest impediment to life is expectation which depends on tomorrow, and wastes today. You make plans with what is in the control of Fortune, and throw away what you control. What are you looking for? Where are you going? The whole future is uncertain: live now!⁶⁶

Certainly Inês lives intensely in Act IV. In the last scene of Act III, as already noted, she had accepted the necessity of death, and in her final speeches in Act IV she contemplates her own imminent extinction courageously: 'But since I am to die, hear me, my lord king', 'I no longer regret or weep for my own death' and, this time addressing the absent Pedro: 'My lord, since I am to die, you must live'.⁶⁷ Her speech in self defence is, above all, a justification of her life. As she recalls what she believes to have been her virtuous conduct she seems to relive it, exactly like the Stoics who believed that 'not heaven itself upon the past has power,/ but what has been has been, and I have had my hour'.⁶⁸

Inês concentrates on two aspects of her life: her love for Pedro and her love for her children. She associates love with life itself, and sees it as an entirely positive experience. This is not a matter for debate, even though she admits the possibility of having sinned, in God's eyes, because she had had sexual relations with her lover while his first wife

⁶⁴ '[...] dá tempo de vida, e espera tempo/ só pera perdoar' (ll. 1289–1290).

⁶⁵ See l. 1215 and ll. 1308–1309 (Pacheco) and ll. 1319–1320 (Coelho). Even the chorus tells Inês: 'Behold Death is here. Deliver yourself to him: go quickly' ('Eis a morte/ vem. Vai-te entregar a ela: vai depressa', ll. 1220–1221).

⁶⁶ Seneca, *De brevitate vitae* 9,1: 'Maximum vivendi impedimentum est expectatio, quae pendet ex crastino, perdit hodiernum. Quod in manu fortunae positum est, disponis, quod in tua, dimittis. Quo spectas? Quo te extendis? Omnia quae ventura sunt, in incerto iacent; protinus vive!'.

⁶⁷ 'Mas pois já mouro,/ ouve-me, Rei senhor' (ll. 1355–1356); 'Não sinto já, nem choro minha morte' (l. 1386) and 'Ah, vejo-te morrer, senhor, por mim' (l. 1412).

⁶⁸ *The Poems of John Dryden* 374. The lines are a continuation of the translation of Horace previously quoted.

was still alive. However, fortified by the words of the nurse in the previous act, Inês believes in divine mercy (ll. 1284–1290) and, besides, she believes love to be an irresistible force which is essentially good. She begs the king for mercy, not so much for herself as for Pedro and their children, united by a love which gives life to all of them: ‘We exchanged our souls equally. This soul which speaks to you now is your son’s, and by killing me you kill him too: he implores life for these children conceived in so much love’.⁶⁹

To the Stoics sexual love was madness, but love of family was compatible with reason and so allowable to the wise man. As already mentioned, Inês does not deny her sexuality and she cannot be considered a thoroughgoing Stoic. Nevertheless, she does love her family, and her language of mutual dependence recalls that of Seneca, here reflecting on the love which unites humanity as a whole: ‘I shall live as if I knew that I had been born for others, and for this reason I shall thank nature, because how could it have better served my interest? Nature gave me, an individual, to everyone, and everyone to me’.⁷⁰

So Inês justifies her existence by the bonds of love which she has created. She speaks at length – her final speech to the king has 61 lines – because she has nothing to hide and is proud of her past, because she believes her behaviour to have been virtuous. In this Inês is very different from the king who when in the company of others normally says very little. When, in Act IV, he confesses himself beaten and accepts Inês’s plea for mercy he limits himself to just three lines: ‘O strong woman! You have beaten and tamed me. I shall leave you. Live, for as long as God permits’.⁷¹

So he makes a hasty decision and, in the following scene, after he has heard the counsellors’ remonstrations, changes his mind equally quickly, delivering Inês into the hands of her killers in a speech of only three lines (ll. 1498–1500). His longest speeches, both from Act II (ll. 596–616 and ll. 770–814), are monologues, in which he laments his position as king, puts all the blame on Pedro (l. 778) and tries to

⁶⁹ ‘Igualmente trocámos nossas almas./ Esta que te ora fala, é de teu filho,/ em mim matas a ele: ele pede/ vida par’estes filhos concebidos/ em tanto amor’ (ll. 1379–1383).

⁷⁰ Seneca, *De vita beata* 20, 3–4: ‘Ego sic vivam quasi sciam aliis esse me natum et naturae rerum hoc nomine gratias agam; quo enim melius genere negotium meum agere potuit? Unum me donavit omnibus, uni mihi omnis’.

⁷¹ ‘Ó molher forte!/ Venceste-me, abrandaste-me. Eu te deixo./ Vive, enquanto Deus quer’ (ll. 1421–1422).

make the counsellors responsible for the future of his kingdom (ll. 805–806).

Unlike Inês the king is not a Stoic character. He does not live each instant to the full – rather the reverse, as the rapidity with which he takes important decisions makes clear. Yet, much though he would like to, he cannot resign the office of king, and even as he tells the counsellors to act as they please with regard to the heroine – ‘You do it, if it seems just to kill a blameless individual’⁷² – he is in practice issuing a death sentence.

Inês, then, turns into a much more impressive figure than the weak and vacillating king. But even she is not entirely a Stoic heroine. Her frank admission of her own sexuality – anathema to the Stoics – has already been mentioned. There are, too, many passages in her speeches in Act IV which express a passionate desire for justice and for continuing life. Even when she appears to contemplate personal extinction with equanimity – ‘I no longer regret or weep for my death’ – she continues with lines which imply exactly the opposite: ‘even though it seeks me unjustly, even though it cuts short my days, in the flower [of youth] undeserving of such a blow’.⁷³ In her final lines (1420–1421) she breaks down completely and begs for mercy.

Inês’s contradictory rhetoric may contain an implied criticism of the Stoic belief that in certain circumstances suicide is permissible, even commendable. That was one aspect of the ancient philosophy which no Christian writer could condone. However, it can also be seen in the context of what seems to be the play’s overall hesitation between the desirable and the possible. Inês is prepared to die a Stoic death, serene – up to a point – in the consciousness of her own innocence. However, at the same time she believes in the king’s justice and expects to receive it. A true Stoic, following what in human terms is an impossible mode of conduct, would be indifferent as to whether or not he received justice at the hands of a human monarch. Inês is not like that. The society in which she lives is not perfect either, and her belief in what is right is not matched by the conduct of those around her.

⁷² ‘Vós outros o fazei, se vos parece/ justiça assi matar quem não tem culpa’ (ll. 1499–1500).

⁷³ ‘Não sinto já, nem choro minha morte,/ inda que injustamente assi me busca,/ inda que estes meus dias assi corta,/ na sua flor indina de tal golpe’ (ll. 1386–1389).

Conclusion

The traditional view that *Castro* is a Senecan play in Portuguese is true only in the sense that Ferreira owed a great deal formally to his Roman predecessor. It is clear that there are fundamental aspects of Senecan drama and of his Renaissance followers which are missing in *Castro*. Some have already been mentioned, and another is what A.J. Boyle calls 'cosmic outrage', indignation against the inactivity of heaven. And then, 'at the heart of Renaissance and Senecan pessimism is the impotence of reason', says Boyle.⁷⁴ (Perhaps it is as well to point out here that the Stoicism of Seneca's philosophical writing is not necessarily reflected in his plays). Ferreira's play deals with the great issues of tragedy and of life, love, fate, time and death. But it is open-ended and avoids Senecan pessimism, which can often degenerate into mere ranting. *Castro* is about possibilities, for good as well as for evil.

Perhaps Ferreira is closer in spirit to the plays by Euripides that he knew, and the Neo-Latin tragedies of Buchanan, especially *Jephthes*. These are the plays with self-sacrificing heroines, though they have different motivations from Inês's. Iphigenia (in *Iphigenia in Aulide*) accepts death for patriotic reasons, to guarantee a favourable wind for the Greek fleet that is sailing to Troy. After the siege is over the Trojan princess, Polyxena (in *Hecuba*) would sooner perish than live as a slave. Other heroines sacrifice themselves for family reasons: Alcestis agrees to die so that her husband Admetus can live, Iphis so that her father Jephthes can fulfil the vow that he had rashly made to the Old Testament God to sacrifice the first living being that he sees.

What these plays, and *Castro*, have in common is an ambiguity about the nature of tragedy, and perhaps the study of these plays helped Ferreira to form a notion of what constituted a tragic action. There is something inherently ambiguous about the spectacle of the voluntary acceptance of death, because that death may seem to be glorious rather than tragic. That is the theme of the Act IV *sestina*, and commentators on *Jephthes* also take the view that it is a 'beautiful tragedy', because

⁷⁴ Boyle A.J., *Tragic Seneca*, 163 and 187.

although it is a human tragedy it offers 'a vision of the joyous order of heaven'.⁷⁵

However, the ambiguity of *Castro* extends much further than that. It permeates all the issues raised by the drama and is even visible in the formal structure of the choruses. Through it Ferreira made space for doubt in an age when dogmatic certainty was beginning to prevail.

⁷⁵ Jack R.D.S., "Translating Buchanan" in Ford P. – Green R. (eds.), *George Buchanan: Poet and Dramatist* (Swansea: 2009) (217–236) 228. See also Shuger D.K., *The Renaissance Bible: Scholarship, Sacrifice and Subjectivity* (Berkeley: 1994) 129–160.

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DIE SYLVAE ALIQUOT DES AQUILES ESTAÇO UND IHR SCHLUSSGEDICHT, DAS GENETHLIACON DOMINI

Tobias Leuker

Die Sylvae des Statius und die neulateinische Silvenproduktion bis 1550

Zu den Werken der lateinischen Literatur der Antike, die ihre Wiederentdeckung italienischen Humanisten verdanken, zählen die *Sylvae* des Statius. Poggio Bracciolini fand sie 1417 im Kloster Sankt Gallen, das er am Rande des Konstanzer Konzils besuchte. In der auf uns gekommenen Form besteht die Gedichtsammlung des Hofpoeten von Kaiser Domitian aus fünf Büchern, deren letztes mit einem fragmentarisch überlieferten Text endet und möglicherweise noch weitere, zur Gänze verlorene Kompositionen enthält. Die insgesamt 32 *Sylvae* unterscheiden sich nicht nur in ihrer Länge deutlich voneinander – die Zahl ihrer Verse variiert zwischen 19 und 293 –, sie sind auch in metrischer Hinsicht uneinheitlich gestaltet. Zwar überwiegen bei weitem Hexameterdichtungen, doch finden sich neben ihnen auch Texte aus Hendekasyllaboi sowie Oden. Jedes der fünf Bücher wird von einem Widmungsbrief eröffnet. Im ersten dieser Schreiben, das an einen Dichter namens Stella gerichtet ist, behauptet Statius, jedes der Gedichte des ersten Buches in maximal zwei Tagen verfasst zu haben. Auf diese Weise versucht er, seine überaus kunstvoll und ausgefeilt wirkenden Kompositionen als Früchte eines *poeticus furor* auszugeben und somit der göttlich inspirierten Dichtung einzuschreiben, die der platonische Sokrates im *Phaidros* (245a) als einzig wahre Art der Poesie bezeichnet hatte. Auch der Titel der Sammlung selbst soll diesen Eindruck nähren, spielt er doch auf die Zweitbedeutung des griechischen Wortes für ‘Wald’, *hýlē*, ‘rohe Materie’, an und suggeriert so eine grobe, unfertige Dichtart.¹

¹ Zu den Ausführungen dieses Abschnitts vgl. Leuker T., *Angelo Poliziano – Dichter, Redner, Stratege* (Stuttgart – Leipzig: 1997) 4–7 (mit weiterführender Bibliographie).

Schon wenige Jahrzehnte nach Poggios Fund begannen Humanisten, eigene Dichtungen als *Silvae* oder *Sylvae* zu bezeichnen.² Janus Pannonius (Janós Vitéz, Ivan Česmički, 1434–1472), der in Italien bei Guarino Guarini ausgebildet wurde, zum Bischof der ungarischen Stadt Pécs aufstieg und im kroatischen Exil starb, machte den Anfang. Der Kodex 82–4–8 der Biblioteca Capitulare y Colombina in Sevilla,³ der laut seinem versierten Erforscher, Csaba Csapodi,⁴ zwischen 1470 und 1472 von Pannonius selbst zusammengestellt wurde und als Vorarbeit zu einer nicht mehr verwirklichten Werkausgabe anzusehen ist, beginnt mit einem Titulus, der ursprünglich *Elegiarum liber* lautete, dann aber vom Autor selbst in *Silvarum liber* abgeändert wurde. Analog dazu ersetzte Pannonius in den Überschriften der drei ersten, sämtlich aus elegischen Distichen bestehenden Texte der Handschrift die Begriffe ‘Elegia’ bzw. ‘Carmen’ durch den Terminus ‘Silva’. Allerdings fehlen Gattungsbezeichnungen jeglicher Art in den Titeln der sich noch anschließenden 143 Gedichte des Kodex, so dass unklar bleibt, wie viele dieser Kompositionen der Humanist zu seinem *Silvarum liber* zählen wollte, d. h. ob er auch die Epigramme, die auf den ersten 34 Blättern des Manuskripts bei weitem überwiegen,⁵ als Teile jenes Buches betrachtete und ob dies auch für den über 1000 Hexameter umfassenden *Panegyricus Praeceptoris Guarini Veronensis* gelten sollte, der in der Handschrift nach zwei leeren Blättern⁶ als 146. und letzte Dichtung folgt.

Die monumentale Huldigung, die Janus Pannonius seinem berühmten Lehrer widmete und die in allen sie enthaltenden Manuskripten⁷ einen mit dem Wort ‘Panegyricus’ beginnenden Titel trägt, figuriert in einer Bologneser Einzelausgabe von 1513 (und in manch späterer

² Der folgende Überblick zur neulateinischen Silven-Produktion bis 1550 stützt sich in wesentlichen Teilen auf: Alcina J.F., “Notas sobre la silva neolatina”, in López Bueno B. (ed.), *La silva* (Sevilla 1991) 129–155.

³ Vgl. Kristeller P.O., *Iter italicum* (7 Bde., London-Leiden: 1963–1997) Bd. III, 631.

⁴ Die folgenden Angaben zum Sevillaner Kodex beziehen sich auf: Csapodi C., *A Janus Pannonius-szöveggyűjtemény* (Budapest: 1981) 35–46 und 104–105.

⁵ Kompositionen, die aufgrund ihrer teils extremen Kürze in anderen Textzeugen, die Werke von Janus Pannonius überliefern, als Epigramme bezeichnet werden, stehen im Sevillaner Kodex an 5., 9.–132., 135.–139. sowie 141.–145. Stelle.

⁶ Für dieses Detail vgl. Kristeller, *Iter italicum* III, 631.

⁷ Eine Auflistung der betroffenen Manuskripte gibt Csapodi, *A Janus Pannonius-szöveggyűjtemény* 97–100.

Edition) als *Sylva panegyrica*.⁸ Dies dürfte allerdings allein darauf zurückzuführen sein, dass seinerzeit bereits der noch weit längere Panegyricus, den Giovanni Battista Spagnuoli (1447–1516) in den 1480er Jahren zu Ehren von Roberto Sanseverino (1418–1487) verfasst hatte, als Teil von dessen *Sylvarum libri octo* gedruckt worden war, und zwar ebenfalls in Bologna.⁹

Wollte man Pannonius unterstellen, sämtliche Gedichte des Sevillaner Kodex durch die Korrektur des Titels von dessen poetischer Sektion zu Teilen eines *Silvarum liber* erklärt zu haben, dann hätte sein Silvenbegriff Texte umfasst, deren Länge zwischen zwei und mehr als 1000 Versen variiert und in denen mit dem elegischen Distichon einem Metrum breiter Raum gewährt wird, das den *Silvae* des Statius fremd ist. Der Humanist hätte somit die weit gefassten formalen Grenzen, die Domitians Hofdichter dem Gedichttyp gesetzt hatte, nochmals aufgeweicht. Einen expliziten Rekurs auf die Improvisationsrhetorik des kaiserzeitlichen Autors sucht man im Sevillaner Kodex vergebens. Deshalb lässt sich schwer beurteilen, ob sie für Pannonius' Entscheidung, dem Gedichtkorpus den Titel *Silvarum liber* voranzustellen, von Bedeutung war.

Während der Versuch des Janus Pannonius, Dichtungen aus seiner Feder unter dem Namen *Silvarum liber* zu vereinen, in der Frühen Neuzeit höchstwahrscheinlich unbemerkt blieb, erlangten fast alle *Silvae*, die der in Florenz wirkende Dichterphilologe Angelo Poliziano (1454–1494) schuf, rasch große Bekanntheit. Der enge Vertraute Lorenzo de' Medicis verwandte die Gedichtbezeichnung zur Benennung hexametrischer Kompositionen, die die Dimensionen der längsten Silva des Statius durchwegs überschreiten, allerdings nie so deutlich, wie es Janus Pannonius' Lobgedicht für Guarino Guarini tut. Jede der vier *prolusiones*, mit denen Poliziano zwischen 1481 und 1486 Poetikvorlesungen eröffnete, die er als Professor am Florentiner Studio hielt, schrieb er dem Gedichttyp ein. Die äußerst elaborierten Texte wurden 1491 als Sammlung gedruckt,¹⁰ nachdem drei von ihnen zuvor bereits

⁸ Janós Vitéz, *Sylva panegyrica in Guarini Veronensis praeceptoris sui laudem condita*, ed. Sebestyén Magyi (Bologna, Hieronymus Plato: 1513). Alcina, "Notas" 131, bezeichnet diese Dichtung als älteste Sylva der Frühen Neuzeit.

⁹ Zu Spagnuolis Silvensammlung vgl. unten, Anm. 15. Das „In Robertum Sanseverinum Panegyricum carmen“ bildet für sich allein das dritte Buch des Werkes.

¹⁰ In Florenz bei Antonio Miscomini.

einzelnen erschienen waren.¹¹ Wie aus Polizianos Antrittsvorlesung vom Herbst 1480 hervorgeht, hatte er das rhetorische Manöver, mit dem Statius die eigenen *Silvae* zu Schöpfungen einer poetischen Gemüts-erhitzung deklariert hatte, durchschaut.¹² Er selbst spielte denn auch sowohl in der letzten seiner poetischen Vorreden als auch in einer weiteren, 'inoffiziellen' Silva, der *Sylva in Scabiem*,¹³ die schon 1479 oder 1480 entstand und erst im 20. Jahrhundert wiederentdeckt werden sollte, mit der *furor*-Rhetorik.

Ebenfalls noch im 15. Jahrhundert, wahrscheinlich 1492, wurde in Rom ein weiterer durch seinen Titel an die höfischen Gedichte des Statius angenäherter Einzeltext, die *Silva de triumphata Bassa Almeria Granata* gedruckt, die Alessandro Cortesi (um 1460–1490) kurz vor seinem Tod verfasst hatte.¹⁴ Zu Beginn des Cinquecento erschienen dann in Bologna gleich mehrere Kollektionen von *Silvae*. Haben die einschlägigen, jeweils 1502 veröffentlichten Sammlungen von Giovanni Battista Spagnuoli (1447–1516) und Antonio Urceo (†1500) einen beträchtlichen Umfang, so ist das 1501 gedruckte Silven-Korpus des damals ebenfalls in der oberitalienischen Stadt lebenden Portugiesen Henrique Caiado kleiner bemessen.¹⁵ Die Bologneser Silven-Tradition

¹¹ 1481 hatte Poliziano die *Manto* (373 Verse, Miscomini) veröffentlicht, 1482 den *Rusticus* (569 Verse, ebd.), 1485 die *Ambra* (625 Verse, Niccolò Lorenzo). Die vierte Silva, deren nicht erhaltene Urfassung von 1486 den Namen „Nutrix“ („Die Amme“) trug, benannte Poliziano 1491 in „Nutricia“ („Geschenke für die Amme“) um. In der gedruckten Version hat sie 790 Verse. Die Sammlung liegt seit einiger Zeit in einer ausgezeichneten Ausgabe mit italienischer Übersetzung vor: Poliziano A., *Silvae*, ed. F. Bausi (Florenz: 1997). Mit seinen *prolusiones* schuf Poliziano einen Silventyp, der etliche Nachahmer fand; vgl. Alcina, „Notas“ 131.

¹² Vgl. Friedrich H., „Über die *Silvae* des Statius (insbesondere V,4 *Somnus*) und die Frage des literarischen Manierismus“ [1963], in: idem, *Romanische Literaturen I*, ed. Schneider-Pachaly B. (Frankfurt am Main: 1972) 34–55, hier 45.

¹³ Vgl. Poliziano A., *Sylva in Scabiem*, ed. P. Orvieto (Rom: 1989); wertvoll auch die ältere Ausgabe der aus 358 Hexametern bestehenden Dichtung: Poliziano A., *Sylva in Scabiem*, ed. A. Perosa (Rom: 1954). Zur Datierung des Werkes vgl. Leuker, *Angelo Poliziano* 107–111.

¹⁴ Vgl. Ballistreri G., Art. „Cortesi, Alessandro“, in *Dizionario Biografico degli Italiani* 29 (Rom: 1983) 750–754, hier 753–754.

¹⁵ Vgl. Spagnuoli Giovanni Battista, *Sylvarum libri octo*, in: idem, *Opera omnia* (Bologna, Benedetto Faelli: 1502) fol. 27v–118v; Urceo Antonio gen. Codro, *Silvarum libri duo*, in: *Codri Volumen* (Bologna, Giovanni Antonio Benedetti: 1502) fol. 44v–57r; Caiado Henrique, *Aeglogae et sylvae et epigrammata Hermici* (Bologna, Benedetto Faelli: 1501) fol. Ei r – Fvii r. Zu Spagnuoli und Codro vgl. Alcina, „Notas“ 131–133. Caiados Sammlung, die der spanische Philologe nicht erwähnt, umfasst drei Silven. Sie bestehen aus 101, 339 bzw. 118 Hexametern und sind jeweils mit einem Widmungsbrief versehen.

wurde durch Giovanni Antonio Flaminio (1464–1536) fortgeführt, dessen *Sylvarum libri duo* 1515 in der Universitätsstadt publiziert wurden.¹⁶ 1521 erschien in Mailand die monumentale Silven-Sammlung von Lancino Curti (†1512),¹⁷ 1549 ebenfalls postum die acht ausgedehnten, aus Hexametern bestehenden *Sylvae* von Andrea Dazzi (1473–1548) als Teil von dessen in Florenz gedruckten *Poemata*.¹⁸

In französischen Drucken aus der Zeit vor 1550 ist der Gedichttyp mit dem *Sylvarum liber* (ca. 1510) von Humbert de Montmoret, den *Sylvarum libri quattuor* (1513) von Guillaume de la Mare, der Guillaume Budé gewidmeten *Sylva cui titulus Parrhisia* von Joannes Vaccaeus Castellanus (1522),¹⁹ dem teils in Bologna, teils in Frankreich entstandenen *Sylvarum liber* (1534) des aus Pontremoli stammenden Italieners Paolo Belmesseri sowie mit den *Sylvae* von Théodore de Bèze vertreten,²⁰ und auch der spanische Humanismus trägt in der ersten Hälfte des 16. Jahrhunderts zur Fortune der Silven bei.²¹ Die ersten so bezeichneten Kompositionen, die im deutschen Sprachgebiet veröffentlicht wurden, sind das *Votum pro salute coniugis* des Italieners Giovanfrancesco Pico della Mirandola (Straßburg 1511, 157 Hexameter), die *Sylvae duae nuper editae Prussia et Amor* (Leipzig: 1513, 98 bzw. 129 elegische Distichen) von Eobanus Hessus und die *Sylva epistolaris seu Barba* (Straßburg: 1534, 739 Hexameter) des Schlettstädters

¹⁶ Alcina, "Notas", nennt auch dieses Werk nicht.

¹⁷ Vgl. Curti Lancino, *Sylvarum libri decem* (Mailand, Rocco und Ambrogio da Valle: 1521); ferner Alcina, "Notas" 131.

¹⁸ Vgl. Dazzi 1549, 142–251; ferner Alcina, "Notas" 131.

¹⁹ Vgl. Galland-Hallyn P., *Un Professeur-poète humaniste: Joannes Vaccaeus, "La Sylve Parisienne" (1522)* (Genf 2002).

²⁰ Vgl. Montmoret Humbert de, *Duodecim silve* (Paris, Raoul Cousturier: o. J. [ca. 1510]); La Mare Guillaume de, *Sylvarum libri quattuor* (Paris, Josse Bade: 1513); Belmesseri Paolo, *Sylvarum liber*, in: idem, *Opera poetica* (Paris, Simon de Colines: 1534) fol. 43r–65r; Bèze Théodore de, *Poemata* (Paris, Conrad Bade: 1548) fol. 3r–13r (dem Druck zufolge handelt es sich um eine Auswahl 'ex Sylvarum libro'). Drei weitere Silven von Bèze aus der Zeit vor 1548 sind handschriftlich überliefert; vgl. Aubert F. – Boussard J. – Meylan H., "Un premier recueil de poésies latines de Théodore de Bèze", *Bibliothèque d'Humanisme et de la Renaissance* 15 (1953) 164–191 und 255–294, hier 257–263 und 271–277. Zu Montmoret, Belmesseri und Bèze vgl. Alcina, "Notas" 131 und 133. Belmesseri's *Sylvarum liber* konnte ich allein dank der großzügigen Unterstützung von Fabrizio Bondi (Cremona) konsultieren.

²¹ Vgl. oben, Anm. 19, sowie Alcina, "Notas", 136–138 (Präsentation von Einzeltexten aus der Feder von Martín Ivarra und Juan Ángel González); Ivarra an Statius, *Silvae* 2.5 („Leo mansuetus“), angelehnte Silva „De Ferrandi leone“ ist ebd., 152–155, ediert. Zu den einschlägigen Texten von González vgl. Alcina J.F., "La poesía latina del humanismo español: un esbozo", in: Moya del Baño F. (ed.), *Los humanistas españoles y el humanismo europeo* (Murcia 1990) 13–33, hier 19.

Johannes Witz (Sapidus).²² 1535 folgte mit Hesses *Sylvarum libri sex*, die in Hagenau verlegt wurden, eine Silvensammlung, die rasch Nachahmer fand (Heune, Vomel, Brusch).²³ Im Dienst des polnischen Königs schuf Jan Dantyszek eine aus 268 elegischen Distichen bestehende Dichtung mit dem Titel *De nostrorum temporum calamitatibus sylva* (Bologna: 1529). Ein *Sylvae* überschriebenes Buch findet sich schließlich in der postumen *editio princeps* (Utrecht: 1541) der Werke des Holländers Johannes Everaerts (1511–1536).²⁴

*Die Sylvulae duae und die Sylvae aliquot des Aquiles Estaço:
Parallelen und Unterschiede zur Sammlung des Statius*

Als nahezu alle bis hierher genannten *Sylvae* bereits publiziert waren, trat auch der Portugiese Aquiles Estaço (1524–1581), ein nachmals berühmter katholischer Humanist,²⁵ mit derlei Texten an die Öffentlichkeit, zunächst mit zwei als *Sylvulae* präsentierten Hexameterdichtungen, die er an den Anfang seines ersten, 1547 gedruckten Buches stellte,²⁶ 1549, nach seiner Übersiedlung von Löwen nach Paris,²⁷ dann mit den dortselbst erschienenen *Sylvae aliquot*.²⁸ Man darf getrost

²² Vgl. Alcina, "Notas" 133.

²³ Vgl. Heune Johannes, *Sylvarum libri IIII* (Wittenberg, Georg Rhau: 1540); Vomel Cyprian, *Sylvarum libri tres* (Erfurt, Melchior Sachs: 1540); idem, *Liber Sylvarum* (Mainz, Ivo Schöffner: 1547); Brusch Kaspar, *Sylvarum liber* (Leipzig, Michael Blum: 1543). Alcina erwähnt unter den vier aufgelisteten Werken allein die Sammlung von Heune (Gigas); vgl. Alcina, "Notas" 133.

²⁴ Zu Dantyszek (Flachsbander, de Curiis) und Everaerts (Secundus) vgl. ebd., 131 und 134.

²⁵ Ein Verzeichnis seiner Werke bietet Fernandes Pereira B., *As Orações de Obediência de Aquiles Estaço* (Coimbra 1991) 34–46.

²⁶ Vgl. Estaço Aquiles, *Sylvulae duae, quibus adiuncta sunt Praefatio in Topica Ciceronis et Oratio quodlubeitica eiusdem* (Löwen, Jacques Bathen: 1547). Zu diesem äußerst seltenen Druck, den Alcina, "Notas", nicht verzeichnet, vgl. Gomes Branco J., "A propósito da primeira obra de Achilles Statius Lusitanus", *Humanitas* 2 (1948–1949) 81–92. Die beiden Prosatexte des Bandes (fol. 10r–17v bzw. 18r–27v) trug Estaço an der Universität Löwen vor. Die *Praefatio in Topica Ciceronis* war seine erste akademische Rede. Wie aus ihrem Text erhellt, hielt er sie, als er schon längere Zeit in der flämischen Stadt weilte (vgl. fol. 10r–v). Die *Oratio quodlubeitica* präsentierte der Portugiese in einer für Einzellektionen mit frei wählbarem Thema vorgesehenen Vortragsreihe (vgl. fol. 18r–v und 27v).

²⁷ Zu Estaço in Löwen und Paris vgl. Fernandes Pereira, *As Orações de Obediência* 18–19.

²⁸ In: Estaço Aquiles, *Sylvae aliquot una cum duobus Hymnis Callimachi eodem carminis genere [...] Latine redditus* (Paris, Thomas Richard: 1549) fol. 2v–16v. Alcina,

davon ausgehen, dass Estaço in seiner *imitatio* der antiken Gattung durch die Tatsache angespornt wurde, dass die lateinische Form seines Namens, Achilles Statius, ihn zum Namensvetter von Domitians Hofdichter machte. Wie sehr ihm dies geschmeichelt haben muss, lässt sich erahnen, wenn man sich vor Augen führt, dass er den spätantiken griechischen Autor Achilles Tatios, den er in der *Suda*, einem byzantinischen Wörterbuch des 10. Jahrhunderts, als ‘Achilles Statios’ verzeichnet fand, aufgrund der vermeintlichen Gleichheit ihrer beider Namen eigens mit einer Ὀμωνυμία überschriebenen *Sylva* bedachte.²⁹

Estaço verzichtete darauf, seine *Sylvulae* bzw. *Sylvae* auf den Spuren des Statius als Resultate einer plötzlichen Gemüts-erhitzung auszugeben. Den 32 Kompositionen des kaiserzeitlichen Autors setzte er in der Pariser Edition zehn entgegen, die, wenn man die Ausgabe isoliert betrachtet, allein durch die Zueignung an Prinz Luís, den Bruder des portugiesischen Königs João III.,³⁰ als Buch arrangiert erscheinen, und selbst das nur bedingt, denn die Dedikation spricht nur von ‘aliquot Sylvas’³¹ (‘etlichen Silven’) und kündigt nicht sie allein, sondern überdies die lateinischen Übersetzungen zweier Hymnen des Kallimachos an, die Estaço am Ende des Bandes positionierte.³² Dennoch erscheint es mir legitim, die Gruppe der *Sylvae* als Buch (und die Bezeichnung ‘aliquot Sylvas’ als Bescheidenheitsgestus) aufzufassen, denn es fällt auf, dass das letzte Originalgedicht des Pariser Drucks ebenso in Hendekasyllaboi gehalten ist wie die Schlussgedichte des ersten, zweiten

“Notas” 130, schloss das Werk aus seiner Abhandlung aus, weil er aufgrund einer fehlerhaften Abschrift von dessen Titel (*Sylva carminum* statt *Sylvae aliquot*) irrtümlich annahm, es gehöre zu den ‘colecciones poéticas que utilizan el término *silva* genéricamente en el sentido de “recopilación varia” o “colección de poemas diversos” sin que el contenido sea de silvas propiamente dichas’.

²⁹ Es handelt sich um die zweite *Sylva* des Pariser Drucks (4r–v); ihr geht eine kurze Prosaerläuterung voraus, in der Estaço sowohl die Notiz der *Suda* zitiert (auf Griechisch und Lateinisch) als auch beteuert, dass sein Name rein zufällig dem des Autors des Liebesromans *Leukippe und Kleitophon* gleiche (3v). Im Gedicht selbst (v. 32) gesteht er seinem ‘Namensvetter’ zu, trotz des erotischen Gehalts seines Romans in seinem Leben kein ‘lascivus amator’ gewesen zu sein. Ähnliches hatten bekanntlich die für ihre schlüpfrigen Verse bekannten römischen Dichter Catull und Martial für sich in Anspruch genommen; vgl. Catull, *Carmina* 16.5–6, und Martial, *Epigrammata* 1.4.8.

³⁰ „Achille Statius Lodovico principi clarissimo, Regis Emanuelis filio S. P. D.“ (fol. 2r).

³¹ Ebd.

³² Auf die Überschrift *Callimachi Cyrinaei [sic] Hymni duo primi, Achille Statio interprete* (fol. 16v) folgen dort die Gedichte „Hymnus in Iovem“ (fol. 16v–18v) und „In Apollinem“ (fol. 18v–20v).

und vierten Buchs der *Silvae* des Statius,³³ während acht der neun vorausgehenden Stücke der Edition aus Hexametern bestehen und somit dasselbe Versmaß aufweisen wie die 'nicht-finalen' Kompositionen aus Buch 1 und 2 der Gelegenheitsgedichte des antiken Autors.³⁴

Die metrische Parallelität zwischen dem ersten bzw. zweiten *liber* der antiken *Silvae* und ihrem frühneuzeitlichen Nachfolger wäre – abgesehen von der unterschiedlichen Anzahl der Gedichte pro Buch – vollkommen, wenn das Eröffnungstück von Estaços Band³⁵ nicht in elegischen Distichen gehalten wäre. Dieses Versmaß, das sich in gedruckten Silvenkorpora erstmals 1502 bei Giovanni Battista Spagnuoli findet, war in den einschlägigen Sammlungen von Eobanus Hessus und dessen Nachahmern zum vorherrschenden Metrum avanciert.

Wie Estaço in der Dedikationsepistel an Prinz Luís offen bekennt, stellt eine seiner *Sylvae* die überarbeitete Version einer Dichtung dar, die er bereits im Löwener Druck des Jahres 1547 veröffentlicht und damals noch einem anderen Adressaten zugeordnet hatte.³⁶ Es handelt sich um das dritte Stück der Sammlung, eine der Jungfrau Maria in den Mund gelegte Klage über das Leiden Christi,³⁷ deren ältere Fassung die gleiche Länge aufweist wie ihre Nachfolgerin und von dieser nur an wenigen Stellen abweicht.³⁸ Privilegierter Adressat der Edition von 1547 und damit auch der Urform der dort zu findenden marianischen *Sylva* war ein gewisser João de Portugal, den der Humanist, wie der Widmung des Löwener Drucks (2r–v) zu entnehmen ist, seit Kin-

³³ Vgl. Statius, *Silvae* 1.6 („Kalendae Decembris“), 2.7 („Genethliacon Lucani ad Pollam“) und 4.9 („Hendecasyllabi iocosi ad Plotium Grypum“).

³⁴ D. h. die *Silvae* 1.1–5 und 2.1–6. Buch 4 der *Silvae*, das schon an dritter Stelle ein erstes Gedicht in Hendecasyllaboi („Via Domitiana“) enthält, ist metrisch heterogener.

³⁵ Vgl. Estaço, *Sylva* 1, „Ad clarissimum principem Lodovicum“ (fol. 2v–3v).

³⁶ Im Widmungsbrief heißt es dazu fol. 2r: 'Ex quibus [sc. Sylvis] unam antea aedideram [sic], sed hanc iterum a me recognitam visum est nunc simul aedere [sic] tuoque maxime nomini inscribere [...]'. ('Eine der Silven hatte ich schon früher ediert; nun aber, da ich sie nochmals überarbeitet habe, habe ich beschlossen, sie erneut drucken zu lassen und zuvörderst an Dich zu richten').

³⁷ Estaço, *Sylva* 3, „Deploratio Virginis Mariae super passione Filii“ (fol. 5v–7r).

³⁸ Vgl. Estaço, *Sylvula* 1, fol. 3r–5r. Die zweite *Sylvula* des Bandes (fol. 6r–9r), die der portugiesische Dichter nicht in den Pariser Druck übernehmen sollte, trägt die Überschrift: „Monomachia duorum militum Hispanorum, quorum uterque Angliae regi militaverat, sed alter postea Mora nomine ad Regem Galliae defecit; quem Iulianus commilito post eius belli tempora, permissu Angli, provocandum putavit. Exhibitum est spectaculum in media propemodum Gallia, Rege ac Principibus totius Galliae viris spectantibus“. Die Dichtung besteht aus 126 Hexametern (nicht, wie bei Gomes Branco, „A propósito da primeira obra“ 85, zu lesen, aus 125).

dertagen kannte und als seinen Lehrer verehrte.³⁹ In den *Sylvae aliquot* sollte Estaço ihn dadurch würdigen, dass er die längste Komposition der Sammlung an ihn richtete. Sie umfasst 134 Hexameter und steht an vierter Stelle des Buches.⁴⁰

Etliche Themenkreise, die den *Silvae* des Statius eignen, sind der Kollektion seines portugiesischen Nachahmers fremd: So fehlen dort, um nur die wichtigsten Beispiele zu nennen, Objektgedichte wie die Verse, die Domitians Hofdichter Bauten oder Statuen widmete,⁴¹ ferner Kompositionen wie jene, in denen er einen Baum, einen verstorbenen Papagei oder einen zahmen Löwen besang,⁴² oder auch Trauergedichte auf Angehörige⁴³ oder Personen aus dem Umkreis von Freunden.⁴⁴ Ohne Nachahmung bleiben in Estaços Werk weiterhin jene Gedichtarten, die Statius ausschließlich im vierten Buch seiner Sammlung präsentiert: die lyrische Ode,⁴⁵ die Epistel⁴⁶ und das Scherzgedicht.⁴⁷ Zu anderen Texten des antiken Autors schuf der Humanist dagegen mehr oder weniger deutliche Gegenstücke: Den „Laudes Crispini Vetti Bolani Filii“⁴⁸ etwa stellte er einen ebenfalls schon im Titel als panegyrisch ausgewiesenen Text, das „Encomium Petri Nannii Alcmariani“,⁴⁹ zur Seite, mit dem er seinem wichtigsten Löwener Lehrer, Pieter Nanninck (1500–1557), huldigte, und in den Überschriften anderer *Sylvae* rekurrierte er gar wörtlich auf Gedichtbezeichnungen, die Statius in Titeln von Texten seiner Sammlung verwendet hatte: So gemahnen die „Soteria pro eodem [sc. Francisco Gratiano]“⁵⁰ an die „Soteria Rutili Gallici“⁵¹ des kaiserzeitlichen Autors, das „Eucharisticon ad Dominum

³⁹ Vgl. ebd., 84.

⁴⁰ Der kürzeste Text der *Sylvae aliquot* ist das neunte Gedicht (vgl. unten, Anm. 50). Mit 19 Versen hat es exakt die gleiche Länge wie die kürzeste *Silva* des Statius, *Somnus* (= *Silvae* 5.4).

⁴¹ Vgl. Statius, *Silvae* 1.3, 1.5, 2.2 und 4.3 bzw. 1.1, 3.1 und 4.6.

⁴² Vgl. idem, *Silvae* 2.3–5.

⁴³ Vgl. idem, *Silvae* 5.3 und 5.5.

⁴⁴ Vgl. idem, *Silvae* 2.1, 2.6, 3.3 und 5.1.

⁴⁵ Vgl. idem, *Silvae* 4.5 und 4.7.

⁴⁶ Vgl. idem, *Silva* 4.4.

⁴⁷ Vgl. idem, *Silva* 4.9.

⁴⁸ Idem, *Silva* 5.2.

⁴⁹ Estaço, *Sylva* 7 (fol. 12r–13r). Zu diesem Gedicht vgl. IJsewijn J., „Petrus Nannius and Achilles Statius“, *Humanistica Lovaniensia* 43 (1994) 288–294 (mit Edition des Textes).

⁵⁰ Estaço, *Sylva* 9 (fol. 14v–15r). Die *Sylva* 8, „Morbus Francisci Gratiani“ (fol. 13v–14v), thematisiert die Krankheit, deren Überwindung der Folgetext bejubelt. Zur Person des ‘Patienten’ vgl. unten, Anm. 95.

⁵¹ Statius, *Silva* 1.4.

Ioannem a Portugallia“,⁵² das Estaço seinem Lehrer zudachte, steht in der Tradition des „Eucharisticon ad Imp. Aug. Germ. Domitianum“,⁵³ und ein weiteres Gedicht des römischen Vorläufers, das in Hendekasyllaboi verfasste „Genethliacon Lucani ad Pollam“,⁵⁴ färbt auf die Überschrift des „Genethliacon Domini“⁵⁵ ab, der einzigen Komposition, die in Estaços Sammlung dieses Metrum hat. Im Folgenden soll sie näher analysiert werden. Der portugiesische Autor, der sich im Widmungsbrief des Drucks von 1549 als ‘Theologus’ beschreibt, der nur in seiner Freizeit den Musen fröne,⁵⁶ feiert darin die Geburt Christi.

*Das „Genethliacon Domini“:
Vorstellung des Gedichts und seiner patristischen Referenztexte*

Obgleich das „Genethliacon Domini“ durch seinen Titel und sein Versmaß auf das „Genethliacon Lucani ad Pollam“ des Statius verweist, ließ Estaço den antiken Text bei der Ausarbeitung des Schlusstücks seiner *Sylvae* völlig außer Acht. Die Rezeption der übrigen Kompositionen des kaiserzeitlichen Autors im Weihnachtsgedicht des Humanisten beschränkt sich auf die Nachahmung eines für jene Werke charakteristischen Ausdrucksmodus, der Texteröffnung durch rhetorische Fragen. Fünf der *Silvae* des Statius beginnen mit genau einer solchen Frage,⁵⁷ drei weitere mit mehreren,⁵⁸ und auf die ersten beiden unter diesen dreien, d. h. auf die beiden Auftaktstücke der *Silvae*, dürfte Estaço angespielt haben, als er schrieb:

⁵² Estaço, *Sylva* 4 (fol. 7r–9r).

⁵³ Statius, *Silva* 4.2.

⁵⁴ Idem, *Silva* 2.7.

⁵⁵ Estaço, *Sylva* 10 (fol. 15r–16v).

⁵⁶ Unter Bezugnahme auf die 12 Stücke des Bandes schreibt Estaço in der Dedikation, fol. 2r: ‘Ac sunt hi quidem quos accipis, princeps clarissime, ocii mei fructus: non enim haec scribo nisi vacuus et a Theologiae studiis aliquantulum feriat’ (‘Was Du hier empfängst, hochberühmter Herrscher, sind wohlgemerkt nur die Früchte meiner Muße; ich schreibe solche Texte nämlich nur, wenn ich Zeit habe und mir etwas Entspannung von den theologischen Studien gönne’). Direkt im Anschluss rechtfertigt er sein Festhalten an der Dichtung wie folgt: ‘Idque facio, quo musas, quas olim puer magno studio colui, etiam nunc grandior, et quidem Theologus, retineam. Qui enim possim liberalius et honestius feriare, quam me adhuc in his studiis per ocium exercendo?’ (‘Und das tue ich, damit ich die Dichtkunst, die ich einst als Knabe mit großem Eifer pflegte, auch jetzt, älter geworden und zum Theologen gereift, nicht verliere. Wie nämlich könnte ich freimütiger und sittsamer Erholung finden als dadurch, dass ich mich in Mußestunden weiterhin in dieser Kunst übe?’).

⁵⁷ Vgl. Statius, *Silvae* 2.1, 2.4, 3.5, 4.3, 5.4.

⁵⁸ Vgl. ebd., 1.1, 1.2, 2.5.

Quaenam haec insolito dies nitore
 terras afficit, ac procul vagantem
 sparsit candidius decora Phoebum?
 Unde haec alta quies?⁵⁹

Was ist das für ein Tag, der die Erde mit ungewöhnlichem Glanz erfüllt
 und gar stattlich das ferne wandelnde Sonnenlicht heller verbreitet?
 Woher rührt diese erhabene Stille?

Während das adjektivische Interrogativpronomen 'quae', wenn auch ohne den Zusatz 'nam', die erste der vier Fragen einleitet, mit denen die *Silva* 1.1 anhebt,⁶⁰ steht 'unde' am Beginn der aus zwei Komponenten bestehenden Fragensalve, die das Exordium der *Silva* 1.2 bildet.⁶¹ Estaços Allusion auf beide Texte ist umso wahrscheinlicher, als deren Auftaktfragen jeweils dem Ausdruck des Erstaunens dienen und damit demselben Zweck wie die Fragengruppe am Anfang des „Genethliacon Domini“.⁶²

⁵⁹ Estaço, *Sylva* 10, vv. 1–4.

⁶⁰ Vgl. Statius, *Silva* 1.1, „Ecus maximus Domitiani Imp.“ („Das riesige Reiterstandbild Kaiser Domitians“), vv. 1–7: 'Quae superinposito moles geminata colosso / stat Latium complexa forum? Caelone peractum / fluxit opus? Siculis an conformata caminis / effigies lassum Steropen Brontenque reliquit? / An te Palladiae talem, Germanice, nobis / effecere manus, qualem modo frena tenentem / Rhenus et attoniti vidit domus aurea Daci?' ('Was für ein massiger Körper, verdoppelt durch den auf ihm ruhenden Koloss, umfängt das lateinische Forum? Glitt ein im Himmel erschaffenes Werk auf die Erde herunter? Verließ ein in den Schmelzöfen Siziliens gegossenes Abbild den [von der Arbeit] ermatteten Steropes und den Brontes? Oder schufen dich, Germanicus, die Hände der Pallas so, wie dich gerade noch, als du die Zügel in Händen hieltest, der Rhein und das goldene Haus des erstaunten Dakers sahen?'). Steropes und Brontes sind zwei der Zyklopen, Germanicus ist ein Beiname Kaiser Domitians.

⁶¹ Vgl. ebd., 1.2, „Epithalamion in Stellam et Violentillam“ („Hochzeitslied auf Stella und Violentilla“), vv. 1–3: 'Unde sacro Latii sonuerunt carmine montes? / Cui, Paeon, nova plectra moves umeroque comanti / facundum suspendis ebur?' ('Aus welcher Richtung hat ein heiliges Lied die Berge des Latium erfüllt? Für wen, Paeon, stimmst du neue Weisen an und lehnst das beredte Elfenbein [der Leier] an deine von Haarpracht umwallte Schulter?').

⁶² Die Serie von Interrogativsätzen, mit der die *Silva* 2.5, „Leo mansuetus“ („Der zahme Löwe“), beginnt, steht dagegen nicht im Zeichen des *stupor*. Hier der Auftakt des Gedichts (vv. 1–6): 'Quid tibi monstrata mansuescere profuit ira? / Quid scelus humanasque animo dediscere caedes / imperiumque pati et domino parere minori? / Quid, quod abire domo rursusque in claustra reverti / suetus et a capta iam sponte recedere praeda / insertasque manus laxo dimittere morsu?' ('Was nützte es dir, den angestammten Zorn abzulegen und sanftmütig zu werden? Was nützte es dir, die schlimmen Gemetzel zu vergessen, die du unter Menschen angerichtet hast, fremde Herrschaft zu erdulden und einem Herrn zu gehorchen, der schwächer ist als du? Was nützte es dir, dass du gewohnt bist, aus deinem Käfig hinauszugehen und später wieder dorthin zurückzukehren, auf deine Beute freiwillig zu verzichten und von in dein Maul gesteckten Händen mit kraftlosem Biss abzulassen?').

Der portugiesische Humanist war nicht der erste Autor, der Silven mit biblischer Thematik verfasste, er hatte in dieser Hinsicht allerdings nur eine Handvoll Vorläufer: Giovanni Battista Spagnuoli,⁶³ der als erster Dichter überhaupt geistliche Silven schrieb,⁶⁴ dazu Flaminio und Belmesseri, ferner Heune, der sich in seiner Sammlung als Anhänger der Reformation zu erkennen gibt, sowie den 1548 noch nicht zum offenen Kritiker der katholischen Kirche gewordenen Bèze. Die vier zuletzt genannten Autoren bieten in ihren Sammlungen Gedichte auf Christi Geburt,⁶⁵ Flaminio und Belmesseri überdies je ein Passionsgedicht⁶⁶ und damit einen Text, der mit *Estaços* zweiter biblischer Silva, der „*Deploratio Virginis super passione Filii*“, assoziiert werden kann.

Nach diesen Vorbemerkungen sei das „*Genethliacon Domini*“ des portugiesischen Dichters nun in voller Länge zitiert:

GENETHLIACON DOMINI

Quaenam haec insolito dies nitore
 terras afficit, ac procul vagantem
 sparsit candidius decora Phoebum?
 Unde haec alta quies? Silent protervi
 nec tristes hyemes minantur Euri. 5
 Stat tranquilla vadis, nec intumescit
 amissum Thetis haud ferens Achillem.
 Nunc tutum celeres fretum carinae
 sulcant, impavidae ruentis Austri.
 Labuntur placido fluenta cursu, 10
 non horror scopulis, inhospitaeque
 presserunt rabiem sonosque Syrtes.
 Hunc sensere diem, nemusque voce
 implerunt tenera loquaciores,
 dum longum ingeminant melos volucres. 15

⁶³ Vgl. Spagnuoli, *Sylva* 8.7, „In laudem Ioannis Baptistae pro natali eius carmen“.

⁶⁴ Neben dem in Anm. 63 genannten Text belegen dies die *Sylvae* 8.2, „Ad beatam Virginem votum“, und 8.5, „In divi Alberti Carmelitae nativitate hymnus. Pro restituta salute votum“.

⁶⁵ Vgl. Flaminio, *Sylvae* 2.2, „In natalem Christi redemptoris“, 2.3, „In natalem Christi optimi maximi“, 2.18, „In natalem Christi“; Belmesseri, „*Sylva quarta Margaritae Reginae Navarrae: De natali Christi*“; Heune, *Sylvae* 1.4, „De Christi Regis natali hymnus“, 1.21, „De Christi Regis natali hymnus“, 1.22, „Alius hymnus“, 1.23, „De natali Christi carmen“, 1.24, „Aliud“; Bèze (*Poemata* 1548), *Sylva* 3, „*Natalia Domini*“.

⁶⁶ Vgl. Flaminio, *Sylva* 2.1, „Ad Christum cruci affixum“; Belmesseri, „*Sylva tertia Helionorae tuae Maiestatis consortis et Caesariae Maiestatis sorori: De morte Christi*“ (der Titulus ist wie der gesamte *Sylvarum liber* des italienischen Autors an König François I. adressiert; dies erklärt das Possessivpronomen ‘*tuae*’).

Stat sylvis nova gratia, et decoras in coelum melius comas dedere, stant quae montibus arbores in altis, et tellus facie renidet omni.	
Sedati strepitus, proculque totas pax urbes sociat, nec ulla gentes bella aut arma movent, sed ecce totae extinctae invidia cadente flammae bellorumque faces, et inde et inde iussus finitimos in omne reges tempus iungere amor, suique tandem mensura premitur libido regni.	20
Unde hoc tam subitum decus iacentem naturam induit, atque ubique rebus personam veluti dedit novosque vultus? En nihil invidemus astris, si sic ire dies diu beatas permittunt superi, nec ista rumpunt nobis gaudia, turbidisque miscent hoc coelum nebulis maligniores!	25
Haec rursum aurea tempora, et beati hoc est principium caputque saeculi. Sed quid nam subito deos et aras fatorum impediit diu loquaces?	30
Nil reddunt Tripodes, siletque Phoebus, Dodonae nihil arbores loquuntur, ast errantibus huc et huc columbis, et sylvas queritur, Iovemque mutum, quicumque hospes adest procul profectus.	35
Cumarum et Libyae silentiosum numen iam tacitis stupescit aris. En ut iam posito decòre sordent haec quae numina credidit vetustas, haec quae numina falsa collocavit aris posteritas, ruunt ab altis ornamenta tholis, iacetque divùm grex delapsus humi, Iovemque calcat porrectum pede rusticus lutoso!	40
Est, est ergo dies beata, qualem dixerunt veteres patres futuram, quam toto ore pii canunt prophetae deceptis fore gentibus saluti!	45
Christus virginea receptus alvo, idem virgineam reliquit alvum, nunc, nunc virginea receptus alvo; atque, ut sunt veteres patres loquuti, hac illum Solymae die videbunt,	50
	55
	60

vel tantum hoc Solymae nurus beatae.
 O foelix nimium, o beata tellus,
 cui promissa salus, prior salutis 65
 authorem videt, ac sinu fovebit
 tantillum hunc hominem Deumque natum.
 Illum, qui superos coercet orbes,
 illum, cui maria alta consilescunt,
 illum, quem solidae timere terrae 70
 humanumque genus solet tonantem,
 illum Tartareae verentur umbrae,
 et nutus pavidae sequuntur omnes.
 En quem nec caperent poli, nec omni
 tellus margine, nunc procul potentes 75
 arctans virginea manus in alvo,
 humanum induitur statum modosque!
 O quae nam haec pietas amorque tantus,
 humanis ita condolare rebus,
 hac ut carne velis, velis et isto 80
 cingi corpore sordidaque massa!
 Sic primam libet expiare labem,
 quae primum in misero parente sedit,
 ac tu ille, ille polis cadens ab altis,
 humanae precium venis salutis, 85
 ut nos, putre solum merasque sordes,
 aeternas meritos subire flammās,
 libertate data trahas sub astra.
 O quae nam haec pietas amorque tantus!⁶⁷

Auf die Geburt des Herrn

Was ist das für ein Tag, der die Erde mit ungewöhnlichem Glanz erfüllt
 und gar stattlich das ferne wandelnde Sonnenlicht heller verbreitet?
 Woher rührt diese erhabene Stille? Die dreisten Nordwinde schweigen
 und drohen nicht länger mit trister Winterkälte. Thetis, die den Ver-
 lust Achills nicht verwinden kann, verweilt ruhig im seichten Wasser
 und ist nicht länger aufgebracht. Jetzt durchqueren schnelle Boote die
 sichere See, ohne sich vor dem heranstürmenden Südwind fürchten zu
 müssen. Flüssig gleiten sie dahin auf sanftem Kurs, den Klippen haftet
 nichts Schauerliches mehr an, und die ungastlichen Syrten haben Wut
 und Tosen unterdrückt. Das Besondere dieses Tags ist den Vögeln nicht
 entgangen: Geschwätziger als sonst, erfüllen sie mit ihren zarten Stim-
 men den Hain und singen wieder und wieder ein ausgedehntes Lied.

⁶⁷ Estaço, *Sylva* 10, fol. 15r–16v. Der Pariser Druck bietet in v. 37 ‘secli’ statt ‘saecli’, in v. 45 ‘Libiae’ statt ‘Libyae’ und in v. 79 ‘condolore’ statt ‘condolere’.

Neue Anmut durchwebt die Wälder, die Bäume hoch oben auf den Bergen recken ihr schönes Laub noch stärker dem Himmel entgegen, und die Erde glänzt auf ihrer ganzen Oberfläche. Die Zwistigkeiten sind versiegt, weithin verbindet Frieden alle Städte, kein Volk führt Krieg oder steht unter Waffen, vielmehr sind mit dem Verstummen des Neides alle Flammen und Fackeln der Kriege erloschen. Hier wie dort hat die Liebe einander benachbarten Königen befohlen, sich für alle Zeit miteinander zu verbinden, und endlich wird in jedem von ihnen das Verlangen nach Herrschaft durch Mäßigung bezähmt.

Warum aber schmückte eine so plötzlich auftretende Zier die am Boden liegende Natur und gab allenthalben den Dingen gleichsam eine Maske, ein neues Antlitz? Sieh nur, unser Neid auf die Sterne ist gewichen, jedenfalls dann, wenn die Himmlischen erlauben, dass die Tage auf lange Zeit so selig verlaufen, und uns nicht, übler gesinnt, diese Freude wieder entziehen und den klaren Himmel mit Nebelschwaden trüben! Das Goldene Zeitalter ist zurückgekehrt, eine Ära der Seligkeit hat begonnen!

Was aber gebot den Göttern und den Altären, die so lange ihre Orakel verkündeten, so plötzlich Einhalt? Nichts mehr verlautet von den Dreifüßen, Phoebus schweigt, Dodonas Bäume sprechen nicht mehr, vielmehr klagen, während die Tauben [der Kultstätte] sich in alle Richtungen verstreuen, die zahlreichen Fremden, die von weither angereist sind, über das Verstummen der Wälder und des Jupiter. In Cuma und Libyen stauen sprachlos gewordene Götter an schweigenden Altären. Sieh nur, wie diejenigen, die die alte Zeit für himmlische Wesen hielt, plötzlich all ihren Glanz verloren haben und verachtet werden! Jene falschen Götter, die die nach ihnen lebenden Generationen auf Altäre stellten, stürzen von ihren hohen Sockeln. Die Schar der Göttlichen liegt im Staub, der Bauer tritt den niedergestreckten Jupiter mit lehmbeschmiertem Fuß.

Das, das ist der selige Tag, dessen Kommen die Patriarchen verhiessen und von dem die frommen Propheten mit lauter Stimme sangen, dass er den getäuschten Heiden zum Heil gereichen werde! Christus, empfangen im jungfräulichen Schoß, hat als derselbe den jungfräulichen Schoß wieder verlassen, nachdem er gerade erst im jungfräulichen Schoß empfangen worden war. An diesem Tag wird ihn, wie es die Väter des Alten Bundes geweissagt haben, Jerusalem sehen, oder auch nur die durch ihn seligen Töchter Jerusalems. O überaus glücklicher, seliger Ort, dem das Heil verheißen war, der als Erster den Heiland sieht und an seinem Busen den als ganz kleinen Menschen geborenen Gott wärmen wird, jenen Gott, der die himmlischen Bahnen bändigt, vor dem die tiefen Meere verstummen, den die festgefügt Landmassen und das Menschengeschlecht zu fürchten pflegen, wenn er donnert, vor dem die Schatten der Unterwelt erschauern und dessen Weisungen sie allesamt ängstlich folgen! Sieh nur, der, den weder die Himmel noch die Erde, so weit sie sich dehnt, umfassen könnten, birgt seine machtvoll in die Ferne wirkenden Hände im Schoß einer Jungfrau und nimmt die Gestalt eines sterblichen Menschen an!

Was für eine Barmherzigkeit, was für ein Liebesbeweis, dass Du mit den menschlichen Geschicken so viel Mitleid hast, dass Du dich mit diesem Fleisch, diesem Körper, dieser schmutzigen Masse umgeben willst! So beliebt es Dir, die Sünde zu sühnen, die sich einst in unserem elenden Stammvater einnistete: Du steigst vom hohen Himmel zu uns herunter, um uns Menschen das Heil zu erwerben, um uns, die wir stinkender Lehm und nichts als Schmutz sind und die ewigen Flammen der Hölle verdienen würden, zu befreien und zu den Sternen emporzuleiten. Was für eine Barmherzigkeit, was für ein Liebesbeweis!

Die auffälligste Eigenschaft des aus 89 Hendekasyllaboi bestehenden Weihnachtsgedichts ist die Tatsache, dass die Geburt Christi darin nach der Überschrift erst wieder in v. 54 angesprochen wird. Zuvor lassen sich vier Abschnitte unterscheiden: Zu Beginn konstatiert die Ich-Stimme erstaunt, dass die Schöpfung von einem ungewohnten Glanz und großer Ruhe erfüllt sei und in neuer Blüte prange (vv. 1–19). Im Anschluss daran diagnostiziert sie das Erlöschen jeglicher Konflikte unter den Völkern und einen allgemeinen Drang der Könige, ihre Reiche zu vereinigen und ihre Herrschsucht zu mäßigen (vv. 20–27), bevor eine neuerliche *stupor*-Frage in einer ersten Synthese die plötzliche Verwandlung von Natur und Menschheit feiert und ein an sie geknüpfter Ausruf den eingetretenen Zustand als selig beschreibt (vv. 28–37). An diese drei Teile, die man auch als einen Großabschnitt auffassen könnte, schließt sich, wiederum durch eine Verwunderung suggerierende Frage eingeleitet, ein Passus an, der vom Verstummen der Orakel sowie vom Sturz und von der Geringschätzung der heidnischen Götterbilder kündigt (vv. 38–53).

Erst danach wird das eigentliche Weihnachtsgeschehen beleuchtet. Im ersten Abschnitt des Gedichts, der es thematisiert, bejubelt der freudig erregte Ich-Sprecher – die *iterationes* ‘Est, est’ (v. 54) und ‘nunc, nunc’ (v. 60) sollen seine Begeisterung zeigen – die Erfüllung jener Prophetenworte, die das Kommen eines Erlösers vorhersagten. Die Rahmung des die *nativitas Christi* beschreibenden 59. Verses, ‘idem virgineam reliquit alvum’, durch zwei Verse, die jeweils mit der Formel ‘virginea receptus alvo’ enden, betont das Mysterium der Jungfrauengeburt in extremer Weise.⁶⁸ Der den Abschnitt beendende Satz, ‘atque, ut sunt veteres patres loquuti, / hac illum Solymae die videbunt, /

⁶⁸ Was genau v. 60, ‘nunc, nunc virginea receptus alvo’, vermitteln soll, wird nicht recht klar: Soll es Erstaunen sein darüber, dass Christus, wiewohl Gottes Sohn und kein gewöhnlicher Mensch, nur neun Monate im Bauch seiner Mutter heranwuchs?

vel tantum hoc Solymae nurus beatae' (vv. 61–63) stellt es als offen dar, ob das ganze Volk Jerusalems Christus sehen wird oder nur die durch ihn selig gewordenen Töchter bzw. jungen Frauen der Stadt. Estaço hebt auf diese Weise hervor, dass der Introitus des zweiten Adventssonntags, 'Populus Sion, ecce Dominus veniet ad salvandas gentes' ('O Volk von Jerusalem, siehe, der Herr wird kommen, um die Völker zu retten'), die Weissagung des Propheten Sacharja, die (nur) der 'Tochter Jerusalems' ('filia Sion') verheißt, den Heiland zu sehen,⁶⁹ nicht ganz wortgetreu aufgreift.

Der folgende Teil des „Genethliacon Domini“ (vv. 64–77) behält die Vergewärtigungsrhetorik bei, die das Gedicht von Beginn an kennzeichnet und durch die Eröffnungsformel der Christmette, 'Hodie Christus natus est' ('Heute ist Christus geboren'), gleichsam autorisiert ist. Der Ich-Sprecher verherrlicht Judäa zunächst dafür, dass ihm das Privileg zuteil werde, den Heiland aufzunehmen, während die sich anschließenden, durch anaphorisches 'illum' eingeleiteten Verse die Allmacht Gottes preisen, die sich über alle Bereiche des Universums einschließlich der Hölle erstrecke. Nach der Beschreibung des göttlichen Machtbereichs stellt das lyrische Ich in einem neuerlichen, durch 'En' (v. 74) eingeleiteten Ausruf heraus, welch ungeheure Erniedrigung die Menschwerdung für den Beherrscher des Alls darstellen müsse. Die Schlussequenz des Gedichts (vv. 78–89), deren Grenzen durch die doppelte Okkurrenz der *exclamatio* 'O quanam haec pietas amorque tantus!' markiert werden, feiert die Barmherzigkeit und Liebe Christi und blickt dabei auf die (aus der Perspektive der Sprecherinstanz noch in der Zukunft liegende) Erlösungstat voraus, mit der, wie es heißt, Jesus die Sünde Adams überwinden und den Menschen trotz ihrer – durch drastische Wendungen ('putre solum merasque sordes', v. 86) betonten – Unwürdigkeit die Freiheit schenken werde, der himmlischen Herrlichkeit entgegenzustreben. Im Einklang mit der den letzten Abschnitt des „Genethliacon Domini“ prägenden Aussage, dass die Inkarnation Gottes der sichtbare Beweis seiner außerordentlichen Liebe zu den Menschen sei, spricht die Ich-Stimme Christus nunmehr vertrauensvoll, in der zweiten Person Singular, an.

⁶⁹ Vgl. Zc 9,9: 'Exulta satis, filia Sion, iubila, filia Hierusalem! Ecce Rex tuus veniet tibi iustus, et Salvator ipse pauper et ascendens super asinum [...] ('Freue dich laut, Tochter Zions, juble, Tochter Jerusalems! Siehe dein gerechter König wird zu dir kommen, er, der Heiland, arm und auf einem Esel reitend [...]).

Von wenigen Ausnahmen (wie den bereits kommentierten vv. 61–63) abgesehen, sind die letzten 36 Verse von *Estaços Weihnachts-silva* in ihren Aussagen zu unspezifisch, um erfolversprechend auf konkrete Modelltexte hin untersucht werden zu können. Zu zentral sind die theologischen Positionen, die darin verhandelt werden, als dass man sagen könnte, dass sie dem portugiesischen Humanisten durch bestimmte Autoren vermittelt wurden, auch wenn nicht zu leugnen ist, dass etwa die vv. 65–77 des „*Genethliacon Domini*“ den vv. 16–30 von *Flaminios Silva* 1.3 sehr ähnlich scheinen.⁷⁰ In den folgenden Ausführungen möchte ich mich deshalb auf die Erörterung von Rezeptionsvorgängen konzentrieren, die die vv. 1–53 der letzten *Sylva Estaços* betreffen.

Wenngleich das Exordium des „*Genethliacon Domini*“ deutliche Bezüge zu den beiden Auftaktstücken der *Silvae* des Statius aufweist, ist doch zu sagen, dass es noch stärker, nämlich sowohl durch formale als auch durch inhaltliche Elemente, an ein Weihnachtslied des Prudentius (*348; † nach 405) gemahnt. Meine Anspielung gilt dem „Hymnus VIII Kal. Ianuarias“ („Lobgesang auf den 25. Dezember“), der das elfte Stück des *Liber Cathemerinon* des spätantiken hispanischen Dichters bildet. Das Lied beginnt nicht nur wie die *Sylva* mit zwei rhetorischen Fragen, sondern bietet in seinem Anfangsteil zudem das Motiv der anlässlich des Heilsgeschehens (dessen Feier mit der

⁷⁰ Flaminios Hexameter lauten: ‘Omnipotens Sator, et quem non capit ardua Coeli / regia, virgineo potuit consistere ventre, / angustoque uteri spatio Deus ipse teneri. / Quantus erat, cum magna poli terraeque marisque / et iaceret rerum primordia quaeque novarum! / Quantus erat, vitiis hominum cum fudit in omnes / diluvium terras atque imbribus abstulit atris / invisum mortale genus, gentemque nefandam / obruit emissio super ardua Gargara ponto! / Mens stupet, ac nimio sensus in lumine torpent, / deficiunt captae medio conamine vires, / dum se se obiiciunt tantae miracula prolis: / quod fuit aeternum paritur mortale, Deusque / prodit homo, et mortis domitor vitaeque repertor / subiicitur morti, sumitque cadentia membra!’ (‘Der allmächtige Erzeuger, den die kühne Residenz des Himmels nicht umfasst, konnte im Bauch einer Jungfrau Platz finden, Gott selbst im engen Raum ihres Schoßes Wohnstatt nehmen. Wie groß war er, als er die Pracht des Himmels, der Erde und des Meeres schuf und alle Anfänge der Dinge! Wie groß war er, als er plötzlich aufgrund der Laster der Menschen alle Lande mit einer Flut übergoss, mit verderblichen Regenstürmen das ihm verhasste sterbliche Geschlecht auslöschte und das gottlose Volk hinwegraffte, nachdem er das Meer über den Gipfel des steilen Berges Gargara hinaus hatte ansteigen lassen! Der Geist staunt, die Sinne werden betäubt durch das allzu starke Licht, die frisch geschöpften Kräfte versagen, kaum dass sie erstarkt sind, während sich ihnen die Wunder eines so erhabenen Kindes offenbaren: Was ewig war, wird als Sterbliches geboren, Gott tritt als Mensch in Erscheinung, der Bändiger des Todes und Schöpfer des Lebens wird dem Tod unterworfen und nimmt vergängliche Gestalt an!’).

Wintersonnwend zusammenfällt) neu erstrahlenden Natur, das auch die Auftaktfrage des „Genethliacon Domini“ und einige der auf sie folgenden 16 Verse prägt. Hier die ersten drei Strophen von Prudentius' Hymnus:

Quid est quod artum circulum
sol iam recurrens deserit?
Christusne terris nascitur,
qui lucis auget tramitem?

Heu quam fugacem gratiam
festinaolvebat dies,
quam paene subductam facem
sensim recisa extinxerat!

Caelum nitescat laetius,
gratetur et gaudens humus:
scandit gradatim denuo
iubar priores lineas.

Was mag es bedeuten, dass die Sonne jetzt zurückkehrt und ihre enge Bahn verlässt? Ist Christus auf Erden geboren, der die Bahn des Lichts erweitert? / Ach, wie flüchtig war die Gunst, die der eilig dahinziehende Tag zu bringen pflegte! Wie rasch hatte er seine kaum hervorgestreckte Fackel erlöschen lassen! / Jetzt aber soll der Himmel fröhlicher erstrahlen und die Erde voll Freude jubeln, denn der Sonnenglanz steigt Schritt für Schritt wieder auf seiner einstigen Bahn empor.

Estaço amplifiziert nicht nur das Motiv des Glanzes, er ergänzt es um zwei weitere: das des Erblühens der Landschaft, das Prudentius erst an einer späteren Stelle seines Liedes entwickelt,⁷¹ und das der Ruhe, das in der zweiten *stupor*-Frage des „Genethliacon Domini“, ‘Unde haec alta quies?’ (v. 4), eingeführt wird, wenig später im Satz ‘Stat tranquilla vadis [...] / [...] Thetis’ (vv. 6–7) ein weiteres Mal erscheint und auch all jene Aussagen des Anfangsteils der *Sylva* charakterisiert, die das Fehlen von Stürmen und anderen Gefahren thematisieren. Zur Insistenz auf dem Aspekt der Ruhe wurde der portugiesische Humanist vermutlich durch den christlichen Geschichtsschreiber Orosius (* um

⁷¹ Vgl. Prudentius, *Liber Cathemerinon* 11.61–68: ‘Vagitus ille exordium / vernantis orbis prodidit, / nam tunc renatus sordidum / mundus veterum depulit. // Sparsisse tellurem reor / rus omne densis floribus, / ipsasque harenas Syrtium / fragrasse nardo et nectare’ (‘Das Schluchzen [des neugeborenen Christuskinds] zeigt auf Erden den Beginn der wieder grünenden Zeit an, denn dann verjagt die Welt, ihrerseits neugeboren, das schmutzige Alte. / Mir will scheinen, dass die Erde die Landschaft weit und breit mit üppiger Blumenzier geschmückt hat und selbst der Sand bei den Syrten [= die libysche Wüste] nach Narden und Nektar duftet’).

385; † um 418) inspiriert. Wie Prudentius vertrat dieser die Auffassung, dass der Frieden, der dem Evangelist Lukas zufolge auf dem ganzen Erdkreis herrschte, als Jesus geboren wurde, von Gottvater bewusst herbeigeführt worden war. Prudentius legt diese Theorie in seiner Dichtung *Contra orationem Symmachi* dar,⁷² Orosius im 22. Kapitel des 6. Buches seiner *Historiae adversus paganos*. Darin beschreibt der Schüler des Augustinus die Situation absoluten Friedens im Römischen Reich zur Zeit von Christi Geburt mit Wendungen, die an das 'Ruhe-Vokabular' des „Genethliacon Domini“ gemahnen: 'quietissimum otium'⁷³ und 'regnum [...] tranquilissimum'.⁷⁴

In den konkreten Anspielungen auf die *Pax Augusta*, die erst mit v. 20 der *Sylva* einsetzen, verzichtet Estaço in auffälliger Weise auf eine direkte Erwähnung des Imperium Romanum. Dies mag dem Umstand geschuldet sein, dass er seine Dichtung sehr wahrscheinlich im traditionell rom-skeptischen Paris verfasste. Deutlich abgeschwächt, wenn nicht gar völlig getilgt, erscheint bei ihm ferner die Polemik gegen das jüdische Volk, die Prudentius in den vv. 89–116 des „Hymnus VIII Kal. Ianuarias“ zum Ausdruck gebracht hatte, in denen er es der Blindheit gegenüber dem Erlösungswerk Christi bezichtigt. Allenfalls im recht verschlüsselt formulierten v. 63 des „Genethliacon Domini“ könnte Ähnliches anklingen.

Weitgehend aus einer anderen, bisher noch nicht erwähnten Dichtung des Prudentius, der *Apotheosis*, schöpfte Estaço die Angaben zum Verstummen der heidnischen Orakel im Vorfeld von Christi Geburt. Der hispanische Autor hatte sich dazu wie folgt geäußert:

Ex quo mortalem praestrinxit Spiritus alvum,	435
Spiritus ille Deus, Deus et se corpore matris	
induit atque hominem de virginitate creavit,	
Delphica damnatis tacuerunt sortibus antra,	
non tripodas cortina regit, non spumat anhelus	
fata Sibyllinis fanaticus edita libris.	440
Perdidit insanos mendax Dodona vapores,	
mortua iam mutae lugent oracula Cumae,	
nec responsa refert Libycis in Syrtibus Hammon.	

⁷² Vgl. Prudentius, *Contra orationem Symmachi* 2.586–633.

⁷³ Vgl. Orosius, *Historiae adversus paganos* 6.22.2.

⁷⁴ Ebd., 6.22.9.

Seit der Geist, der Gott ist, den sterblichen Schoß berührte, und Gott sich in den Leib einer Mutter begab und einen Menschen aus der Jungfräulichkeit schuf, sind die delphischen Höhlen verstummt und ihre Orakel verdammt. Die Ausdünstungen der Felsspalte bestimmen nicht mehr, was von den Dreifüßen verlautet, der besessene Atem verkündet nicht länger mit schäumendem Mund den Sibyllinischen Büchern entnommene Schicksalssprüche. Das verlogene Dodona hat seine Wahnsinn entfachenden Dämpfe verloren, Cuma, stumm geworden, trauert um seine toten Orakel, und das bei den libyschen Syrten gelegene Hammon gibt keine Antworten mehr.

Iamque insertato reserarat viscera cultro
vittatus de more senex manibusque cruentis 465
tractabat trepidas letali frigore fibras,
postremosque animae pulsus in corde tepenti
callidus interpres numeris et fine notabat,
cum subito exclamat media inter sacra sacerdos
pallidus: 'En quid ago? Maius, rex optime, maius 470
numen nescio quod nostris intervenit aris,
quam sufferre queant spumantia cymbia lacte,
caesarum sanguis pecudum, verbena, coronae.'

Und gerade stocherte ein mit Bändern bekränzter Greis mit einem Messer in den Eingeweiden [eines Opfertiers] herum, betastete mit blutbefleckten Händen die von der todbringenden Kälte durchbebt Fasern und schickte sich an, als verschlagener Deuter die Anzahl der letzten Regungen der Seele im noch lauwarmer Herzen und den Zeitpunkt ihres Erlöschens festzuhalten, als plötzlich inmitten der kultischen Handlung der Priester erblich und rief: 'Was soll ich nur tun? Eine größere Gottheit, bester König, eine Gottheit von welcher Art auch immer, die größer ist, als dass ihr schäumende, mit Milch gefüllte Eimer, das Blut getöteter Tiere, Eisenkraut oder Kränze gerecht werden könnten, stört unser Opfer!'

In vv. 40–46 des „Genethliacon Domini“ kommt auch Estaço auf die Orakel von Dodona und Cuma zu sprechen, und er unterlässt es dort auch nicht, auf zwei weitere von Prudentius erwähnte Stätten heidnischer Weissagungen, Delphi und das libysche Hammon, anzuspielen. Darüber hinaus bietet er in v. 46 einen Elfsilbler, der wie v. 471 der *Apotheosis* mit 'numen' beginnt und mit 'aris' endet.

Auf die Betrachtungen zum Verstummen der Orakel folgen in der *Sylva* des portugiesischen Humanisten Angaben zum Daniederliegen der heidnischen Götterstatuen. Sie orientieren sich an der Schrift *Contra orationem Symmachi*, in der Prudentius das Aufkommen der antiken Götterkulte gemäß der Lehre des Euhemerios als Folge der

Divinisierung von Sterblichen beschrieben hatte. Am Ende des einschlägigen Abschnitts hatte der Dichter resümiert:

sic observatio crevit
ex atavis quondam male coepta, deinde secutis
tradita temporibus serisque nepotibus aucta.
Traxerunt longam corda inconsulta catenam,
mosque tenebrosus vitiosa in saecula fluxit.
Hunc morem veterum docili iam aetate secuta
posteritas mense atque adytis et flamine et aris
Augustum coluit, vitulo placavit et agno,
strata ad pulvinar iacuit, responsa poposcit.⁷⁵

So gewann eine Beobachtungspraxis an Boden, die einst von den Urahnen [der Heiden] unglücklich begonnen, den auf sie folgenden Generationen überantwortet und von deren fernen Nachkommen noch intensiviert worden war. Ihre schlecht beratenen Herzen zogen eine lange Kette mit sich, ein finsterner Brauch ging über auf lasterhafte Zeitalter. Die Spätgeborenen, die die Sitte ihrer Vorfahren in einer Zeit befolgten, als man sie nicht mehr hinterfragte, verehrten schließlich Augustus durch die Einführung eines nach ihm benannten Monats sowie durch Tempel, Priester und Altäre, stimmten ihn durch die Opferung von Kälbern und Lämmern gnädig, fielen vor dem Götterpolster zu Boden und verlangten nach Weissagungen.

Estaço befasst sich im „Genethliacon Domini“ zwar lediglich mit dem Verfall der heidnischen Kulte, doch scheint ihn dies, wie das Vorkommen der in v. 247 der Prudentius-Dichtung prominenten Wortformen ‘posteritas’ und ‘aris’ in v. 50 seiner *Sylva* signalisiert, nicht davon abgehalten zu haben, den soeben zitierten Passus zu rezipieren.⁷⁶ Dass der Humanist auch die wichtigste patristische Referenzschrift des hispanischen Dichters, die *Divinae institutiones* des Laktanz (*um 250; †um 325), konsultierte, kann nicht mit vergleichbarer Wahrscheinlichkeit behauptet werden. Gleichwohl kann man die Vermutung wagen, dass der Auftaktsatz von Buch II des Werkes, in dem die den antiken

⁷⁵ Prudentius, *Contra orationem Symmachi* 1.240–248.

⁷⁶ Das die archaischen Griechen und Römer bezeichnende Substantiv ‘vetustas’, mit dem Estaço in v. 48 des „Genethliacon Domini“ operiert, könnte er den vv. 99–101 der Dichtung *Contra orationem Symmachi* entnommen haben, in denen vom Aufkommen der Verehrung Merkurs die Rede ist. Sie lauten: ‘Artificem scelerum simplex mirata vetustas / supra hominem coluit, simulans per nubila ferri / aligerisque leves pedibus transcurrere ventos’ (‘Die einfältige alte Zeit bewunderte den Urheber der Verbrechen, glaubte, dass er mehr sei als ein Mensch, und gab vor, dass er durch die Wolken empor getragen werde und mit Flügeln an den Füßen die leichten Lüfte durchquere’).

Götterkulten anhängenden Menschen ('homines') als 'decepti' ('einer Täuschung erlegen') bezeichnet werden,⁷⁷ Estaço dazu bewogen haben könnte, in v. 57 seiner letzten *Sylva* von den Heiden als 'deceptae [...] gentes' zu sprechen.

Belmesseri statt Lukrez: eine neulateinische Passionssylva als wahrscheinlicher Referenztext von Estaços Weihnachtsgedicht

Setzte sich Estaço in den vv. 1–37 des „Genethliacon Domini“ auch mit dem Bild des Friedens unter der Schirmherrschaft der Liebesgöttin Venus auseinander, das Lukrez in *De rerum natura* 1.1–49 geschaffen hatte? Angesichts der Ähnlichkeit der jeweils beschriebenen Naturszenarien liegt dieser Verdacht nahe, er lässt sich jedoch kaum durch aussagekräftige lexikalische Parallelen erhärten. Beide Texte teilen, von Strukturwörtern abgesehen, gerade einmal fünf Lexeme, *volucris*,⁷⁸ *saeclum*,⁷⁹ *terra*,⁸⁰ *pax*⁸¹ und *bellum*,⁸² und lediglich eines von ihnen, *terra*, erscheint in beiden Dichtungen in der gleichen Wortform.⁸³ Dennoch könnte man geneigt sein zu meinen, dass das

⁷⁷ Vgl. Lactantius, *Divinae Institutiones* 2.1.1: 'Quamquam primo libro religiones deorum falsas esse monstraverim, quod hii, quorum varios dissimilesque cultus per universam terram consensus hominum stulta persuasione suscepit, mortales fuerint functique vita divinae necessitati morte concesserint, tamen, ne qua dubitatio relinquantur, hic secundum liber fontem ipsum patefaciet errorum causasque omnes explicabit quibus decepti homines et primitus deos esse crediderint et postmodum, persuasione inveterata, in susceptis pravissime religionibus perseveraverint' ('Obwohl ich im ersten Buch bereits gezeigt habe, dass die Götterkulte falsch sind, weil diejenigen, die die Menschen auf der ganzen Welt übereinstimmend aus einer törichten Überzeugung heraus auf ganz verschiedene Arten zu verehren begannen, sterblich waren und, indem sie starben, der göttlichen Notwendigkeit Tribut zollten, wird dieses zweite Buch nicht darauf verzichten, die Quelle der Irrtümer offen zu legen und alle Ursachen zu erklären, durch die getäuscht die Menschen am Beginn der Zeiten glaubten, dass es Götter gebe, und späterhin, nachdem sich diese Überzeugung weiter verfestigt hatte, auf überaus verdorbene Weise in den von ihnen übernommenen kultischen Praktiken verharren').

⁷⁸ Lukrez, *De rerum natura* I, 13 ('volucris'); Estaço, *Sylva* 10.15 ('volucres').

⁷⁹ Lukrez, *De rerum natura* I, 20 ('saecla' 'Generationen'); Estaço, *Sylva* 10.37 ('saecli' 'des Zeitalters').

⁸⁰ Lukrez, *De rerum natura* I, 30 ('terras'); Estaço, *Sylva* 10.2 ('terras').

⁸¹ Lukrez, *De rerum natura* I, 31 ('pace'), I 40 ('pacem'), I, 45 ('pace'); Estaço, *Sylva* 10.21 ('pax').

⁸² Lukrez, *De rerum natura* I, 32 ('belli'); Estaço, *Sylva* 10.22 ('bella'), 10.24 ('bellorumque').

⁸³ Vgl. oben, Anm. 80.

einzigste von menschlichem Handeln zeugende Detail in den vv. 1–19 des „Genethliacon Domini“, der Hinweis auf den ungestört verlaufenden Schiffsverkehr (‘Nunc tutum celeres fretum carinae / sulcant, impavidae ruentis Austri’, vv. 8–9) durch die Formel ‘mare navigerum’ (‘das Schiffe tragende Meer’) aus *De rerum natura* I, 3 inspiriert wurde und die Nennungen von Winden am Ende von v. 5 (‘Euri’, Nominativ Plural) und v. 9 (‘Austri’, Genitiv Singular) der *Sylva* bewusste Variationen des die finale Position von *De rerum natura* 1.11 okkupierenden Anonymus ‘Favoni’ (Genitiv Singular) darstellen. Die Anspielung auf die ruhige Seefahrt und die Windbezeichnungen scheint Estação freilich eher einer Silva Paolo Belmesseri entnommen zu haben, wenn auch nicht der Weihnachtskomposition des Italieners, sondern dessen Passionsgedicht. In einem Vorausblick auf das Ostergeschehen, in dessen Rahmen die genannten Elemente zur Sprache kommen, ruft Belmesseri *alter ego* aus:

Salve festa dies, vitae spes maxima nostrae, quae pariter coelum reseras et inania regna, et phlegethontaeis vates adducis ab antris.	90
Te superi, te elementa colunt, terra horrida, luctu deposito, vario testatur gaudia partu. Frondescunt sylvae, vestitur floribus arbor fertilis, atque sui iam firmat vota coloni.	
Prata novis rident depicta coloribus, ipsae iam laetae segetes, iam gemma in palmitibus turget.	95
Quin ipsae et volucres cantu blandisque susurris laetius hanc celebrant resonanti in robore vocem. Iam mare fit placidum, mitescunt aequore fluctus, desuetas vocat unda rates, et carbasa venti.	100
Diffugit Boreas, Boreae contrarius Auster concutit et madidas alio sub sydere pennas, flant Zephyri, fugiunt nubes, silet arduus aether, sol radians terras maiori lampade lustrat, cunctaque, quo possunt pacto, nova gaudia monstrant. ⁸⁴	105

Sei begrüßt, festlicher Tag, größte Hoffnung für unser Leben, der du gleichermaßen den Himmel und das Schattenreich aufschließt und die Propheten aus den Höhlen der Unterwelt herausführst. Dich verehren die Himmelsbewohner und die Elemente. Die eben noch schaurige Erde legt ihre Trauer ab und bezeugt ihre Freude, indem sie neues Leben hervorbringt. Die Wälder grünen, der wieder fruchtbare Baum kleidet sich mit Blüten und bestärkt schon die Gelübde dessen, der ihn gepflanzt

⁸⁴ Belmesseri, „Sylva tertia [...]: De morte Christi“, vv. 88–105.

hat. Geschmückt mit neuen Farben, lachen die Wiesen, selbst das Korn treibt schon aus, und schon prangt die Knospe am Weinstock. Ja, sogar die Vögel in der Eiche, die ihre Stimme widerhallen lässt, preisen diesen Tag mit ihrem Gesang und lieblichem Zwitschern. Schon beruhigt sich das Meer, die Strömungen im Wasser werden sanft, die Wellen rufen die Schiffe zurück, derer sie entwöhnt waren, und die Winde die Segel. Boreas flieht und der mit ihm verfeindete Auster schüttelt seine feuchten Schwingen unter einem anderen Sternenhimmel. Zephyrwinde wehen, die Wolken verziehen sich, der Äther hoch am Himmel schweigt, die strahlende Sonne erfüllt die Erde mit hellerem Licht, und alle Dinge zeigen nach Kräften neue Freude.

Jenseits allgemeiner inhaltlicher Ähnlichkeiten, die Belmesseri's Verse (B) mit den vv. 1–19 und einigen späteren Passagen aus Estaços „Genethliacon Domini“ (E) verbinden – vgl. insbesondere B 95 mit E 19 (‘et tellus facie renidet omni’), B 97–98 mit E 13–15 (‘Hunc sensere diem, nemusque voce / implebunt tenera loquaciores, / dum longum ingeminant melos volucres.’), B 99–100 mit E 7–8 (‘Stat tranquilla vadis, nec intumescit / amissum Thetis haud ferens Achillem.’), B 100 mit E 9–10 (‘Nunc tutum celeres fretum carinae / sulcant, impavidae ruentis Austri’), B 104 mit E 1–3 (‘Quaenam haec insolito dies nitore / terras afficit, ac procul vagantem / sparsit candidius decora Phoebum?’) –, sind etliche Entsprechungen lexikalischer Art zwischen beiden Textabschnitten zu notieren: ‘sylvae’ (B 93): ‘sylvis’ (E 16); ‘volucres’ (B 97): ‘volucres’ (E 15); ‘placidum’ (B 99): ‘placido’ (E 10); ‘Auster’ (B 101): ‘Austri’ (E 9); ‘Silet arduus aether’ (B 103): ‘Silent protervi / [...] Euri’ (E 4); ‘nova gaudia’ (B 105): ‘nova gratia’ (E 16) & ‘gaudia’ (E 34).

Bezieht man den Eingangsteil der *Passionssilva* Belmesseri's in die Betrachtung ein, in dem die Szenerie einer trauererfüllten, an Christi Leiden Anteil nehmenden Natur entfaltet wird,⁸⁵ erhöht sich die Zahl der Parallelen noch: ‘volucres’ (B 11): ‘volucres’ (E 15); ‘tellus’ (B 16):

⁸⁵ Dies geschieht in Anlehnung an den Eingangsteil des „Carmen de die dominicae passionis“ von Filippo Beroaldo (1453–1505), wie ein Vergleich der vv. 15–17 dieses Gedichts, ‘Moereat omnis ager mons, silvae, flumina, colles / moereat omne genus pecudum, genus omne ferarum / squamosumque pecus pisces, pictaeque volucres’ (‘Trauern sollen jedes Feld, jeder Berg, alle Wälder, Flüsse und Hügel, trauern sollen alle Arten des Viehs und der wilden Tiere, das schuppige Volk der Fische und die bunten Vögel’), mit vv. 10–12 von Belmesseri's Text, ‘Nec modo vos miseri, sed vel genus omne ferarum / ac pecudum, pictae volucres et squamea turba / hos casus, haec damna fleant [...]’ (‘Und nicht nur ihr Elenden, sondern auch alle Arten der wilden Tiere und des Viehs, die bunten Vögel und die geschuppte Schar sollen dieses große Unglück beweinen’), verdeutlicht. Das Zitat aus Beroaldos Gedicht folgt dessen *editio*

‘tellus’ (E 19); ‘montes’ (B 21): ‘montibus’ (E 18); ‘urbes’ (B 26): ‘urbes’ (E 21). Von überwundenem Krieg, an dessen Stelle Frieden getreten ist, ist in Belmesseri's Passionsgedicht zwar nicht die Rede, doch für diesen Aspekt brauchte Estação nicht Lukrez zu bemühen, er konnte ihn, sofern ihm das Lukas-Evangelium und die *Historiae adversus paganos* des Orosius nicht genügt haben sollten, in der Weihnachtsdichtung des Italieners finden, und zwar in einem Passus derselben, der – wie die vv. 36–37 des „Genethliacon Domini“, ‘Haec rursum aurea tempora, et beati / hoc est principium caputque saeculi.’ – die Geburt Christi als Ausgangspunkt eines Goldenen Zeitalters verherrlicht:

Effera bellorum rabies, Mars saevus ahenis
devinctus nodis frustra fremet ore cruento,
et tandem armatas dimittet Roma cohortes,
pax aderit, pax est populis, pax grata colonis,
aurea nascetur cunctis plaudentibus aetas,
omnia venturo consurgent commoda saeclo.⁸⁶

Der wilde Mars, Inbegriff der Kriegswut, bebt, an ehernen Ketten gefesselt, vergeblich mit blutverschmiertem Mund. Endlich entlässt Rom seine bewaffneten Kohorten. Frieden wird sein, Frieden herrscht unter den Völkern, den Bauern willkommenen Frieden: Unter dem Beifall aller wird ein neues Zeitalter beginnen, alle Annehmlichkeiten werden sich nun einstellen.⁸⁷

Zwischenfazit

Das „Genethliacon Domini“ zeugt von Estações Fähigkeit, das Weihnachtsgeschehen unter Rekurs auf die von Prudentius und Orosius geteilte Theorie der Gottgewolltheit der *pax Augusta* und mittels einer *amplificatio* verschiedener Motive, die beide Autoren mit der Friedenszeit um Christi Geburt assoziiert hatten, in anspruchsvoller Weise

princeps, einer Inkunabel ohne Seitennummerierung: Beroaldo Filippo, *Orationes et quamplures apendiculae [sic] versuum* (Bologna, Benedetto Faelli: 1491) *ad finem*.

⁸⁶ Belmesseri, „Sylva quarta [...] De natali Christi“, vv. 21–26.

⁸⁷ Der Gedanke, die Menschwerdung Jesu als Beginn einer *aetas aurea* zu werten, war schon Prudentius nicht fremd. In den vv. 57–60 seines schon mehrfach erwähnten Weihnachtsliedes stößt man auf den Ausruf: ‘O quantum rerum gaudia / alvus pudica continet, / ex qua novellum saeculum / procedit et lux aurea!’ (‘O welche Freude für die Welt birgt der züchtige Schoß, aus dem ein neues Zeitalter hervortritt und ein goldenes Licht!’).

poetisch aufzubereiten. Dem hispanischen Dichter entlehnte Estaço zusätzlich Angaben zum Verfall der heidnischen Götterkulte. All diese Elemente (und vielleicht auch einen marginalen Baustein aus den *Divinae institutiones* des Laktanz) überführte er in eine metrische Form, die der der Schlussgedichte von dreien der fünf Bücher der *Sylvae* des Statius entspricht. Den hochgelehrten Kompositionen des kaiserzeitlichen Autors erwies er überdies durch die Entscheidung Reverenz, das „Genethliacon Domini“ mit zwei Stupor-Fragen beginnen zu lassen. Sie evozieren nicht nur den Weihnachtshymnus aus dem *Liber Cathe-merinon* des Prudentius, sondern auch die Fragensalven, die die beiden ersten *Sylvae* eröffnen. Schließlich ist eine enge Anlehnung Estaços an die idyllische Bildlichkeit des die Auferstehung Christi feiernden Teils der Passions- sowie an die Friedensbotschaft der Weihnachtssilva des Italieners Paolo Belmesseri festzustellen.

Estaços Sylvae aliquot – Art und Grenzen ihrer christlichen Prägung

Neben dem „Genethliacon Domini“ ist die an dritter Stelle der *Sylvae aliquot* platzierte „Deploratio Virginis Mariae super passione Filii“ das einzige religiöse Gedicht, das Estaço in seine Sammlung aufnahm. Christliche Themen spielen freilich auch in anderen Texten des Korpus eine Rolle. So finden von Portugal und seinen Verbündeten geführte Kriege gegen islamische Mächte im panegyrischen Eröffnungsstück für Prinz Luís Erwähnung,⁸⁸ und es werden die vorbildliche Amtsführung eines (vermeintlichen?) Bischofs – ‘Achilles Statios’ – und die ertragreichen Studien eines Theologen – Jerónimo Osório (1506–1580) – gepriesen.⁸⁹ In den anderen Texten des Pariser Drucks von 1549 (und keineswegs nur in den Übersetzungen der Kallimachos-Hymnen) dominiert hingegen die antike Götterwelt: Die am stärksten präsenten Figuren sind dabei Apoll und die Musen. Gemeinsam prägen sie einen großen Abschnitt des Lobgesangs auf João de Portugal,⁹⁰ und auch im „Encomium Petri Nannii Alcmariani“ werden sie des Öfteren

⁸⁸ Vgl. Estaço, *Sylva* 1.23–29 und 37–40.

⁸⁹ Vgl. idem, *Sylva* 2.54–55, und *Sylva* 5, „Digressus ab Hieronymo Osorio Lusitano“, 9v–10v, vv. 47–53.

⁹⁰ Vgl. idem, *Sylva* 4.67–131.

evoziert.⁹¹ Besonders markant ist ihre Rolle aber in der sechsten *Sylva*, dem „Ενύπνιον ad Georgium Coelium Lusitanum“,⁹² das Estaço als Nacherzählung eines Traums ausgibt, an dessen Ende er erlebt haben will, wie ein mit ihm befreundeter Poet, Jorge Coelho (†1563), von Phoebus und den Pieriden in einen Hain mit zehn Quellen geleitet wurde, während der Dichtergott ihm, Aquiles, den Zutritt zum heiligen Areal mit harschen Worten verwehrte.⁹³ Auf Apoll als Heilgott vertraut – wenn auch nicht uneingeschränkt – das Finale der achten *Sylva* Estaços, „Morbus Francisci Gratiani“,⁹⁴ und am Beginn des sich anschließenden, *Soteria pro eodem* überschriebenen Gedichts wird mit ‘diva Salus’ (v. 2) gar eine eher nachgeordnete römische Gottheit apostrophiert.

Angesichts all dessen wäre es gewiss verfehlt, von einer programmatischen christlichen Überformung der antiken Gattung ‘Silva’ durch Aquiles Estaço zu sprechen. In der „Deploratio Virginis super passione Filii“ und im „Genethliacon Domini“ zeigte der portugiesische Autor, wie weit er bei der Christianisierung des Gedichttyps gehen konnte; in manch anderen Texten der Sammlung, namentlich in der Huldigung auf Nanninck, den er offenbar weniger als christlichen Humanisten denn als *poeta philologus* begriff, sowie in den Kompositionen für zwei weitere Dichter, Jorge Coelho und Franciscus Gratianus,⁹⁵ bewegte er sich indes ganz (wenn auch bisweilen spielerisch-ironisch) im Bezugssystem der antiken Mythologie.

⁹¹ Vgl. idem, *Sylva* 7.1–9, 27–29, 56–57, 78–83.

⁹² Vgl. idem, *Sylva* 6 (10v–11v).

⁹³ Vgl. ebd., vv. 63–74. Die Verse sind erkennbar durch Statius, *Silva* 5.5.1–8, inspiriert.

⁹⁴ Vgl. Estaço, *Sylva* 8.73–76: ‘Nunc age, quando potes, nisi de te forte vetustas / mentita est, vanasque tibi dedit impia laudes, / Francisco medicare tuo iam, Phoebe! Nec artis / mole opus est tanta, vivit spiratque, sed illum / morbus habet, morbo, non morti, Phoebe, medendum est’ (‘Nun tue, was du kannst, sofern die alte Zeit nicht etwa Lügen über dich verbreitet und dir in gottloser Weise nichtiges Lob gespendet hat: Heile, Phoebus, endlich deinen Franciscus! Dazu brauchst Du nicht einmal Deine ganze Kunst aufzubieten, denn er lebt und atmet ja, freilich hält ihn eine Krankheit in Beschlag. Eine Krankheit, nicht den Tod musst Du, Phoebus, besiegen’).

⁹⁵ Dass Gratianus Verse schrieb, geht aus dem Umstand hervor, dass Estaços Ich ihm (innerhalb eines an Apoll adressierten Textes!) verheißt, dereinst den Zeussohn als Dichtergott abzulösen; vgl. *Sylva* 8.53–54 und 82–83.

*Verbindendes und Trennendes zwischen Estaços Sylvae aliquot und
Belmesseris Sylvarum liber*

Unter den neulateinischen Silvensammlungen scheint Aquiles Estaço den 15 Jahre vor seinen *Sylvae aliquot* ebenfalls in Paris gedruckten *Sylvarum liber* Paolo Belmesseris als Referenztext privilegiert zu haben. Die Sammlung des Italieners, deren Texte zwischen 22 und 114 Versen aufweisen und sich damit in einem ähnlichen Rahmen wie die Originalgedichte des Drucks von 1549 bewegen,⁹⁶ lässt auf zwei Gedichte für König François I. und dessen gleichnamigen, früh verstorbenen ältesten Sohn⁹⁷ zwei Kompositionen mit biblischem Stoff – ein Passions- und ein Weihnachtsgedicht – folgen,⁹⁸ deren Empfängerinnen, Eleonore von Habsburg und Marguerite de Navarre, ebenfalls königlichen Ranges sind. An fünfter Stelle des *Sylvarum liber* steht der einzige Text des Buches, der nicht in Hexametern verfasst ist⁹⁹ – ein Epithalamion auf die Hochzeit von Prinz Henri, dem späteren König Henri II., und Caterina de' Medici –, an sechster Stelle eine Dichtung für die beiden jüngsten Töchter von François I., Madeleine und Marguerite.¹⁰⁰ Die letzte Komposition des Korpus, die für Adressaten königlichen Geblüts bestimmt ist, ist die den drei Söhnen von Graf François de Bourbon und Marie de Luxembourg zugeeignete siebte *Sylva*¹⁰¹ – ihre Empfänger werden im Titel der Komposition mit der Bezeichnung 'fratres ex sanguine regali oriundi' bedacht.

An die *section royale* der Sammlung schließen sich fünf Dichtungen an, die an zwar bedeutende, aber weniger hochrangige französische Persönlichkeiten gerichtet sind: Das achte, neunte und zehnte Stück sind Kardinälen gewidmet¹⁰² (François de Tournon, Jean Le Veneur,¹⁰³ Odet de Coligny), das elfte dem 1534 amtierenden Pariser

⁹⁶ Wie bereits erwähnt, umfassen sie zwischen 19 und 134 Versen.

⁹⁷ Vgl. Belmesseris, *Sylvarum liber* fol. 43r–44r bzw. 44r–45v.

⁹⁸ Vgl. ebd., fol. 45v–48r bzw. 48r–49r.

⁹⁹ Vgl. ebd., fol. 49r–50v. Das Metrum des Gedichts ist die sogenannte vierte asklepiadeische Strophe, bestehend aus einem Glyconeus und einem Asclepiadeus minor.

¹⁰⁰ Vgl. ebd., fol. 50v–52r.

¹⁰¹ Vgl. ebd., fol. 52r–54r.

¹⁰² Vgl. ebd., fol. 54r–56r, 56r–56v bzw. 56v–57r.

¹⁰³ Er dürfte der Würdenträger sein, für den die Titelzeile „Sylva nona reverendissimo Cardinali Lisinio“ bestimmt ist, denn er war zugleich Bischof von Lisieux. Obwohl das toponomastische lateinische Adjektiv zu Lisieux 'Lexoviensis' heißen müsste, sehe ich keine ernsthafte Alternative zu dieser Hypothese.

Bischof, Jean Du Bellay,¹⁰⁴ das zwölfte dem 1533 zum Vogt der Seine-Metropole aufgestiegenen Jean d'Estouteville.¹⁰⁵ Drei Trauergedichte beschließen den *Sylvarum liber*.¹⁰⁶ Das erste beweint gegenüber Guillaume Budé und Giovanni Achillini den Tod von Giovannis Bruder Alessandro (†1512), einem bekannten Arzt und Philosophen, den der um 1480 geborene Belmesseri¹⁰⁷ als seinen Lehrer bezeichnet.¹⁰⁸ Das zweite ist an Kardinal Giovanni Salviati gerichtet und gedenkt dessen Vater Iacopo (†1533), das dritte, das der Dichter an seinen Schwager Traiano Accorsi und einen Freund adressiert, gilt einem Gelehrten, der Bürger Bolognas war und für Papst Clemens VII. u. a. in Spanien und Frankreich als Unterhändler fungierte.¹⁰⁹

Die *Sylvae aliquot* teilen mit Belmesseris Vorgabe drei wesentliche Merkmale – sie beginnen mit einer Komposition für einen Herrscher, bieten als biblisch inspirierte Komponenten zunächst eine Passions- und dann eine Weihnachtsgedichtung und präsentieren den Passions-text an dritter Stelle. Während der *Sylvarum liber* mit einer Reihe von Trauergedichten ausklingt, bescherte Estaço seiner Sammlung durch die Endstellung des „Genethliacon Domini“ ein Finale *in gloria*. Auch war ihm stärker als Belmesseri daran gelegen, seine Kollektion als geschlossenes Ganzes wirken zu lassen: Durch die Entscheidung, das Anfangs- und das Schlussgedicht der *Sylvae aliquot* metrisch von den übrigen Texten der Sammlung abzusetzen, verlieh er seinem Dichtungskorpus einen deutlich konturierten Rahmen.

Konklusionen

Die *Sylvae aliquot* des Aquiles Estaço sind nicht als zufällige Ansammlung von Gelegenheitsgedichten, sondern als Silvenbuch zu begreifen. Stärker als die meisten anderen neulateinischen Silvenkorpora, unter

¹⁰⁴ Vgl. Belmesseri, *Sylvarum liber* fol. 57v–59v.

¹⁰⁵ Vgl. ebd., fol. 59v–60r.

¹⁰⁶ Vgl. ebd., fol. 60r–61v, 61v–63v bzw. 63v–65r.

¹⁰⁷ Das Todesjahr des Autors ist unbekannt. Zu Belmesseris Leben vgl. Mazzacurati G., Art. „Belmesseri (Belmessere, Belmisseri), Paolo“, in *Dizionario Biografico degli Italiani* 8 (Rom: 1966) 16–19.

¹⁰⁸ Es ist nicht unwahrscheinlich, dass Belmesseri den Text zunächst (wohl schon 1512) Giovanni Achillini (1466–1538) zueignete und erst während seines Frankreichaufenthaltes (1533/34) zusätzlich Budé (1468–1540).

¹⁰⁹ Der Verstorbene hieß (vermutlich mit Vornamen) Cornelio.

denen etliche allein durch ihren Titel an das Vorbild der *Sylvae* des Statius gemahnen, bleibt das Werk des portugiesischen Autors dem antiken Modell verpflichtet, auch wenn es nicht in mehrere Bücher unterteilt ist. Als einzelnes Buch mit überwiegend, aber nicht durchgehend hexametrischen Dichtungen hat es ein Pendant im *Sylvarum liber* von Paolo Belmesseri,¹¹⁰ und so überrascht es nicht, dass der italienische Autor einer der wenigen, wenn nicht gar der einzige neulateinische Silvendichter ist, den der portugiesische Humanist im „Genethliacon Domini“, der letzten Silva des Pariser Drucks von 1549, rezipierte.

Wenn ich recht sehe, ist die Weihnachtskomposition des Humanisten die älteste Silva, die Nachklänge spätantiker christlicher Dichtungen aufweist. Die einschlägigen Referenztexte stammen sämtlich von Prudentius. Aber auch die Adaptation der Geschichtstheorie des Orosius, die Estaço im Schlusstück der *Sylvae aliquot* vornahm, verdient Beachtung. Der Rekurs auf patristische Modelle im „Genethliacon Domini“ darf allerdings nicht zur Annahme verleiten, dass das Silvenbuch des portugiesischen Autors zur Gänze von christlichen Themen und christlicher Bildersprache geprägt sei. Dies gilt, wie gezeigt wurde, für Estaços Sammlung ebensowenig wie für den gleichfalls mit einem Passions- und einem Weihnachtsgedicht aufwartenden *Sylvarum liber* Belmesseris.

¹¹⁰ Ein weiteres Gegenstück der *Sylvae aliquot* in dieser Hinsicht sind die um 1510 in Paris gedruckten *Duodecim silve* von Humbert de Montmoret, die sich aus zehn Stücken aus Hexametern (22–93 Verse), einer Elegie (26 Verse) und einem aus Hendekasyllaboi gebildeten Text (23 Verse) zusammensetzen. Die Elegie steht dabei an zehnter, die Elfsilblerdichtung – wie in Estaços Sammlung – an letzter Stelle. Damit erschöpfen sich allerdings die Ähnlichkeiten zwischen beiden Werken. So fehlen biblische Dichtungen in Humberts Gedichtband völlig, obwohl er Benediktiner war.

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A PORTUGUESE CONTRIBUTION TO 16TH CENTURY
ROMAN ANTIQUARIANISM: THE CASE OF AQUILES ESTAÇO
(1524–1581) AND ROMAN EPIGRAPHY

Alejandra Guzmán Almagro

One of the central features in Modern European Culture was the study of Classical Antiquity, in particular the material remains of the past: places, buildings and objects attracted the attention of scholars and erudite men, the so-called ‘antiquarians’. Furthermore, Roman epigraphy – texts worked in stone, bronze and other materials – was particularly attractive; an inscription was a text, a materialized message, it was evidence of the past and meant somehow the ‘living word of the Romans’.¹ For that reason, many humanists analysed, assessed and copied Roman epigraphy and nowadays we conserve many compilations of inscriptions – *sylogai* – written by humanists from almost every part of Europe. One of these first ‘epigraphers’ was Aquiles Estaço, *Achilles Statius Lusitanus*, a learned Portuguese scholar who contributed an important chapter to Portuguese intellectual history and embodies the phenomenon of antiquarian research in 16th century Rome.²

¹ Barkan L., *Unearthing the past: archaeology and aesthetics in the making of Renaissance culture* (New Haven: 1999). On this subject Weiss R., *The Renaissance discovery of Classical Antiquity* (Oxford: 1969) is still essential; see especially chapter 11 on Roman epigraphy. Saxl F., “The Classical Inscription in Renaissance Art and politics”, *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes* 4 (1940–41) 19–46.

² For a biography of Aquiles Estaço Fernandes Pereira B., *As Orações de Obediência de Aquiles Estaço* (Coimbra: 1991) 11–46; Díaz y Díaz M.C. – Nascimento A.A. et alii, *HISLAMP. Hispanorum Index Scriptorum Latinorum Medii Posterisque Aevi. Autores Latinos Peninsulares da época dos descobrimentos (1350–1560)* (Lisbon: 1993) 35; 127–133. For Estaço’s works Moreira de Sá A., *Manuscritos e obras impressas de Aquiles Estaço*, *Arquivo de Bibliografia Portuguesa* 3 (Lisbon: 1957) 167–168; Figueiredo Martins I., *Bibliografia do Humanismo em Portugal no Século XVI* (Coimbra: 1986) 156–157.

The Classical Scholar and Humanist Aquiles Estaço

A brief, marginal note in one of his manuscripts could almost be read as an auto-biographical sketch. Whereas Estaço mostly wrote in Latin, this is written in his mother tongue:

I was born in the year of 1524, on June the twelfth, in summertime, after three in the morning, in Vidigueira, in Church street towards the Castel on the right, in a one-storaged house. Ines Soarez was my godmother. António de Matos was the godfather of my mother Caterina Rodriguez, as well as Leonor Estevens, my aunt and his wife. Brother João do Monte. Domingos Isabel, Rufina Botas. Iulião Pereira, my nephew. Dom Vasco, Dona Maria, daughter of Count of Castro, was his wife.³

Estaço grew up in a family with a military tradition. His father, Paulo Nunes Estaço, was a renowned soldier who took part in Vasco da Gama's campaigns in Brazil; he wanted his son to follow in his steps; he actually gave the child the name of a Greek hero – *Achilles* – and brought him to Pernambuco, in Brazil, for his training. However, according to biographers, Estaço showed more interest in letters than martial life and he preferred to study the languages of the indigenous people rather than take part in military training.⁴ Consequently, Estaço's father took him back to his native Portugal and entrusted João Barros in Lisbon and then André de Resende in Evora with teaching him history and language.⁵ In these early days, Aquiles Estaço started learning about Ancient Rome and conceivably also epigraphy, largely due to de Resende, who is regarded as the first author of antiquarian

³ 'Naçi na era de XXIII aos doze de Junho em ù domingo depois das III horas do dia, na Vidigueira na rua da Igreja, subindo polla mesma rua vindo pera o castello à mão direita em ~ua casa terrea. Ines Soarez minha madrinha. Ant(onio) de Matos compadre de minha mãy Caterina Rodriguez, ou mi tia, sua molher. Leonor Estevens. João Frs. do Monte. Domingos Isabel, Rufina Botas. Iulião Pereira meu sobrinho. Dom Vasco. Dona Maria f(ilia) do Cõde da Castr(o) sua molher', Biblioteca Valliceliana B.102, fol. 210 v.

⁴ The first biography of Achilles Estaço was provided by André Schott, *Hispaniae Bibliotheca seu de Academiis ac Bibliothecis. Item elogium et nomenclator clarorum Hispaniae scriptorum* (Frankfurt, *haeredes Ioannis Aubrii*: 1608) 483–490. Schott was followed by Estaço's successor Gaspar Estaço, *Tratado da Linhagem dos Estaços, naturaes da cidade de Évora* (Lisbon, Pedro Craesbeeck: 1625); Fernandes Pereira B., *As Orações de Obediência* 23.

⁵ Leitão Ferreira F., *Notícias Cronológicas da Universidade de Coimbra* (Coimbra: 1787), vol. III 214. Bernardy A., *Portogallo e Roma* (Rome: 1941) 49–50.

treatises in Portugal.⁶ Some old notes written by the young Estaço exist in which he writes down Latin words, possibly extracted from epigraphy and Portuguese toponymy, noting briefly in the margin: 'Resende'.⁷

After these first educational experiences with his preceptors, Estaço completed his degree at the University of Coimbra and then moved to at least two intellectual European centers, the *Collegium Trilingue* in Louvain and Paris.⁸ Around 1549, he returned to Louvain, a place that seems to be of crucial importance in increasing his interest in the study of Antiquity. It was in Louvain where Estaço published, at the age of twenty, his first volume, which was devoted to classical topics and to Cicero's rhetoric.⁹ At the same time, at the famous *Collegium* he was able to meet such Flemish antiquarians as Martin Smedt (Smetius) and Stephan Pigge Von Campen (Pighius), who both actually went to Italy, the center of humanism, with a similar *iter* to Estaço's.¹⁰ Before 1560, his first Italian destination was Padua, where he became assistant to Guido Ascanio Sforza, the cardinal of Santa Croce, who was closely connected to the Portuguese Crown as well as being a very influential personality within the Vatican Court.¹¹

⁶ André de Resende (1500–1573), *História da antiguidade da cidade de Évora* (Evora, André de Burgos: 1553) and *Antiquitates Lusitaniae* (Evora, Bernardo Basa: 1593). The later was posthumously published by a disciple and friend, Diogo Mendes de Vasconcelos, in four volumes (Evora: 1593; Rome: 1597; Cologne: 1600; 1613). Tavares J., *André de Resende. Obras Portuguesas* (Lisbon: 1963); Costa Ramalho A., *Para a História do Humanismo em Portugal* (Coimbra: 1988) 21. Figueiredo Martins, *Bibliografia do Humanismo em Portugal* 220–223.

⁷ Biblioteca Vallicelliana B. 106: *Achillis Statii Lusitani Orationes Epistolae et Opuscula omnia quae in foliis sparsa habebantur*.

⁸ For Estaço's education see Costa Ramalho A., "Notas sobre a formação de Aquiles Estaço", *Biblos* 54 (1978) 239–252.

⁹ *Sylvulae duae. Quibus adiuncta sunt, Praefatio in topica Ciceronis, et oratio quodlibetia eiusdem. Nunc primum in lucem aedita* (Louvain, Iacobus Batus: 1547).

¹⁰ Jongkees J.H., "Stephanus Winandus Pighius Campensis", *Mededelingen van het Nederlands Historisch Instituut te Rome* 8 (1954) 120–185; Stephani Vinandi Pighii *Epistolarium published from the Brussels copy, Cart & Man.*, 187, with introduction and notes by Henry de Vocht (Louvain: 1959); idem, *History of the Foundation and the Rise of the Collegium Trilingue Lovaniense, 1517–1550* (Louvain: 1951–1955), vol. IV 316–322. For Estaço's stay at the *Collegium Trilingue* IJsewijn J., "Petrus Nannius and Aquiles Statius", *Humanistica Lovaniensia* 43 (1994) 288–294.

¹¹ For the first steps of Estaço in Italy see IJsewijn J., "Achilles Statius, a Portuguese Latin poet in late 16th century Rome", in *Humanismo português na época dos descobrimentos. Congresso Internacional (Coimbra, 9 a 12 de Outubro de 1991) Actas* (Coimbra: 1993) 109–123; Gomes Branco J., "Un umanista portoghese in Italia: Achilles Estaço", *Relazioni storiche fra l'Italia e il Portogallo* (Rome: 1940) 135–148.

At the beginning of the 1560s, Estaço settled in Rome along with his protector, spending his days under papal protection and delivering *orationes obedientiales* (speeches of homage) to the kings of Portugal before the popes. He also edited Christian and pagan texts and built up a costly library containing prints and ancient manuscripts, which is mostly kept in the Biblioteca Vallicelliana at the Oratory of Filippo Neri in Rome, of which Estaço is thought to have been the founder.¹²

The best way to know about his life in Rome are not only his philological and antiquarian works, but also his letters and other manuscript notes, which tell us about Estaço's social milieu. Estaço's interests in Antiquity were the same as most European scholars of the period, so that the interaction between humanists and the exchange of ideas can be followed through his papers.¹³ For instance, he was a close friend of the poets Benedetto Egio and Lorenzo Gambara and the scholars Ottavio Pantagato, Pirro Ligorio, Antonio Agustín, Jean Matal and Fulvio Orsini, all of whom were renowned 16th century antiquarians. He also seems to have been a direct witness to the creation of rich collections amassed by aristocratic and curial figures: families such as the Farnese, Maffei, Delfini, Madama, Carpi and Cesi.¹⁴ While he frequented the main palaces and *villae*, he also had a deep knowledge of other minor houses, churches and places with Roman antiquities. Such was his interest in Roman remains that he was aware of the continual archeological finds and excavations.

¹² When Estaço died on September the 17th 1581 he left his entire possessions, including the library, to the Oratory next to Chiesa Nuova. Although we don't have any evidence Estaço was an oratorian, some documents reveal he was a cleric. In his will he is mentioned as cleric from the Evora diocese: 'Mag(nifi)cus Dominus Achilles Statius clericus diocesis Elborensis' (Rome, Archivio di Stato, prot. 579, Not. Nicolao Compagni, c. 698, 699); Leite de Vasconcelos J., "Papeis de Achilles Estaço", *Petrus Nonius* 3, 1 (Lisbon: 1940) 146, refers to a document in the Vatican Library dated 1566 with a similar reference. For the library, Formica P. – Rosa M.T., "Contributo per una ricostruzione della biblioteca manoscritta di Achille Stazio", *Accademie e Biblioteche d'Italia* 54 (1987) 5–13; Formica P., "Ancora sulla biblioteca manoscritta di Stazio", *Accademie e Biblioteche d'Italia* 57, 2 (1989) 5–14; Fernandes Pereira B., "A livreria de Aquiles Estaço, *librorum venator et helluo*", *Humanitas* 45 (1993) 255–305.

¹³ Among his poems there is one dedicated to some humanists that allows us to map Estaço's network of contacts. Biblioteca Vallicelliana B.106. IJsewijn, "Achilles Statius"; Guzmán Almagro A., "Un poema laudatorio de Aquiles Estaço a varios humanistas", *Humanitas* 54 (2002) 319–331.

¹⁴ Franzoni C., "Rimembranze d'infinite cose. Le collezioni rinascimentali di antichità", *Memorie dell'antico nell'arte italiana I: L'uso dei classici* (Turin: 1985) 300–360; Steinhouse W., "Visitors, Display, and Reception in the Antiquity Collections of Late-Renaissance Rome", *Renaissance Quarterly* 58.2 (2005) 397–434.

It is likely that Estaço's duties to his homeland and the papal court would, on occasion, have compromised his scholarly pursuits. As a philologist, Estaço participated in the editions of the Church Fathers after the Tridentine Council and also contributed to the famous map of the world by Abraham Ortelius.¹⁵ He was *scriptor* (secretary) to at least two cardinals – Santa Croce and Borromeo – and served Popes Pius V and Gregorius XIII. As well as these official duties, he worked hard in order to make a name for himself as a bibliophile, antiquarian and editor of classical authors. Among his manuscripts, there are a huge number of poems that show Estaço's skill at Latin verse.¹⁶ There are also other short essay manuscripts and notes about history, philosophy and the like, but they remained unpublished. Letters to his friends reveal the difficulties he faced as he struggled to combine professional duties with his own intellectual studies. We know that at some point between 1565 and 1567, while working on an edition of Catullus' poems, he was suddenly summoned by the Portuguese Crown. Estaço, who was also planning the edition of a book on Tibullus, seemed to face this summons with a certain anxiety and wrote to a number of influential friends asking for help. He set out his position in his own words in a letter to the Florentine Pietro Vettori:¹⁷

Surely Nicolò del Nero has already told you about my life until present. I was eagerly planning to go to Portugal since I have been summoned by my Prince. However, the Pope is holding me here so I can't go to Portugal [...]. My Catullus is forthcoming and I will send it to you as soon as possible. I would like to know how you are and what great study you are engaged in, because you are always busy. As for me, during Cardinal

¹⁵ The *Theatrum Orbis Terrarum* (Antwerp, Gillis Coppens van Diest: 1570) is considered the first modern atlas. Ortelius collected existing maps in the shape of a book and added an index of authors and bibliographical references. Aquiles Estaço commissioned a map of Portugal for Fernando Alvaro Secco in 1560 as a diplomatic action between Portugal and the Holy See and the introductory text was dedicated to his master, Guido Ascanio Sforza. The map was included in Ortelius' edition.

¹⁶ Tella Bartoli M., "A proposito di Aquiles Estaço e dei *Carmina* del codice Valli-celliano B. 106", *Annali dell'Istituto Universitario Orientale. Sezione Romana* 17 (1975) 293–362; Miralles Maldonado J.C., "Un poema inédito de Aquiles Estaço", *Euphrosyne* 29 (1999) 389–408.

¹⁷ Pietro Vettori (1499–1585) was one of the most important Italian humanists of his time: he was philologist and antiquarian and was connected to main European scholars. Rüdiger W., *Petrus Victorius aus Florenz* (Halle: 1896); Mouren R., "La lecture assidue des classiques: Marcello Cervini et Piero Vettori" in Gilli P. (ed.), *Humanisme et Église entre France et Italie du début du XV^e siècle au milieu du XVI^e siècle* (Rome: 2004) 433–463.

Borromeo's absence, I don't have all the time I would like to study, since he commissioned me the two secretaries and I would like him to be back soon [...] In Rome, February the 21st of 1565.¹⁸

And about five months later, to the same recipient:

I have sent my Catullus to be printed in Venice. I would have preferred that the same publisher would print the Tibullus at the same time, but he says that he will print it later. I wonder if my king will summon me and I will have to go back (to Portugal) in September. It would be a pleasure to see both books (Catullus and Tibullus) before I go. Maybe the Pope will hold me for good. Nevertheless, it would be an honor to serve both men. However, I beg you to help me, as I would always do if I had the occasion to help you. I am not saying anything else. I beg you to keep me informed [...] In Rome, June the 9th of 1565.¹⁹

The Catullus edition was finally published in Venice in 1566 by Aldo Manuzio the Younger;²⁰ the Tibullus in 1567 by the same publisher²¹ and the comments on Suetonius' Lives would see the light in Paris the same year, perhaps under another name.²² However, in his last decade,

¹⁸ 'Credo che my Nicolò del Nero haveva racconto a V. S. il caso della vita mia fin qui. Io steti da radere a non vedere per andare in Portugallo, chiamato dal mio Principe. Il Papa mi trattenne, et così sto, ne posso più (andare) a Portugallo, et mi parse debito mio di instare V.S in capo a conto, pregandola mi tenga sempre per quel suo affecto [...] Il mio Catullo aspetta in breve et subito lo manderò a V. S. Desidero di sapere come sta bene V. S. e che bel studio fa, poiche mai puo riposare. Io in absenzia dil Card. Borromeo non ho quanto tempo vorrei per studiare, perche mi lasciò obli-gazione a due secretarie, e non vedo l'ora che torni [...] Da Roma, alli 21 di F(e)br(a)io di 1565'. British Library, Ms. Add. 10272 (volume IX of Vettori's letters), fol. 328r.

¹⁹ 'Ho mandato il mio Catullo a stampare in Venezia. Havrei voluto che il medesimo stampatore tutto a un tempo havesse voluto stampare il Tibullo, ma dice che lo stampara poi. Io sto in dubio che il mio Re non faccia tuttavia inst(anzia) per me, et sia forzato partirmi al settembrio. Sarebbe gran mia soddisfazione vedere stampato l'uno et l'altro in anzi la mia partita. Potrebbe accadere che il papa che mi ha tenuto gia una volta, me tenga un'altra et sara per tutto, ma a tutti i modi sarebbe consento mio grande vedermi a quel tempo servito de l'uno e de l'altro, pero prego a V. S. quanto posso si costi si potesse fare, di porgermi l'aiuto et favor suo, come io farei in tutte le cose sue, dove occoresse servirsi di me. Et non diro altro. La prego mi faccia intendere di quel' che si puo fare quando prima [...] di Roma alli 9 di Giugno di'. British Library, Ms. 10272, fol. 331r.

²⁰ *Catullus cum commentario Achillis Statii Lusitani* (Venice, Aldo Manuzio: 1566).

²¹ *Tibullus cum commentario Achillis Statii*. For the Tibullus edition see Almaila Martínez R., *Comentario de Achilles Statius a Tibulo (Libro I)*. Edición, traducción y estudio, Doctoral Thesis (Murcia: 2005).

²² *Suetonii Tranquilli libri II. De inlustribus grammaticis et claris rhetoribus. Cum Aquillis Statii Lusitani commentatione, falso nuper Lugduni Ioannis Baptistae Egnatii nomine inscripta atque edita* (Paris, Fredericus Morellus: 1567). Giovanni Battista

Nicolò del Nero, the secretary in Rome to Vettori, informed his master that Estaço was ill and busy with his duties in the Vatican Court, so it was difficult for the Portuguese to follow his studies. At this time Estaço describes himself as ‘nos languiduli ac febriculosi’ (‘I am weak and feverish’) in a poem.²³

*Aquiles Estaço and Roman epigraphy: Biblioteca Vallicelliana
codex B.104*

Estaço was a philologist with a deep interest in the Latin language. This care for language was also reflected in his poetry, especially in the speeches that he wrote and delivered on behalf of the Portuguese Crown. Lorenzo Pires de Távora, the Portuguese ambassador to Rome in 1559, remembers an anecdote about a speech written by Estaço but which was to be read by another diplomat. When the moment came, Estaço objected to the chosen person who was, in his opinion, not capable of delivering it properly.²⁴ Consequently, the main aspect of ancient Roman remains that caught his attention was epigraphy. To Estaço, Latin inscriptions were witnesses to the language of the Roman past, so his intention was to examine the words of the Romans and assess the inscribed texts disseminated all over the *Urbs* and other parts of the ancient Empire, for it was possible to ‘listen’ to the immutable reality of Latin by reading them. Estaço, who had been fascinated with languages since his childhood, was also concerned with the correct pronunciation of words and the existence of rare words that traditional grammars and lexicons neglected. One of Estaço’s masters in Rome, Ottavio Pantagato, declared that he would never be able to pronounce Latin words in the way ancient Romans did and that his efforts to recreate the language would always be an approximation:

Egnatio (pseudonym of G.B. Cipelli, †1553) edited commentaries on Suetonius that had great success; hence his texts were included in later editions.

²³ Biblioteca Vallicelliana, Ms. B. 106, fol. 102r. Tella Bartoli, “A proposito de Aquiles Estaço” 309.

²⁴ *Corpo Diplomático Português* (Lisbon: 1862–1891) vol. VIII, 151–152; Fernandes Pereira B., *As Orações de Obediência* 65.

I am the one who would like the books to be as they were written by their authors, not as they would have been written [...] I am extremely ashamed I can't pronounce the accents, aspirations and real sounds of each letter, and rhythms and quantity of syllables in the way Plato and Marcus Tullius did, even though people do not notice.²⁵

Roman epigraphy was a common resource for knowledge of ancient history and Latin linguistics so, from the first decade of the 16th century, many compilations of inscriptions were published in Italy and other parts of Europe, such as the books of the mathematician Petrus Apianus and those of the Roman printer and bookseller Jacopo Mazzocchi.²⁶ A step further would be made by the Aldo Manuzio's grandson Aldo the Younger who published a *sylloge* in 1561 under the title *Orthographiae ratio*. It was a sort of grammar in which the vocabulary contained in Roman epigraphic texts was assessed in order to illustrate the Latin Language.²⁷ The success of this particular work motivated Manuzio to make a second edition in 1566, which was a more complete version. For this second edition he used existing material, such as published compilations (those of Apianus and Mazzocchi, for instance) and manuscript sources. Manuzio probably gathered testimonies provided by friends and Estaço was certainly one of the sources for the inscriptions of Rome. Furthermore, while the second edition of the *Orthographiae ratio* was being prepared, Estaço was already working on his own *sylloge* of inscriptions. In fact, it is possible that they exchanged some texts: when Manuzio published the edition of Catullus' poems in which Estaço combined his philologi-

²⁵ 'Io son un di quelli chi vorrebbon' i libri come furon scritti de gli autori, non come meglio si dovebbono scrivere [...] dentro me stesso mi vergogno estremamente che io non sepia pronuntiar accenti, diphtongi, aspirationi e veri suoni di ciascuna lettera e tempi di syllabe come Platone e Marco Tullio, anchor che il popolo non sen accorga' Letter to Pietro Vettori (British Library Ms. Add. 10270, fol. 137r). Ottavio Pantagato, Panthagatus, or Bagatto (1494–1567) worked intensively on manuscripts and antiquities and he seems to have been influential in the cultural milieu of his time, although he didn't leave any published works. Nicolau A., *La correspondencia de Ottavio Pantagato*, Doctoral Thesis (Bellaterra: 2000); eadem, "Ottavio Pantagato, humanista del Cinquecento", in Charlo L. – Pascual J. et alii (eds.), *Humanismo y Pervivencia del Mundo Clásico* (Alcañiz: 2002) vol. V, 2279–2284.

²⁶ Apianus Petrus – Amantius Bartholomaeus (eds.), *Inscriptiones Sacrosanctae Vetustatis non illae quidem Romanae, sed totius fere Orbis summo studio ac maximis impensis terra marique conquistatae feliciter incipiunt* (Ingolstadt, Petrus Apianus: 1534). Mazzocchi Jacopo, *Epigrammata Antiquae Urbis* (Rome, Jacopo Mazzocchi: 1521).

²⁷ The first lexicon of that kind was provided by Giovanni Tortelli of Arezzo (1400–1466), *Commentarii de Orthographia* (ca. 1450), a guide to the spelling, etymology and interpretation of Latin words, especially those derived from Greek.

cal rigor with erudite antiquarian research, Estaço was already gathering Roman inscriptions on his own. He was also using other sources, including the material of Manuzio.

From the mid 16th century, Aquiles Estaço was immersed in antiquarian activity: he already knew the main circles, collections, scholars, editors, and so on. Possibly that led him to collect Roman epigraphy himself in order to publish a *sylloge* which, because of fate, his duties as papal secretary and illness, would never see the light of day, but it remained almost complete in codex B.104 of the Biblioteca Vallicelliana. Under the title *Orthographia alphabetica collecta ex antiquis lapidibus, numismatibus et aliis monumentis*, Estaço pursued a combination of philological study and epigraphy in the style of Aldo Manuzio, although in much more detail. As its title indicates, his *sylloge* is a kind of lexicon in alphabetical order where each Latin word introduces one or more inscriptions. On many occasions, Estaço makes drawings of the object and sometimes comments in the margin. Estaço's aim was to gather the largest number of Latin words that existed in Roman epigraphy for a lexical study. At the end of the codex there is a transcription of Velius Longus's *Liber de Orthographia* with annotations and comments in Estaço's hand [Fig. 1]. This 2nd century Latin orthography, which included Latin abbreviations, numerals and epigraphic formulae, was widely distributed among scholars, who added it to their philological editions as a complementary tool for the reader.²⁸ In addition, he was also working on a second compilation of Christian and medieval texts in order to compile a Christian ecclesiastical lexicon. This second *sylloge* remained less complete than the first, and it can be found in another codex in the same library.²⁹

With regard to the chronology of the compilation: as stated above, Estaço would have been working on it during the decade of the 1560s. It is possible that he had been gathering material even before his arrival in Rome, as this can be deduced from his allusions to other scholars

²⁸ Estaço's friend Fulvio Orsini published a critical edition to Roman authors in which he included as well epigraphic texts and he added the Velius Longus's *Orthographia. Notae ad M. Catonem M. Varronem L. Columellam De re rustica. Ad kalendarium rusticum Farnesianum et veteres inscriptiones Fratrum Arvalium. Iulius Philargyrius in Bucolica et Georgica Virgilii. Velius Longus de Orthographia* (Rome, Georgius Ferrarius: 1587).

²⁹ *Achillis Statii Vocabularium ecclesiasticum alphabeticum. Ex Sanctis Patribus, et Conciliis collectum*, Biblioteca Vallicelliana B 108. De Rossi G.B., *Inscriptiones Christianae Urbis Romae septimo saeculo antiquiores* (Rome: 1861) xvi.

Velii Longi de orthographia

Necesse est arbitrar de orthographia sermone instituer
 a literarum potestate initium facere. Primum igitur finitio
 litterarum vana fuit apud plures, alij enim sic deponunt. Vnde
 est initium vocis exemplum. Alij sic littera est initium vocis
 significationis. Alij littera est minima pars orationis et vocis
 est coniunctio et inappositio. improbat. Alij dicunt littera est
 initium scriptis vocis. Excludunt autem omnes illam de fini
 tionem quam quidam dicunt littera esse initium vocis significationis.
 Ideo quoniam quidam voces scriptis putant quia minus nihil significat
 sicut cum dicimus lit. ter. nam. s. scilicet potest nihil vero
 initium significat. novus est illud initium scriptis vocis explanate.
 Quid enim novus omnes litteras vocales esse dixerat arbitrarum nullum

Fig 1. Estaço, manuscript copy of Velius Longus *Liber de Orthographia*, Biblioteca Vallicelliana, B. 104, fol. 205r.

or by the dates of particular archaeological finds. For instance, there is a mention of *De Republica Romana* by Onofrio Panvinio, edited in 1558³⁰ and the inclusion of an inscription that was found in 1563 near the arch of Septimius Severus in Rome, according to Estaço's indication at the margin.³¹ The *Orthographia* was probably unfinished at the beginning of the 70s, but Estaço kept on gathering scattered material that would also be bound in the same codex.

We may assume that Estaço personally examined most of the inscriptions that were located in the city of Rome and then copied them in the codex B.104.³² Sometimes his readings on inscriptions are unique and differ from readings provided by other scholars. He also gives exact locations and accurate descriptions of places where the inscriptions are and indicates the names of the owners, which does not occur in other contemporary authors who omit exact locations or indicate them vaguely.

The rest of the epigraphic copies were extracted from books, manuscripts and also communicated by his friends. However, it seems that Estaço was neither overly interested in inscriptions as material Roman artifacts, nor in the historical information they contained, such as imperial or well-known Roman names and surnames mentioned in the texts. He rarely gives further details apart from the Latin form given and he does not reconstruct the damaged texts and abbreviations, although sometimes he provides a reading made by other scholars. He paid attention to irregularities, words that sounded bizarre, and Vulgar Latin. He also dedicated a 'section' to personal names, especially the examples of the surname *Statii*, the Latinised form of his own Portuguese surname [Fig. 2].

The nature of the epigraphic texts is diverse and covers funerary, honorific, and religious inscriptions. Most of them were situated in well-known palaces and gardens, including Vatican Court properties, and they were common in many other former and contemporary

³⁰ (Venice, Vincentius Valgrisius: 1558).

³¹ The inscription is identified in the *Corpus Inscriptionum Latinarum* (CIL) VI, 1316. It was also recorded by Estaço's contemporaries, such as Stephanus Pighius and Fulvio Orsini.

³² In the study of the codex, we have left apart small texts or letters that cannot be identified with inscriptions. Five hundred and ten inscriptions from the city of Rome have been identified in the CIL and other epigraphic repertories, and at least two hundred and fifty are damaged or lost at present. There are also twenty unidentified inscriptions from Rome.

syllogai. In fact, Estaço published a book in 1568, the *Inlustrium virorum ut extant in urbe expressi vultus* which followed the editorial ‘fashion’ of portraits of famous men from Antiquity.³³ For this compilation of portraits, Estaço used the ancient herms and sculptures that belonged to the main Roman collections. There is little doubt that Estaço’s access to these artifacts was direct and he examined them within the context in which they were preserved: the palaces and gardens – *vignae* – of houses that were both political and erudite centers on which humanists converged. This is the only published work by Estaço that has an archeological approach, although at the date of publication he was already immersed in his compilation of Roman epigraphy.

Of particular interest are those inscriptions from relatively small private collections that had previously received less attention. Their mention in the *Orthographia* gives information about figures that played modest roles in the cultural and political life in Rome and about inscriptions that changed owner or those that disappeared over time: Estaço draws attention to some inscriptions by Ludovico Taberna, Cardinal’s du Puy *abbreviator*, which curiously belonged to another owner in former *syllogai*;³⁴ those of Curtio Sacocchi who was a Papal notary; the antiquities of Antoine de Lafréry, the publisher who edited Estaço’s book of portraits; or the collection of Tommaso Cavaglieri, Michelangelo’s friend and *Comisario delle Antichità* under Gregory XIII. Likewise, the antiquities brought together by the poet Gabriele Faerno (ca. 1510–1561), who was a close friend of Estaço’s since the Padua years. Estaço obtained first-hand information about some small inscribed objects from Faerno, at times being the only one who mentions them. Another example is the collection of the Spaniard Antonio

³³ (Rome, Antoine de Láfrery: 1568). Andrea Fulvio led the way with the highly successful *Imagines Imperatorum et illustrium virorum ac mulierum Vultus ex antiquis numismatibus expressi* (Rome, Jacopo Mazzocchi: 1517). Antoine de Lafréry, who had printed his own compilation of *images* before publishing Estaço’s book, did the same one year later with a compilation by Fulvio Orsini, *Imagines et elogia virorum illustrium et eruditor(um) ex antiquis lapidibus et nomismatib(us) expressa* (Rome: Antoine de Láfrery, 1570). Guzmán Almagro A., “Sulla tradizione degli *virii illustres* nel Cinquecento: opere umanistiche d’iconografia antica”, *Epoché* 12 (2004) 135–144.

³⁴ For instance, the inscription CIL VI, 20502 was, according to Estaço, at Taberna’s house – he describes the place in detail –, while other authors referred to it belonging to the Gentile Delfini’s collection. Rather than Estaço being mistaken regarding its location, it seems a testimony of the exchange of artifacts from one collection to another. In this case, Taberna’s house might have belonged to cardinal du Puy, an antiquarian and collector himself.

Agustín (1517–1586), who gathered a large assortment of inscriptions and ancient coins that were shown to Estaço before Agustín left Rome in 1561.³⁵

Estaço also collected epigraphic texts from the houses and *horti* of anonymous citizens, as well as from churches and other sites which are difficult to identify. For that reason, the testimony of the Portuguese humanist becomes more valuable beyond epigraphy itself: it sheds some light on the social and urban context of Renaissance Rome. In addition, the fact that Estaço himself actually saw the inscriptions *in situ* gives us more details about the archaeological finds of the day. Finally, he is a witness to a significant number of inscriptions that have been lost or damaged, as well as others that have changed their location. There are also some unedited inscriptions yet not relevant – possibly fragments of texts – but which are worthy of study from the perspective of epigraphy.

*Estaço and scholarly exchange with Italian and other
European antiquarians*

Interaction with other humanists was an essential part of Estaço's antiquarian activity. It sometimes consisted in accurate readings of the latest published books. We should not forget that Estaço had access to well-endowed libraries and was a great bibliophile himself. Among contemporary libraries, Estaço was able to frequent the one belonging to the Farnese family, whose librarian Fulvio Orsini was a fellow antiquarian and friend. He owned famous *sylogai* such as the one by Jacopo Mazocchi³⁶ which is still in the Vallicelliana, with numerous

³⁵ Estaço alludes to Agustín's collection in the edition of Catullus (p. 26): '[...] Antonius Augustinus, Ilerdae Episcopus, praestante vir ingenio parique probitate, nummum mihi Romae ostendit aereum [...]' ('Antonio Agustín, bishop of Lerida, who excels in both intelligence and honesty showed me a bronze coin in Rome [...]'). Guzmán Almagro A., "Algunas coincidencias epigráficas entre Antonio Agustín y Aquiles Estaço", *Humanismo y Pervivencia del Mundo Clásico. Homenaje a Antonio Fontán* (Alcañiz-Madrid: 2002), vol. III 423–427. Agustín brought together with him the collection of small antiquities when he came back to Spain, Mayer M., "El *hortus* arqueológico de Antonio Agustín según el manuscrito de Antoine de Povillon", in Schrader C. – Jordán C. – Beltrán J.A. (eds.), *Didaskalos: Estudios en homenaje al profesor Serafín Agud con motivo de su octogésimo aniversario* (Saragossa: 1998) 217–224.

³⁶ See note 26.

handwritten notes made by Estaço. He was also the owner of rare ancient manuscripts and sometimes alludes to 'my Cicero', 'my Horace' on noting certain words. However, according to testimonies, he gave some of them away.³⁷

On many occasions, Estaço's source was direct information provided by friends and there was a real exchange of new epigraphical material and other antiquarian inquiries. Such a humanistic network is reflected in the way Estaço came across many diverse inscriptions for the *Orthographia*, especially those originating in other parts of Italy and Europe. Moreover, codex B.104 includes some interspersed folios with copies of inscriptions and drawings made by different hands that would have been sent by his friends. In general, the Portuguese usually mentions who has given the information about the epigraphic text or where it was obtained, if the source is a book. To better illustrate Estaço's process of compiling various sources, there are the following examples: The first one is a series of Italian inscriptions from Nepi (*ager Nepesinum*) and other places³⁸ that, according to Estaço's indications, were provided by Fulvio Orsini, noting: 'copia di My. Fulvio Orsino'. However, only one of these inscriptions appears in a published work by Orsini, the rest being attributed to his unpublished epigraphic 'files'.³⁹

Another example relates to a score of texts from Tivoli provided by the architect and antiquarian Pirro Ligorio (ca. 1510–1583). Some of these inscriptions were forgeries attributed to Ligorio, although Estaço

³⁷ Fulvio Orsini (1529–1600) obtained some of Estaço's books after 1571. According to Pierre de Nolhac, among the manuscripts would be ancient copies of Virgil, Horace and others. De Nolhac P., *La bibliothèque de Fulvio Orsini* (Paris: 1887) 90–91. It is possible that he had at some point the codex known as 'Virgilio Mediceo' from the Biblioteca Laurenziana, Papponetti G., "Chi mutilò il Virgilio Mediceo?", *Italia Medioevale ed Umanistica* 30 (1987) 323–340. See also Fernandes Pereira, "A livraria de Aquiles Estaço" 264–265.

³⁸ *CIL* XI, 3201 = *Inscriptiones Latinae Selectae* (ILS) 416; *CIL* XI, 3210; *CIL* XI, 3211; *CIL* XI, 3206. There are also inscriptions from Mugniano, Perugia and Aquileia, as well as one from Dalmatia (*CIL* III, 2922; *ILS* 5598) and Greece (Mytilene, *CIL* III, 450; *CIL* III, 455; *ILS* 891) that possibly came from former traditions (perhaps from Ciriaco d'Ancona and his followers in the 15th century) through a codex owned by Orsini.

³⁹ The inscription is *CIL* XI, 3199 = *ILS* 3481. Orsini uses it in the treatise *Familiae Romanae* in 1577. The unedited *sylloge* of Orsini is referred in later authors such as in Jean Gruter, *Inscriptiones Antiquae Totius Orbis Romani* (Heidelberg, officina Commeliniana: 1602), see Guzmán Almagro A., "Transmisión y transmisores de la epigrafía en el siglo XVI: las *schedae Ursini*", *Sylloge Epigraphica Barcinonensis* 6 (2008) 111–118.

seems not to have been aware of this; hence he also copies the false inscriptions of the Carpi collection related likewise to Ligorio.⁴⁰ Under the note ‘from the copies’ (*delle copie di Pirro Ligorio*, or similar), although he does not give more concrete details, we may assume that Estaço is referring to the manuscript notes of the Neapolitan architect, since most of Ligorio’s enormous antiquarian compilations remained unpublished.⁴¹ However, the order of transcription of the series in the *Orthographia* and the textual variants suggest that Estaço got the Tivoli inscriptions directly from Ligorio, that is to say, not from a secondary copy of his manuscripts. In codex B.104 there is actually a folio with the drawing of an inscription from Pesaro in Ligorio’s hand.⁴² To reinforce the hypothesis of collaboration with Ligorio – as well as with other scholars –, there is an inscription from Ostia, which was transported to the Vatican gardens of Belvedere, on which Estaço noted: ‘Ms. Pyrrho Ligorio legge EX RATIONE et dice di averlo trovato diverso’. The inscription is not displayed in Ligorio’s compilations and Estaço seems to have been the first to report it.⁴³ At the same time Estaço used information personally provided by Ligorio on inscriptions outside the city, it is possible that Ligorio had copies of epigraphy from Rome made by Estaço. He would have taken Estaço’s copies to Villa d’Este when he moved to serve the Duke of Ferrara. Fulvio Orsini mentions that in 1571 Ligorio was arranging the *studiolo* of the Duke – the typical Renaissance place for erudite recreation with both books and antiquities – with many manuscript compilations, among which there would be one by Estaço:

⁴⁰ The Carpi collection gathered a series of inscriptions from Via Appia attributed to Ligorio that were possibly created to erudite leisure rather than to deceive the owner. Hülsen Ch., “Falsificazioni lapidarie ligoriane”, *Bullettino Imperiale dell’Istituto Archeologico Germanico. Sezione Romana* 10 (1895) 291–316. For Ligorio’s forgeries including the Tivoli ones see Mandowsky E. – Mitchell Ch., *Pirro Ligorio’s Roman Antiquities. The drawings in Ms XIII. B.7 in the National Library in Naples* (London: 1963) 32; Vaghenheim G., “L’art de la falsification chez Pirro Ligorio”, *Eutopia. Commentarii novi de antiquitatibus totius Europae* 3.1–2 (1994) 67–113.

⁴¹ A small portion was printed under the title *Libro di Ms. Pyrrho Ligorio Napolitano, delle Antichità di Roma* (Venice: Michele Tramezino, 1553).

⁴² *CIL* XI, 6357 = *ILS* 5057. The inscription is also sent by Ligorio in a letter from Ferrara in 1569 to Fulvio Orsini in the codex Vaticanus Latinus 4105. Vaghenheim G., “Les inscriptions ligorianes. Notes sur la tradition manuscrite”, *Italia Medioevale e Umanistica* 30 (1987) 199–309.

⁴³ B.104, fol. 48v. The inscription is *CIL* XIV, 2014.

Lord Duke of Ferrara, following Pirro's design, has gathered a library with the manuscripts by Manuzio, Estaço and others and on the library's shelves and pillars he has placed ancient busts of philosophers and other men of letters.⁴⁴

Worthy of mention are the inscriptions from other countries. Codex B.104 includes a folio with a famous pedestal from Barcelona (Spain) that was exhibited for centuries at the palace of the Requesens family.⁴⁵ The house was visited since the 15th century by important figures interested in antiquities, so the inscription appears in many sources. The copy in B.104 is not Estaço's, but by an unknown author; there is an accurate drawing of the inscription with some notes in Spanish. There is no doubt that Aquiles Estaço met some Spaniards, though there is no evidence he was ever in Spain.⁴⁶ There is another remarkable case concerning an inscription from Germany in which Estaço indicates: 'ad Castra Vetera, inventum a comite Nweniano prope Asciburgum in Belgio ubi dicit alias inscriptiones reperiri'. Assuming this is an allusion to Count Hermann von Nuenar, it is impossible for the information to have been direct, since he died in 1530, though he did leave a *Commentariolus de Gallia Belgica* that was used for the map of Ortelius on which Estaço participated.⁴⁷

⁴⁴ 'Il signor Duca di Ferrara, per disegno di Pirro, mette insieme la sua libreria di scritti a mano, fatta da' libri del Manutio, del Statio et altri, e sopra i pilastri, che portano gli armarii, mette teste antiche di filosofi e letterati', Ronchini V.A., "Fulvio Orsini e le sue lettere ai Farnese", *Atti e Memorie della Regia Diputazione di Storia Patria per le provincia dell'Emilia*, vol. IV (1880) 5.

⁴⁵ *CIL* II, 4514 = *ILS*, 6057. Today it is conserved at the Museo Arqueològic Nacional de Catalunya.

⁴⁶ He dedicated a letter to Martín de Azpilcueta, professor at the University of Coimbra: *Commentarium sive Epistola ad Navarrum De redditibus Ecclesiasticis* (Rome, haeredes Bladii: 1552). Estaço possibly met some others, especially in Padua and Rome. Apart from Antonio Agustín, Estaço was a friend of the poet Juan de Verzosa (1523–1574), who settled in Rome in 1559 and became the librarian of the Spanish embassy in 1562. He appears in the laudatory poem of Estaço: vv. 55–56: 'Et Versosa meus, quo clara Hispania vate est, / qua vehit auriferas dives Iberus aquas', see note 13.

⁴⁷ *CIL* XIII, 8591. The only contemporary source in *CIL* are Giovanni Battista Fontei, *De prisca Caesiorum gente* (Bologna, Johannes Rossius: 1582) and later in Joannes Gruter (*Inscriptiones Antiquae* 535.1) whose source is Pighius.

The Biblioteca Vallicelliana codex and later antiquarian tradition

We have already seen how Estaço sourced epigraphic information, now we need to consider the role he played as a source for later antiquarians. The meticulous task of gathering inscriptions was useful for both contemporaries and later humanists alike. In fact, many other authors revised Codex B.104. The humanist Celso Cittadini (1553–1627) used the *Orthographia* for his own *sylloge* since he was also interested in Latin linguistics.⁴⁸ It is even possible that Estaço personally showed him the manuscript. Moreover, there are some inscriptions identically reproduced in both *syllogai* that were only realised to be common to both authors in the 16th century.⁴⁹ Furthermore, the Portuguese was, on many occasions, the first to record many inscriptions and sometimes he was the only one to do so. This occurs with those inscriptions that were not exhibited in the antiquarian collections, such as small, hidden places of the city, inscriptions that later disappeared or were damaged.⁵⁰

Later authors knew about the manuscript treasures of the Vallicelliana and consulted them. The scholar and musician Giovanni Battista Doni (ca. 1593–1647) is an outstanding example, since he used codex B.104 almost in its entirety for his *Inscriptiones Antiquae*.⁵¹ The fact that Doni used Estaço's *sylloge* can be demonstrated by some examples of inscriptions Estaço recorded first and even by other epigraphic texts with a long tradition in the *syllogai* that Doni copied from Estaço.⁵²

The Portuguese humanist was also the source for other learned scholars, such as Antonio Bosio (ca. 1576–1629)⁵³ or Luigi Antonio

⁴⁸ Di Franco-Lilli M.C., *La biblioteca manoscritta di Celso Cittadini* (Vatican City: 1970); Ward M.T., "Bernardo Aldrete and Celso Cittadini: Shared sophistication in Renaissance linguistic investigation", *Hispanic Review* 61, 1 (1993) 65–85.

⁴⁹ The compilation by Cittadini is kept in the Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Vat. Lat. 5253 along with manuscript copies attributed to Aldo Manuzio the Younger.

⁵⁰ See, for instance, *CIL* VI, 9719, at present in the *Galleria Lapidaria* of the Vatican Museum. Estaço indicates: *in una vigna fuori di Porta Salaria. La prima vigna*. The inscription was copied only by Jean Gruter and later authors copied it only partially, suggesting it was broken.

⁵¹ Florence, Io. Caietanus Tartinius and S. Franchius: 1731.

⁵² See *CIL* VI, 30671. According to Estaço, it was in the church of S. Claire (*Santa Chiara*) in Trastevere, being the only author in the 16th century to record it.

⁵³ The Biblioteca Vallicelliana codex R. 26 contains documents of different chronology and includes a manuscript by Estaço: *Adnotationes et variantes lectiones ad Epistolam Constantini Sebastiani grece scriptam ad Arium et Arianos* (fols. 130r–134r).

Muratori (1672–1750),⁵⁴ and he was used as a frequent source until the 19th century, during which his importance seems to have waned. Aquiles Estaço appears briefly in the *Corpus Inscriptionum Latinarum*,⁵⁵ although his copies were direct and produced the first testimony for many inscriptions. Perhaps the only exception is the corpus of Christian inscriptions by Giovanni Battista de Rossi in which the introductory pages the author admits Estaço's importance as the first informer of the epigraphic texts.⁵⁶ The 19th century *Biografia Universale* notes:

Secondo la testimonianza di Barbosa, che scriveva verso la metà dello scorso secolo, i manoscritti d'Estaço erano conservati a Roma nella biblioteca dei padri dell'Oratorio ed in quella degli Agostiniani. È probabile che vi siano ancora, e pressoché sicuro che non saranno mai stampati. La critica e la filologia hanno fatto tali progressi che la pubblicazione dei manoscritti d'Estaço non può essere oggi né desiderata, né tampoco utile molto.⁵⁷

Clearly, the statement above should not be taken into account and Estaço's unpublished works merit further study from the perspective of history and philology. There is little doubt that Estaço's work had an important place within 16th century antiquarian activity and clearly illustrates the processes involved in the reception, interpretation and transmission of Latin epigraphic texts. Firstly, Estaço took part in the Renaissance discovery of Roman history and the development of archaeology during the second half of the 16th century, as well as witnessing antiquarian activity in the privileged cultural centre which

There are also drawings of Roman buildings and other antiquarian notes attributed to Bosio.

⁵⁴ Muratori used Doni's *sylloge* for his *Novus thesaurus veterum inscriptionum* (Milan: 1739–1742), so there are some inscriptions only recorded in the 16th century by Estaço.

⁵⁵ *CIL* VI, lv, n. 51.

⁵⁶ *Inscriptiones Christianae Urbis Romae septimo seculo antiquiores* (Rome: 1861). According to De Rossi (vol. I, xv): 'cum orthographiae stabilienda gratiae veteres titulos Statius afferret, saepe ea tantum uniuscuiusque tituli verba rettulit, quae eius proposito conducebant', so inscriptions, although seen by Estaço sometimes for the first time, were copied partially or incompletely due to his interest in a Latin lexicon rather than in an epigraphic corpus. The Biblioteca Vallicelliana B.104 contains only ten Christian inscriptions.

⁵⁷ 'According to Barbosa, who wrote during the last century, the manuscripts of Estaço were preserved in Rome at the Oratorian and Augustinian libraries. It is possible that they are still there although they will probably never be published. Criticism and philology have made such advances that the publication of Estaço's manuscripts cannot nowadays be awaited or considered useful', *Biografia Universale antica e moderna*, vol. XIX (Venice: 1824) 58.

was Rome. Secondly, the interpretation of epigraphy in Estaço's work (and to a certain extent he was one of the first to do this) follows the scholarly line that retrieved inscriptions for philological research into the Latin language, especially non-literary, classical speech. Finally, the way in which Estaço came to epigraphy, and the way in which other scholars gained access to his information, sheds some light on the processes of transmission of epigraphic texts within the context of the production of antiquarian works in Italy and Europe.

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III. THE DISCOVERIES AND THE PRODUCTION OF KNOWLEDGE

EXPERIÊNCIA A MADRE DAS COUSAS – ON THE
'REVOLUTION OF EXPERIENCE' IN SIXTEENTH-CENTURY
PORTUGUESE MARITIME DISCOVERIES AND THEIR
FOUNDATIONAL ROLE IN THE EMERGENCE OF THE
SCIENTIFIC WORLDVIEW

Onésimo T. Almeida

Scientific revolution

It is well-known that Thomas Kuhn's thesis, according to which the first scientific revolution occurred towards the end of the seventeenth century in England with Newton (but also with Galileo, in Italy), has been challenged by many scholars, not the least of them being Steven Shapin in his *The Scientific Revolution*. The same has been happening to Francis Bacon's authoritative claims regarding the European first shift towards modern science. His view put forth in works such as *Novum Organum* and *New Atlantis* is well known: the modern scientific mentality started in England in the 1600s. It was thanks to Bacon and his followers that England has traditionally been seen as the (only) fertile ground for the first scientific revolution. This long-established view has also been shaken of late.

Kuhn's view has in fact been questioned on many fronts. For instance, in the introduction to a volume of essays entitled *Renaissance & Revolution. Humanists, Scholars, Craftsman and Natural Philosophers* (Cambridge: 1993), the editors, J.V. Field and F.A.J.L. James, explain that with their title they mean to place emphasis 'on continuing process rather than on abrupt and tongue-twisting 'gestalt-switches''. They believe that 'The terms 'renaissance' and 'scientific revolution' both denote real historical phenomena, but not short, sharp ones well-defined in number, measure and weight'.

It is not, however, within the scope of this article to mention all the authors who have helped blur the barriers that separated the Middle Ages from the Enlightenment. What really should be underlined here is how much the Enlightenment is in fact a multifold cluster of values, beliefs and cultural practices which had its first and most powerful start at the time of the emergence of science.

We are all now very familiar with historical studies on figures such as Robert Grosseteste (ca. 1175–1253), Roger Bacon (ca. 1214–1294), Theodoric of Freiburg (ca. 1250–ca. 1310), Nicholas Oresme (ca. 1323–1382), and so many others who, in the Middle Ages, sailed upstream against all sorts of difficulties and carried out their own, sometimes elementary, idiosyncratic science project in various domains, following their own intuitions and acting upon the belief that empirical observation and data recording were the first steps towards understanding nature and its mysteries. Roger Bacon, for instance, laid down the foundation for a *scientia experimentalis* in his *Opus Majus* (1266).¹ The assessment of his contributions by someone like Winthrop Woodruff, made as early as the 1930s, is today undisputed and supported by a battery of studies of Bacon's work:

When we consider the great need of his time for more and better scientific investigation, we realize that he has here a very true title to greatness. Roger Bacon stands out as a pioneer in the human search for truth; as one who pointed, and pointed courageously, under the most trying circumstances, to the scientific way, rather than as one who was able himself to make much scientific progress.²

Roger Bacon and the above-mentioned medieval experience-minded mavericks were known before talk of scientific revolutions took hold. Their works were basically ignored and to a degree dismissed since they were a product of individual efforts with no connection to others or without any continuity beyond their times – without any impact, as one would put it today. It is in hindsight that we are able to see the innovative nature of these proto-scientists' ideas, but they actually played no particular role in the opening of the path towards the scientific revolution.

¹ Three brief quotes from Roger Bacon will suffice here: 'For if a man who has never seen fire should prove by adequate reasoning that fire burns and injures things and destroys them, his mind would not be satisfied thereby, nor would he avoid fire, until he placed his hand or some combustible substance in the fire, so that he might prove by experience that which reasoning taught [...]. Therefore reasoning does not suffice, but experience does'; see *The Opus Majus of Roger Bacon*, ed. R.B. Burke (Pennsylvania: 1928) 583; 87: 'Since experimental science is wholly unknown to the rank and file of students, I am therefore unable to convince people of its utility unless at the same time I disclose its excellence and its proper significance'; 583: 'I now wish to unfold the principles of experimental science since without experience nothing can be sufficiently known'.

² Winthrop F., *Roger Bacon: A Biography* (London: 1932) 153.

Be that as it may, coming from the ranks of established Anglo-American historiography we have witnessed in recent years an avalanche of proposals suggesting that the path to the so-called revolution was indeed manifold, which is to say that its origins were many and varied. Indeed, they sort of formed a cluster or, perhaps, somehow a convergence of traditions, initiatives, or contributions which fostered the emergence and establishment of the empirical mentality found in England, the real ground upon which the revolutionary views of Newton were built. An example of these proposals is Barbara J. Shapiro's *A Culture of Fact. England, 1550–1720*, in which she argues that the idea of fact actually originated in the legal discourses developed in England, where a real culture of fact developed roots and shaped the English mind. In the author's own words,

The concept of 'fact' took shape [...] in the legal arena and was then carried into other intellectual endeavors until it became part and parcel of the generally held habits of thought of late-seventeenth- and early-eighteenth-century English culture.³

Shapiro then carries out an impressive *tour de force* analyzing somewhat related features of the common law system: the legal use of fact and the distinction between "matters of fact" and "matters of law;" the development of lay jurors as fact evaluators, particularly in witness testimony; and the value placed on impartial proceedings and unbiased judgment on the part of the legal system.

Peter Dear, to mention just one other important perspective on the series of re-visitations of the building grounds of the scientific revolution coming out from the Anglo-American world, proposes that

the classical mathematical sciences and their seventeenth-century practitioners became the physico-mathematical vanguard of a new natural philosophy, one that stressed, contrived, often witnessed events as the experimental justification of a science of appearances, contributes much to our understanding of the spiritual core of Western scientific development. A mathematical philosophy that had ambitions to the measurement of all things became a science that attempted to grasp everything.⁴

³ Shapiro B.J., *A Culture of Fact. England, 1550–1720* (Ithaca – London: 2000) 8.

⁴ Dear P., *Discipline & Experience. The Mathematical Way in the Scientific Revolution* (Chicago: 1995) 9.

Iberia in the history of science

Shifting our focus now to a geographical region usually rather silent on these subjects, a challenge to the received view regarding the origins of science has also sprung from an unexpected corner, at least from the point of view of mainspring English-speaking historians of science. It has emerged from historians who are studying the writings of Iberian and Spanish American travelers in the fifteenth, sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. Among the most recent works on this area, one could mention Jorge Cañizares-Esguerra's *Nature, Empire, and Nation. Explorations of the History of Science in the Iberian World* (2006); Antonio Barrera-Osorio's *Experiencing Nature. The Spanish American Empire and the Early Scientific Revolution* (2006); and D. Bleichmar – P. De Vos – K. Huffine – K. Sheehan's (eds.), *Science in the Spanish and Portuguese Empires, 1500–1800* (2008). Cañizares-Esguerra explores the 'metropolitan, instrumental imperial perspectives', as an effort to identify styles of science that were 'imperial' and had a 'long-lasting influence on other European empires', as well as interpretations of nature that were 'patriotic', that is 'that sought to defend the Spanish American viceroyalties or new emerging nations from European innuendos'.⁵ In a chapter entitled "Colonial Iberian roots of the scientific revolution", Cañizares-Esguerra enumerates some important contributions originating in the Iberian world (almost all of them from Spain and Spanish-America) adding the unequivocal statement that

[i]n addition to being marginalized by the practice of privileging scribal over print culture in order to keep knowledge secret, the science sponsored by the Spanish-Portuguese state was of a kind historians of science like [A. Rupert] Hall, [Marie] Boas and [Richard S.] Westfall considered peripheral to the narrative of the Scientific Revolution. For these historians, astronomy, physics, and mathematics held the key to explaining the transformation of early modern understandings of nature... The sciences the Iberian powers sponsored, mostly cartography and natural history, were thought not to have been related to these economic, religious, and cultural changes. Yet there is today a growing realization that natural history and cartography were not entirely peripheral to the momentous epistemic transformations of modernity. Some historians of science have

⁵ Cañizares-Esguerra J., *Nature, Empire, and Nation. Explorations of the History of Science in the Iberian World* (Stanford: 2006) 3.

therefore turned to study the sciences sponsored by Iberian empires. But interest in Spain and Portugal is still marginal. Why?⁶

Cañizares-Esguerra's own answer is also plainly stated: 'The reason lies, ultimately, in the narratives of modernity inaugurated first by Protestantism and later by the Enlightenment, both being profoundly hostile to Catholic Iberia'.⁷

Antonio Barrera-Osorio (2006), writing along the same lines as Cañizares-Esguerra, goes further in his claims. He explicitly argues at the outset of his study that he seeks 'to integrate the Atlantic world into the history of science'.⁸ 'The Atlantic world fostered the development of one key element of modern epistemological practices: empirical observation', and sixteenth-century Spain 'was at the forefront of the development and institutionalization of empirical activities in Europe'.⁹ He proceeds to state that with the establishment of the Spanish empire in the New World came the need for a practical understanding of nature in that world, through institutions, practices, and mechanisms for exploring it, as well as mapping newly found lands and oceans, and collecting commodities, curiosities, and information.¹⁰ These scientific activities 'became indispensable in mastering the ocean lands of the Atlantic world',¹¹ and Barrera-Osorio tries to demonstrate this through his telling of two overlapping stories:

The first is the story of how empirical practices emerged from the relationship between the crown and its subjects. Imperial and commercial activities such as navigation, agriculture in the New World, and instrument-making fostered a culture based on experiential collaborative practices supported by royal officials and merchants. These activities – conducted by people representing a variety of causes and concerns – intersected with each other and included the promotion of practices such as sending questionnaires and expeditions to gather empirical information, requesting reports from witnesses, establishing juntas of experts for organizing information, and performing tests to determine claims of truth.¹²

⁶ Cañizares-Esguerra, *Nature, Empire, and Nation* 23.

⁷ Cañizares-Esguerra, *Nature, Empire, and Nation* 23.

⁸ Barrera-Osorio A., *Experiencing Nature. The Spanish American Empire and the Early Scientific Revolution* (Austin: 2006) 1.

⁹ Barrera-Osorio, *Experiencing Nature* 5.

¹⁰ Barrera-Osorio, *Experiencing Nature* 6.

¹¹ Barrera-Osorio, *Experiencing Nature* 7.

¹² Barrera-Osorio, *Experiencing Nature* 7.

Still according to Barrera-Osorio, it was 'out of the convergence of these imperial activities' that an empirical culture emerged that later on impacted the development of modern science. Barrera-Osorio's second story claims to show how 'the crown institutionalized these empirical practices and their embodiment in procedures and methods'.¹³ His book, together with Cañizares-Esguerra's, indeed open up an important new chapter in the history of science and seriously challenge the insular, nationalistic account provided by Francis Bacon, advocating England as the real and only place of birth of modern science.

Before we proceed, one should be reminded that Bacon did not completely ignore the Atlantic maritime explorations. A look at his *Novum Organum* will reveal his awareness of the fact that the Atlantic navigations had opened up new horizons in our views of the world. He states it explicitly at least in two occasions. In one instance, after claiming that the knowledge of the Classics was based on 'mere fables and ancient traditions' (since they were 'acquainted with but one small portion of the regions and countries of the world', having not even heard 'any sure and clear tradition of the New World') he proceeds to add, 'But in our times many parts of the New World, and every extremity of the Old are well known, and the mass of experiments has been infinitely increased'.¹⁴ Moreover, towards the end of the First Book, when mentioning the three 'inventions' unknown to the ancients – printing, gunpowder, and the compass – Bacon writes:

For these three have changed the appearance and state of the whole world: first in literature, then in warfare, and lastly in navigation: and innumerable changes have been thence derived, so that no empire, sect, or star, appears to have exercised greater power and influence on human affairs than these mechanical discoveries.¹⁵

Yet, such admittance on the part of Bacon never generated any questions in the minds of historians of science. At least it may be said that, if it did, there were no tangible consequences.

Unlike Barrera-Osorio, whose book promises in its title an evaluation of the scientific contributions of the Spanish-American empire instead of the Iberian empires (therefore, not being concerned with the

¹³ Barrera-Osorio, *Experiencing Nature* 7.

¹⁴ Bacon Francis, *Novum Organum* (Chicago – London – Toronto: 1952) 117.

¹⁵ Bacon, *Novum Organum* 128; 135.

role Portugal might have had), Cañizares-Esguerra does not incorporate Portugal in any of the essays collected in his book. Vasco da Gama is referenced, but none of the Portuguese authors from the sixteenth century are mentioned except for a passing allusion to Garcia d'Orta. Nevertheless, Cañizares-Esguerra is aware of his own omission while criticizing Anglo-American scholarship on sixteenth-century science:

for all their historicist sensibilities, most Spanish historians of science seem overly concerned with identifying the pioneers of modernity. Moreover, for all their emphasis on placing Spain firmly within wider European traditions, they have little to say on Portugal. This is surprising, given the fact that Renaissance science in Spain was deeply influenced by fifteenth- and sixteenth-century Portuguese traditions in cosmography, astronomy, and navigation. More important, from Philip III to Philip IV, the empire was as much Portuguese as it was Spanish.¹⁶

In another passage, Cañizares-Esguerra admits, 'We know relatively little of other centuries and regions of the world (to say nothing of the Portuguese side of the story)',¹⁷ but he does not concern himself with the matter – naturally leaving it up to someone else the job of unveiling the role played by the Portuguese. Barrera-Osorio, however, devotes three pages to the "Portuguese precedents", under a separate section. He begins by stating that 'Iberian navigational and cosmographical traditions emerged from the transformation of Arabic theoretical astronomy into practical knowledge and economic and religious interests', adding that 'the Portuguese developed the most important knowledge for safe navigation in the open seas during the fifteenth century'.¹⁸ 'The Portuguese experience in the Atlantic would in turn provide the basis for Spanish navigational institutions and practices in the sixteenth century'.¹⁹ The name of Abraham Zacuto (ca. 1452–1522) is mentioned as the most important figure in Iberian science during that period. Influenced by him, 'Portuguese navigators developed charts based on the altitude of the sun (during the day) or a pole star (at night) above the horizon', and they simplified cosmographical instruments such as astrolabes and quadrants, key for navigation in high seas far from coastal view. 'Sailors from Spain and later Europe

¹⁶ Cañizares-Esguerra, *Nature, Empire, and Nation* 39–40.

¹⁷ Cañizares-Esguerra, *Nature, Empire, and Nation* 13.

¹⁸ Barrera-Osorio, *Experiencing Nature* 32.

¹⁹ Barrera-Osorio, *Experiencing Nature* 33.

learned from the Portuguese to navigate with stars', and not only Columbus but also, more importantly, the *Casa de la Contratación* 'became the repository of this technique of navigation'.²⁰ An additional Portuguese technological advancement mentioned by Barrera-Osorio was the caravel, 'a new type of vessel'. The Portuguese contribution is then summarized in the following terms:

The Portuguese thus developed the most important technological knowledge and instruments to navigate safely in open sea. These Arab, Mediterranean, and Portuguese traditions of navigation took root in Spain at the *Casa de la Contratación* as Spain established its empire in the New World.²¹

This attention to the importance of technological developments which occurred in Portugal is refreshing, since the Anglo-American accounts simply bypass them, even when pointing to the importance of Arabic science as, for instance, in the case of Toby E. Huff's *The Rise of Early Modern Science. Islam, China and the West* (1993), to give just one example. No question is raised as to the possible presence and influence of Arabic science in the Iberian Peninsula nor how the Portuguese technological advancements could have come about. A puzzling exception is the case of H. Floris Cohen who, in his *The Scientific Revolution. A Historiographical Inquiry* (1994), devotes four pages to the Portuguese "voyages of discovery". He addresses the topic in a special section of this volume, revisiting the work of one author, R. Hooykaas, a Dutch historian of science. Cohen, a student of Hooykaas, is familiar with the work of his teacher on the Portuguese, particularly on D. João de Castro. To him and to Hooykaas we will return later. We must first, however, make a small digression.

Over the last twenty-five years, I have been researching, teaching and writing on the emergence of a new "scientific" mentality which started gaining ground among a community of minds involved in the process of the Portuguese maritime discoveries throughout the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries.²² I have mostly focused on Duarte Pacheco Pereira (ca. 1455–ca. 1530), D. João de Castro (1500–ca. 1548), Pedro Nunes (1502–1578), Garcia d'Orta (1490–ca. 1570), and Fernando Oliveira (ca. 1507–ca. 1585). Their writings, many of

²⁰ Barrera-Osorio, *Experiencing Nature* 34.

²¹ Barrera-Osorio, *Experiencing Nature* 34.

²² Almeida O., "Portugal and the Dawn of Modern Science", in Winus G.D. (ed.), *Portugal – the Pathfinder. Journeys from the Medieval Toward the Modern World – 1300–ca. 1600* (Madison, WI: 1995) 347–368.

them logbooks, were never translated from the Portuguese, or only translated in not much publicized editions, thus being still unknown to historians of science, with the exception of scholars such as the Dutch R. Hooykaas, who read Portuguese. These writings reflect a deep awareness of the role experience played in the cognitive process, insofar as they implicate the questioning of the authority of Aristotle's teachings as the fundamental criterion of truth, Aristotle being then the towering figure of knowledge. *Experiência é a madre das cousas* (experience is the mother of things) was a *leitmotif* in their writings, which reveal the navigators' trials and errors in their attempts to make sense of new discoveries. They clearly show how those travels contributed to the slow transformation of the medieval worldview into a modern outlook in matters related to finding out about the world beyond European borders.

In previous essays I have tried to show that what took place in Portugal during the time of the discoveries in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries constitutes an important step in the emergence of modern science, even though one cannot make a special case for any sort of major rupture or revolution. There is, indeed, enough neglected evidence for historians to start correcting some dates and boundaries, since what happened in Portugal precedes at least by half a century other developments in Europe which history textbooks consider worth registering.

In the remainder of this paper I would like to concentrate on the much debated expression "experience is the mother of things", a concept important for establishing the degree of mental transformation which slowly occurred in the minds of those involved in overseas travel. By tracking down its use both in Portugal and in other European countries, I hope to confirm my earlier claims that the idea of experience had replaced the authority of the classics as a criterion of truth, thus showing the gradual transition from knowledge based on classical authorities to knowledge based on empirical evidence. Also I hope to make clear that what happened in Portugal constitutes a remarkable steppingstone in such a process.

Experience, the mother of knowledge

Lynn Thorndike mentions the term, translated as 'the mistress of things', in his *History of Magic and Experimental Science* (1934–1941). I took his vague lead and, after an arduous search, came across a

similar phrase in the *Liber Pompilii Azali Placentini De Omnibus Rebus Naturalibus*, published in Venice in 1544. The original Latin reads: 'experientia quae omnium magistrum [sic] est' (Book I, chapter 20, p. 21).

As it appears, the concept circulated as a coined expression with three different forms: experience as the mother/teacher/mistress of things. Another contemporary use can be found in Jacques Cartier's *Brief récit...de la navigation faicte es Ysles du Canada* (1545):

Ne s'appuie pas sur le témoignage des cosmographes anciens. – Je ditz que le prince d'iceux philosophes a laissé parmy nos escriptures un mot de grand conséquence qui dict *experientia est rerum magistra*. Les simples mariniers de préont congueu de contraire d'icelle opinion des philosophes par vraie experience.²³

An alleged earlier use by Leonardo da Vinci's *Notebooks* is, in fact, a quite different variation: 'Wisdom is the daughter of experience'.²⁴

Barradas de Carvalho²⁵ has found various uses of the expression in Portuguese books: one by the chronicler Gomes Eanes de Zurara, in 1448, and another written in a mixture of Portuguese and Castilian, which as Barradas de Carvalho pointed out means that it was written by a Portuguese, in a Peace Treaty between the king of Castille and King John I of Portugal. Barradas de Carvalho has also found it with a minor variation – "experience, which is the mother of all things, and always teacher" – in a document by Alphonse, King of Aragon in 1438.

These earlier uses cannot be said to imply an empirical attitude in the modern sense, since the context in which they appear only allows us to take them as meaning 'wisdom learned from real life experience'. The context changes, however, in the remarkable *Esmeraldo de Situ Orbis*, written between 1505 and 1508 by Duarte Pacheco Pereira, a

²³ Cartier Jacques, *Brief récit et succinte narration de la navigation faicte es Ysles du Canada, Hochelage et Saguenay et autres, avec particulieres moeurs, langage, et cerimonies des habitants d'icelles: fort delectable a veoir*; quoted from: Barradas De Carvalho J., *Portugal e as Origens do Pensamento Moderno* (Lisbon: 1981) 178.

²⁴ MacCurdy E. *The Notebooks of Leonardo da Vinci's* (New York: 1955) 80.

²⁵ Barradas De Carvalho J., *A la recherche de la spécificité de la Renaissance portugaise: l'Esmeraldo de situ orbis de Duarte Pacheco Pereira et la littérature portugaise de voyages à l'époque des grandes découvertes: contribution à l'étude des origines de la pensée moderne* (Paris: 1983).

work never mentioned, as far as I know, in any non-Portuguese history of science.²⁶

The difference in context lies in the fact that Pereira's book is a factual description of the exploration of the African coast by the Portuguese explorers. The author is fully aware that he is offering first-hand accounts that are often in contradiction with the ancients' teachings. Hence his need to emphasize that direct observation and experience carry, for him, more weight than the writings of the most revered classical authors. The word experience is used eight times, always in a context of empirical observation – 'experience has shown us that it is not so'; 'experience has disabused us of the errors and fictions'; 'we will proceed with our plan on this toilsome journey, relating truth as we have learned it from experience'. The phrase 'experience, which is the mother of things' is used twice, also in a similar context – 'since experience is the mother of knowledge, it has taught us the absolute truth'. The appeal to experience often serves to demonstrate the errors of the ancients: 'experience makes us live without error due to the illusions and fables which certain ancient cosmographers have described when writing about the earth and the sea'.

After *Esmeraldo de Situ Orbis* the uses of experience as a firmer ground for truth than the teachings of the ancients become almost a *leitmotif* in Portuguese writings. Barradas de Carvalho has found it twice in João de Lisboa (1514), once in Sá de Miranda (1515), a dozen times in Gaspar Barreiros (1546), and fourteen times in the works of D. João de Castro, written between 1536 and 1548.²⁷ In the particular case of D. João de Castro, the belief that all the empirical knowledge gathered by the Portuguese is better grounded than that of the ancients pervades his writings. Indeed, he refutes Ptolemy at least twenty times; Pliny, at least three times; Pomponius Mela four times; and Strabo once. From there, the use of the word spreads and becomes a key concept in Camões' *Os Lusíadas*. But we need not concern ourselves with anything beyond D. João de Castro or the first half of the sixteenth century.

²⁶ Francisco Contento Domingues has written extensively on the topic, unfortunately not much of it being available in English. However, a good summary of his views can be found in a chapter entitled "Science and technology in Portuguese navigation: the idea of experience in the sixteenth century", in Bethencourt F. and Ramada Curto D. (eds.), *Portuguese Oceanic Expansion, 1400–1800* (Cambridge: 2007) 463–468.

²⁷ Carvalho, *A la recherche* 678.

Sá de Miranda's use requires a close scrutiny. He writes:

Of course, people should not speak of worldly things unless after much and immense experience, which, according to the Philosopher, *est mater rerum*.²⁸

In those times, this "Philosopher" was none other than Aristotle, most often quoted in Latin. But where does Aristotle use such expression?

I carried out a thorough research and never found anything close to it next to the many uses of the word "empiria" (*experience* in Greek). Even though anybody familiar with Aristotle's writings realizes that the expression captures rather well the Aristotelian conception of experience and its role in the cognitive process, no similar sentence can be found in the whole of Aristotle's works. Not content, however, with my negative evidence, I wrote to an expert on Aristotle, Joseph Owens, who confirmed my results, adding that the expression "*experientia est mater rerum*" sounded Aristotelian, indeed, but he also could not find any similar expression in his works.²⁹ I consulted also with G.E.R. Lloyd, the well-known historian of Greek science, who corroborated Owens' opinion.³⁰

Though fully aware of the fact that the expression could not come from Plato, I made a search, nevertheless, and came across the statement in his VIII letter – 'experience seems to be the safest cornerstone for everything'. Incidentally, the fact that its authenticity has been put into question³¹ does not matter in our case, since it would still be of ancient origin. Thus, one may conclude that, as Aristotelian as it may

²⁸ Carvalho, *A la recherche*, 678. *Sic*, in Latin, and attributed to the Philosopher with a capital P.

²⁹ I quote from his long letter to me: 'I do not know of any text where Aristotle says that experience is the mother of things. As you surmised, the thought is fully in accord with his philosophy. In practical philosophy, as is well known, he (E N, I 3, 195a2–6) requires experience for the starting points, and his whole structure of practical philosophy is built upon sense perception, which, I think, could be quite legitimately translated "sense experience". (Letter sent from the Pontifical Institute of Medieval Studies, Toronto, Ontario, Canada, March 25, 1982). J. Owens also inquired from Gill Webster and Brian Stock. Both corroborated his views.

³⁰ I quote from his letter: 'It would have been quite easy to have replied earlier if I had found an absolutely clear-cut instance of the expression '*mater rerum*' in an ancient author. But although there are plenty of texts like the one you mentioned from Plato's letter that talk of experience in general being the source of knowledge, I can think of no exact equivalent to Miranda's expression'. (Letter from Cambridge, U.K., June 15, 1982).

³¹ Some experts doubt that Plato is the author of this letter.

sound, the expression could have been coined by a commentator (possibly a medieval schoolman) since it was often quoted in Latin.

What does all this mean?

As I have attempted to show elsewhere (against the exaggerated claims of Barradas de Carvalho) the conception of experience as a keystone for knowledge acquisition does not constitute *per se* any novelty in the history of science. Aristotle developed a sophisticated account of its role in cognition, carrying his theory a step further and elaborating on the interaction of experience with reason or judgment. I have also tried to demonstrate that what was wrong with Aristotelian science was precisely that it did not follow closely its own postulates. In my argument with Barradas de Carvalho I provided a long list of scientifically minded individuals who, after Aristotle and before Duarte Pacheco Pereira, defended the role of experience in cognition, theorized about it, and advanced knowledge by practicing science through experience. They were, to name just a few, Galen, Robert Grosseteste, Nicholas of Oresme, Theodoric of Freiburg, and Roger Bacon.

What was new in Portugal, then, was that the conception of experience as a stronger and firmer source of knowledge than the teachings of the Classics became widely diffused, gained firm ground, and acquired the status of ultimate criterion of truth in worldly matters. In a previous paper on this issue I have made an effort to uncover a substantial work by R. Hooykaas showing that D. João de Castro went further than Duarte Pacheco Pereira in his understanding of the cognitive process.³² The wealth of information in astronomy, physical and human geography, botany, or technical navigation brought to Portugal by every returning ship promoted the wide acceptance of the new criterion of truth. Pedro Nunes, D. João de Castro and Garcia da Orta, all in the first half of the sixteenth century carried out, developed, and solidified this mode – a systematic anti-authority of the ancients – which is so convincingly present in the pages of Duarte Pacheco Pereira's *Esmeraldo de Situ Orbis*, right in the first decade of the century.

³² "Sant'Anna Dionísio e a não participação da inteligência ibérica na criação da ciência – uma revisitação", in *História e Desenvolvimento da Ciência em Portugal no Séc. XX* (Lisbon: 1992) 1707–1731.

Thus, it is quite surprising to find in an otherwise richly informed book, *New Worlds, Ancient Texts*, by Anthony Grafton, the following opening statement.

Between 1550 and 1650 Western thinkers ceased to believe that they could find all important truths in ancient books. No meeting between text and reader epitomizes that change more sharply than one that took place – most appropriately – at sea, when the Jesuit José de Acosta, a highly educated man who wrote one of the most original histories of what he called the Indies, realized that his own experience of travel contradicted the views of the greatest of ancient philosophers.³³

The passage, which Grafton calls ‘dramatic – even Oedipal’ reads like a seventy-five year delayed echo of many passages by Duarte Pacheco Pereira. Let us compare Acosta’s paragraph with one of many from *Esmeraldo de Situ Orbis*. Here is the quote from Acosta’s *História Natural y moral de las Indias* (1590):

I will describe what happened to me when I passed to the Indies. Having read what poets and philosophers write of the Torrid Zone, I persuaded myself that when I came to the Equator I would not be able to endure the violent heat, but it turned out otherwise. For when I passed [the Equator], which was when the sun was at its zenith there, having entered the zodiacal sign of Aries, in March, I felt so cold that I was forced to go into the sun to warm myself. What could I do then but laugh at Aristotle’s Meteorology and his philosophy? For in that place and that season, by the heat, I and my companions were cold.³⁴

Now, Duarte Pacheco Pereira:

Our own predecessors and those who lived earlier in other countries could never believe that a time would come when our West would be made known to the East and to India as it now is. The writers who spoke of those regions told so many fables about them that it seemed utterly impossible that the seas and lands of India could be explored by the West.

Ptolomy in his portrayal of the ancient tables of cosmography writes that the Indian Sea is like a lake, far removed from our western Ocean which passes by southern Ethiopia; and that between these two seas there was a strip of land which made it completely impossible for any ship to enter the Indian Sea. Others said that the voyage was so long as

³³ Grafton A., *New Worlds, Ancient Texts* (Cambridge, Mass.: 1992) 1. The volume served as a catalogue for an exhibit under the same title at the New York Public Library.

³⁴ Grafton, *New Worlds, Ancient Texts* 199.

to be impossible and that there were many sirens and great fishes and dangerous animals which made navigation impossible.

Both Pomponius Mela (at the beginning of the second book and also in the middle of the third book of his *De Situ Orbis*) and Master John Sacrobosco, an English writer skilled in the art of astronomy (at the end of the third chapter of his treatise on the sphere), said that the country on the Equator was uninhabitable owing to the great heat of the sun, and since it was uninhabitable for this reason it could not admit of navigation. But all this is false and I have reason to wonder that such excellent authors as these, and also Pliny and other writers who averred this, should have fallen into so great an error; for they all allow that India is the real East and that its population is without number. Since the real East is the Equator, which passes through Guinea and India, and since the greater part of this region is inhabited, the falsehood of what they wrote is clearly proved, for at the Equator itself experience has shown us that the land is thickly populated. Since experience is the mother of knowledge, it has taught us the absolute truth; for our Emperor Manuel, being a man of enterprise and great honour, sent our Vasco da Gama, Commander of the Order of Santiago, one of his courtiers, as captain of his ships and crews to discover and explore those seas and lands concerning which the ancients had filled us with such fear and dread; after great difficulty, he found the opposite of what most of the ancient writers had said.³⁵

Duarte Pacheco Pereira was the first empirical-minded navigator who left a detailed account of his travels and observations, having attempted some theorization of his activities and findings. Others followed him and pushed further, building upon his groundbreaking work. D. João de Castro, in his *Roteiros* (logbooks) goes far beyond Pereira, as I have tried to show in an earlier essay.³⁶ Indeed, Castro not only theorized about experience but he also showed its limitations and advanced the view that the information provided by the senses must be weighed by human judgment. Moreover, Castro performed experiments and collected counter-evidence to received views in order to be able to discuss it with theoreticians who had stayed on land. R. Hooykaas, who has studied his works in depth, is of the opinion that

by his way of combining Reason and Experience, critical thought and experiment, he belonged to those the historian of the Royal Society had

³⁵ Pereira, Engl. transl. [1936] 164–165.

³⁶ Almeida O. "Science during the Portuguese maritime discoveries – a telling case of interaction between experimenters and theoreticians", in Bleichmar D. – De Vos P. – Huffine K. – Sheehan K. (eds.), *Science in the Spanish and Portuguese Empires, 1500–1800* (Palo Alto, CA: 2008) 78–92; 348–351.

in mind when he wrote that the 'tradesman, the merchant, the scholar' should work together in the 'union of Men's hands and Reason', in order to build a science which prefers 'works before words'.³⁷

In one of my previously mentioned essays I attempted to show how the lack of awareness of what occurred in Portugal during the overseas travels of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries has prompted many historical inaccuracies. Unfortunately, in the meantime, things have not changed much. In spite of all the information available in English in the volume/catalogue of a previous exhibit also at the New York Public Library – *Portugal-Brazil* (1990) – Anthony Grafton used none of it. Even today, the information pertaining to Portugal's role in the dawn of modern science seems unable to penetrate the mainstream English books on the history of science. The volume by Field and James quoted in the opening of this paper – *Renaissance and Revolution. Humanists Scholars, Craftsman and Natural Philosophers in Early Modern Europe* – also does not show any awareness of this wealth of materials which antedates their data. Neither do three other relatively recent works – *The Cambridge History of Renaissance Philosophy*, edited by Charles B. Schmitt and Quentin Skinner (1988), and the already mentioned *The Rise of Early Modern Science – Islam, China, and the West*, by Tobby Huff (1993), both by Cambridge University Press. One collective volume, *The Scientific Revolution in National Context*, edited by Roy Porter and Mikulás Teich (1992) devotes a chapter to Spain and Portugal (David Goodman, "The scientific revolution in Portugal and Spain"), yet it does not acknowledge any of the sources above mentioned, thus missing what seems to be the most innovative and interesting contributions of Portugal to the scientific revolution, the topic of Goodman's essay. Furthermore, this body of Portuguese travel literature does not receive any recognition by the organizers of a major conference on *Ciencia, descubrimiento y mundo colonial*, which took place in Madrid, and whose proceedings, edited by A. Lafuente, A. Elena, and M.L. Ortega, were published under the title *Mundialización de la Ciencia y Cultura Nacional* (1993).

Lack of familiarity with the Portuguese language on the part of Anglo-American and also Francophone historians of science helps to explain in part this silence over what took place in Portugal. The Dutch historian Reijer Hooykaas, on the other hand, was conversant with

³⁷ Hooykaas R., *Science in Manueline Style* (Coimbra: 1968–1980) 420.

Portuguese sources, which explains the prominent role he assigned to the Portuguese entrepreneurs of the maritime discoveries in the development of a scientific mentality one hundred years before Francis Bacon. Yet, his study on D. João de Castro, "Science in Manueline Style", though written in English, is unfortunately printed as only an appendix to a Portuguese edition of the works of D. João de Castro. It should not be forgotten, though, that Hooykaas did publish shorter works in English, the most important of them being an article in the *British Journal for the History of Science* titled "The Rise of Modern Science: When and Why?".³⁸ His student H. Floris Cohen, not familiar with Portuguese, but aware of the works of his professor, summarizes his views in his *The Scientific Revolution. A Historiographical Inquiry* (Chicago: 1994). Incidentally, I close by calling attention to the fact that an English translation of Duarte Pacheco Pereira's *Esmeraldo de Situ Orbis* was published by the Hakluyt Society in 1937.

It must be recognized, however, that much needs to be done to make this wealth of material – so fundamental to considering such an important period of the dawn of modernity – more accessible to non-Portuguese speaking historians.³⁹ In fact, from what has been argued above, one conclusion seems inescapable: the case of Portugal is a goldmine awaiting serious exploration. If it is indeed true that "experience is the mother of things", historians of science should visit the *loci classici* of the Portuguese on overseas travels.

³⁸ This is a book-length Appendix, almost 200 pages long: "The Rise of Modern Science: When and Why?", *The British Journal for the History of Science* 20 (1987) 453–473.

³⁹ There is a strong fear of the charge of nationalism among the new generation of historians, who seem always eager to take a critical look at the country's past but look with apprehension and reserve to matter of fact accounts that may show how in that small country, in an enterprise today chastised as colonialist, something as important as a step towards the modern scientific mentality could have taken place.

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THE CONIMBRICENSES: THE LAST SCHOLASTICS,
THE FIRST MODERNS OR SOMETHING IN BETWEEN?
THE IMPACT OF GEOGRAPHICAL DISCOVERIES ON
LATE 16TH CENTURY JESUIT ARISTOTELIANISM

Cristóvão S. Marinheiro

Luís António Verney (1713–1792) asserted in his *De re metaphysica libri quatuor ad usum Lusitanorum Adolescentium* of 1765 that all that scholastic metaphysics had in common with Aristotle was the attributive adjective “Aristotelian”.¹ A robust conviction such as this could hardly lead to a more merciful judgment when he discussed the Jesuit commentators on Aristotle who took medieval scholasticism as a model and tried to develop it further. The Jesuit commentaries are only quoted twice in this work, and only in order to be refuted.

Verney’s view has to be seen within its 18th century context. The political power of the Jesuits was unsurpassable. By the middle of the 18th century their monopoly on education in the colonies and on higher education in the mainland was overwhelming. Moreover, the Jesuits had the exclusive right to teach Latin and philosophy in the *College of Arts* (Colégio das Artes) in Coimbra,² the only school that prepared students to theology, canonical and civil law, as well as medicine at Coimbra University,³ a privilege given them by King João III (1502–1557) in 1555.⁴ This power would gradually be eroded over the next two centuries. The issues the country was confronted with were no longer the Reformation and the reestablishment of Aristotelian philosophy.⁵ The campaign initiated by Verney in 1746 finally led to

¹ Verney L.A., *Metafísica* (Coimbra: 2008) 58: ‘Scholasticorum itaque Metaphysica, etiamsi ‘Aristotelica’ nominetur, nihil minus est quam Aristotelica, nec nisi rerum nomina Aristotelica commune habet, quod vel ex sola opinionum Aristotelis cum scholasticorum sentiis comparatione manifestum fit’.

² Sometimes also referred as *Royal College* (Colégio Real), cf. Rodrigues F., *História da Companhia de Jesus na Assistência de Portugal* 1 (Oporto: 1931) 336.

³ Maxwell K., *O Marquês de Pombal* (Lisbon: 2001) 29.

⁴ Rodrigues, *História da Companhia de Jesus* 336–373.

⁵ Coxito A., “Aristotelismo em Portugal. II – Séculos XVI–XVIII”, in *Logos. Enciclopédia Luso-Brasileira de Filosofia* (Lisbon: 1997) 438–449.

the Pombaline Reforms (*Reformas Pombalinas*) of the University in 1772. The Jesuits were at that moment considered less as true philosophers than as responsible for the impediments in the advancement of learning.

Although this judgment on Jesuit education is peculiar to the 18th century, it might be applied as a *pars pro toto* to the whole of Renaissance philosophy. Trapped between medieval and modern philosophy, the realm of Renaissance philosophy has to be defined with respect to these two major periods. It can be variously interpreted as a development of medieval thought or as preparing modern philosophy, including the so-called scientific revolution. This consideration will guide anyone trying to introduce into any field of Renaissance learning.⁶

The question of novelty or traditionality of these commentaries has therefore to be considered dispassionately by focusing on punctual evidence.⁷ This is the reason why we chose to address this difficulty by analysing the influence of the new geographical discoveries on the Aristotelian *imago mundi* they continued to defend. This has been considered as a minor issue by historians of philosophy,⁸ as very few passages on this topic are known to exist. Historians of mathematics,⁹ however, drew their attention to the mathematical skills necessary to achieve such discoveries. We try to relate these discussions on philosophy and mathematics, as they cannot be considered independently, since they are intimately linked with the comment on the *De coelo*, permitting us to witness their capacity of evolving even within the Aristotelian system.

Nonetheless this cannot be done adequately leaving aside the preliminary discussions that led to the redaction of these commentaries

⁶ The awareness of this problem leads scholars to consider the Renaissance not as a period but as a movement. Cf. Stefan O. (ed.), *Geschichte der Philosophie in Text und Darstellung. Band 3. Renaissance und frühe Neuzeit* (Stuttgart: 1984) 10; Black R. (ed.), *Renaissance Thought. A Reader* (London and New York: 2001) 1–20; Burke P., *La Renaissance Européenne* (Paris: 2000). About the transformation of medieval to Renaissance learning, cf. Tucker G.H. (ed.), *Forms of the "Medieval" in the "Renaissance"*. *A Multidisciplinary Exploration of a Cultural Continuum* (Charlottesville: 2000).

⁷ The 18th century reaction to the Jesuits provoked a deep schism in the historiography of learning in Portugal, reaching its peak in the 19th century. The newer generation of historians tries finally to break up this schism by punctual research.

⁸ Coxito A., *Estudos sobre Filosofia em Portugal no século XVI* (Lisbon: 2005) 17.

⁹ The most important scholars for our research are Ugo Baldini, Henrique Leitão and Luís Saraiva.

and the group of authors who wrote them. We therefore begin by answering the question who they were.

*The Conimbricenses: genesis and development of the commentary*¹⁰

When preparing his *Metaphysical Meditations*, Descartes writes to Mersenne that he is awaiting the objections from some Jesuits. To be well prepared to answer them, Descartes asks Mersenne if he could 'send him the name of the authors who wrote courses on philosophy and of those who are followed by them and if there are some new authors among them in the last 20 years, as he only remembers the *Conimbres*, Toletus and Rubius'.¹¹

This innocent and intimate question by Descartes reveals us two major difficulties. On the one hand, the authors he calls *Conimbres* never wrote on metaphysics, if we consider the eight commentaries on Aristotle written between 1592 and 1606.¹²

¹⁰ We do not intend to present here another introduction to the *Conimbricenses* but rather to sum up some of the points necessary to the understanding of our topic. A good introduction can be retrieved on the page dedicated to the *Conimbricenses* on the site of the virtual library *Biblioteca virtual Saavedra Fajardo* <http://saavedrafajardo.um.es/Biblioteca/bsf.nsf/colecciones3_intro?OpenForm&m=10&imag=2>, including an introductory note to the *Commentarii Collegii Conimbricensis Societatis Iesu* by António Manuel Martins, a bibliography by Mário S. de Carvalho and the whole of the commentaries to be downloaded as pdf's.

¹¹ Descartes to Mersenne, Leiden, 30th September 1640, in AT, III, 185: 'Et pour cet effect, ie vous prie de me mander les noms des auteurs qui ont escrit des cours de Philosophie & qui sont le plus suivis par eux, & s'ils en ont quelques nouveaux depuis 20 ans; ie ne me souviens plus que des *Conimbres*, Toletus & Rubius'.

¹² In a certain sense we would have to include Pedro da Fonseca's *Institutionum dialecticarum libri octo* (Lisbon: 1564), his *Commentariorum in libros metaphysicarum Aristotelis* (Rome: 1577 and 1589) and his *Isagoge philosophica* (Lisbon: 1591); Cipriano Suárez's (1524–1593) *De arte rhetorica libri tres ex Aristotele, Cicerone et Quintiliano deprompti* (Coimbra: 1560) and Francisco Suárez's *Disputationes metaphysicae* (Coimbra: 1597) and his *De legibus ac deo legislatore* (Coimbra: 1612). We have than to decide what makes a certain work a *Jesuit commentary of Coimbra*; the simple fact to have been written there by a Jesuit, the fact to be redacted in the way of the commentaries beginning with *Commentarii Collegii Conimbricensis Societatis Iesu* [...], or the fact to be written in the spirit of what was to become the *Ratio studiorum*. This fact also raises several questions: why did Sebastião do Couto issue a commentary on dialectics, since they already had the *Institutionum dialecticarum libri octo* by Fonseca, which is explicitly quoted in the *Ratio studiorum* of 1586 (Lukács L., *Monumenta Paedagogica Societatis Iesu*, vol V, *Ratio atque institutio studiorum Societatis Iesu* (1586; 1591; 1599) 100: 'Logicae *Summula* praemittatur; et *Summula* quidem P. Fonsecae esset forte magis ad rem, quia latior, clarior, accomodatior Aristoteli, et

- *Commentarii Collegii Conimbricensis Societatis Iesu in octo libros physicorum Aristotelis Stagiritae* (Coimbra, António Mariz: 1592).
- *Commentarii Collegii Conimbricensis Societatis Iesu in quattuor libros de coelo Aristotelis Stagiritae* (Lisbon, Simão Lopes: 1593).
- *Commentarii Collegii Conimbricensis Societatis Iesu in libros meteorum Aristotelis Stagiritae* (Lisbon, Simão Lopes: 1593).
- *Commentarii Collegii Conimbricensis Societatis Iesu in libros Aristotelis, qui parva naturalia appellantur* (Lisbon, Simão Lopes: 1593).
- *In libros ethicorum Aristotelis ad Nicomachum, aliquot Conimbricensis cursus disputationes in quibus praecipua quaedam ethicae disciplinae capita continentur* (Lisbon, Simão Lopes: 1593).
- *Commentarii Collegii Conimbricensis Societatis Iesu, in duos libros de generatione et corruptione Aristotelis Stagiritae* (Coimbra, António Mariz: 1597).
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- *Commentarii Collegii Conimbricensis Societatis Iesu, in universam dialecticam Aristotelis* (Coimbra, Didaco Gomes Loureiro: 1606).¹³

On the other hand they do not sign their work personally but assume a common position to be identified as the position of the Jesuits of Coimbra, *Conimbricenses* being a topographical designation. This is uncommon even for the 16th century.

Recent studies however have allowed us to identify the crew behind this toponym, allowing us to know exactly who the editors of any single work were.

Manuel de Góis (1545–1597)¹⁴ has to be considered the most important editor, if not the author of most of these commentaries. He entered the Society in 1560 and taught two complete courses from 1574 to 1578 and from 1578 to 1582. Only three of the works have

sine tricis, quae et inutiles sunt et deterrent tirones'). This issue cannot be addressed here.

¹³ These works became best-sellers in the 17th century, being reprinted all over Europe. Cf. Carvalho M.S. de, *Bibliography* and Andrade A.A. Banha, *Curso Conimbricense I. Pe. Manuel de Góis: Moral a Nicómaco, de Aristóteles* (Lisbon: 1957) XIV–XVII for further indications. A definitive census has not yet been established. Moreover, the Commentary to *Physics* and the one on *Dialectics* have been reprinted in 1984 and 1976/1984 in Hildesheim by Olms. Nonetheless the reproduction of the commentary to *Physics* goes back to a reedition of Lyon of 1594, the comment on dialectics follows a re-edition made in Cologne in 1607. Both re-editions differ from the *editiones principes* by the simple fact that they include the Greek text of Aristotle, whereas the Portuguese only present a Latin translation of the Greek text.

¹⁴ Coxito A., "Manuel de Góis", in *Logos*, vol. I, 873–881; Lopes Praça J.J., *História da Filosofia em Portugal* (Lisbon: 1988) 153–158.

different authors: Baltasar Álvares (1560–1630)¹⁵ who was responsible for the opuscle *De anima separata* included into the commentary of the *De anima*; Cosme Magalhães who was responsible for the passage of the *Problems* related to it; and Sebastião do Couto (1567–1639)¹⁶ who was responsible for the commentary to *Dialectics*. Nonetheless we cannot consider these persons to be the only authors of these commentaries.

The idea of assembling textbooks was first suggested in a letter by Father Torres, Praepositus of the Portuguese Province to the General Father Jeronimo Nadal (1507–1580) on February 9th 1560. He recorded that two lecturers (*lectores*) of Arts did some dictations, accurate enough to be published, one of them having done so on rhetoric, giving us hereby the hint that this must be the lecture manuscript that came to be issued as *De arte rhetorica libri tres ex Aristotele, Cicerone et Quintiliano deprompti* by Cipriano Suarez that very same year in Coimbra. This would benefit teachers as well as students and lecturers; they could have more spare time and concentrate on the important topics; the teachers had to write and read their lectures, while the students had to write and assimilate them.¹⁷ In 1561 Jeronimo Nadal visited Portugal and asked some of the professors of this country, first of all Pedro da Fonseca (1528–1599), to write a course on philosophy,¹⁸ since this lack was even perceived by the professors of the Roman College (*Collegium Romanum*).¹⁹

Nadal's instructions of 1561 already set the course for the disposition of the commentaries:

¹⁵ Coxito A., "Álvares (Baltasar)", in *Logos*, vol. I, 199–201; Lopes Praça, *História da Filosofia em Portugal* 168–170.

¹⁶ Coxito A., "Couto (Sebastião do)", *Logos*, vol. I, 1213–1215; Lopes Praça, *História da Filosofia em Portugal* 165–168.

¹⁷ This letter could be found in Lukács L., *Monumenta paedagogica Societatis Iesu. Penitus Retracta multisque textibus aucta*, II 59–64. Cf. also *Monumenta paedagogica Societatis Iesu* III, 317: 'Uno de los lectores de artes ha hecho buena parte de unos ditados en ellas con diligencia para poderse imprimir; y otro hizo otros en la retórica. [...] Nos an escrito que haríamos un gran beneficio a esta tierra, si imprimiésemos estos ditados de las artes. Y en la verdad ansi lo creemos. Por lo menos sería gran alivio y descanso ora los nuestros que leen, y para los que oyen; porque los unos gastan mucho tiempo y estudio en hazer los ditados y escribirlos, y después en dítarlos en la cátedra a los oyentes; y los otros en recibirlos; y aviéndolos impresos, quedavan todos con más tiempo libre y descanso'.

¹⁸ *Ibid.*; cf. also Rodrigues, *História da Companhia de Jesus* II, 2, 103.

¹⁹ Although this will only be expressed two years later, cf. *Monumenta paedagogica Societatis Iesu* II 317.

1. At the beginning of the cursus, when reading the introduction, read carefully what concerns the *Prior Analytics*, the *Perihermeneias* and the *Elenchiis*, so that it might serve the students for the whole cursus and so they pass more easily through the books. [...] 3. Aristotle should be read in a way that many parts be treated diffusely [*difusamente*] and that are not important for the science be read in summary [compendium], indicating only their substance without reading the text [*letra*], so that there is more time for reading the *Metaphysics* and the *De generatione* and the *De anima* and the *Parva Naturalia* and especially the *Metaphysics*, as it is the most advantageous for scholastic theology.²⁰

In the same year the *Masters of Coimbra* answered Nadal's proposition by giving the exact passages that should be read in the text and the ones to be commented on by a scholium (*glosa*) as well as the ones to be summarized (*summa*).²¹

²⁰ *Monumenta paedagogica Societatis Iesu* III 59: '1. Al principio del curso, quando se lee la introducción, se lea con diligencia lo que toca à *Priores*, *Perihermeneias* y *Elenchos*, para que se ayuden dello los estudiantes por todo el curso, y después pasen más facilmente por los libros. [...] 3. Aristóteles se lea de manera, que muchas partes que él trató difusamente, y no son de importancia para la sciencia, se lean en compendio, diziéndose la substancia solamente dellas, sin se leer la letra, para que quede más tiempo para leer *Metaphysica* y *De generatione* y *De anima* y *Parvos Naturales*, y especialmente la *Metaphysica*, que es lo que más aprovecha para la theología scholástica'.

²¹ *Monumenta paedagogica Societatis Iesu* III, 66ff.: 'Porphyrio todo, *Predicamentos* todos, *De interpretatione* todos los libros, excepto el último capº del 2º libro con summa. *Priores*: los 7 capítulos del primero, 8º 9º 10 11 con summa, el 12 letra con glosa, 13 14 15 con summa breve, 16 hasta donde dize "hoc autem monstrato", letra y glosa; de lo demás del mismo capº summa breve hasta el capº 21, summas brevissimas, y assí hasta el 29, y en este 29, summa extensa sin letra, en lo que queda del libro, ni summa ni letra. En el 2º libro hasta el capº 18 exclusive, dexar lo de todo, dando una summa breve. Las 6 potestades de los syllogismos; el 18 se lea el principio, donde pone los modos petitionis principii. Lo que se sigue, se dexe todo, sin summa; si no el 23 y 24 y 27 con summas. *Pposteriores*: 8 capítulos primeros con glosa y letra, y assí el 10 11 23 24 26; en todos los demás se dé, en cada uno summa; en el 2º libri, primero capº y ultimo con glosa y letra; los demás con summa. De *Tópicos* los diez capítulos primeros con letra y glosa; en los demás capítulos summa. El 4º y 6º libro, con letra y sin glosa, colligiendo solamente, en cada libro, un argumento breve de cada uno. *Elenchos*: los 4 capítulos, con letra y glosa; y el 5º, con summa sin letra; y el último capítulo de los *Elenchos*, la letra solamente. El primero de los *Physicos*, todo con letra y glosa. El 2º libro, todo con letra y glosa, excepto el quarto capº en que se dará summa. En el 3º libro, los 3 capítulos primeros con letra y glosa; y los demás capitulos, hasta el fin, en cada uno, una buena summa que ponga las razones en forma, excepto el 7º capítulo que se leerá con letra y glosa. El 4º lib., el 10º capº por summa, sin letra; y de la mesma manera el 6º y el 9º. Los demás capítulos, con letra y glosa. El 5º, todo con letra y glosa, excepto el último capº en que se dé summa. Del 6º libro, primero y 2º capítulos, con letra y glosa. En los demás capítulos, summas buenas que declaren bien la sustancia de Aristóteles con tratar las questões ordianarias. El 7º libro se leerá todo, con letra y glosa, excepto el 4º capº, en que se dará summa. En el 8º, todo con letra y glosa,

On January 14th 1562, Fonseca was ready to provide Nadal an outline of the course. He proposed to take 'two or three serious interpreters of Aristotle' without naming them in order 'to point out the doubts and the good explanations, clarifying the passages by one another'.²² He thus suggested to establish a hermeneutic circle, a *Corpus Aristotelis Interpretumque* that would work like a reference system within these texts only, allowing the obscure passages to be explained by clearer ones. But he was aware of the fact that these texts do not give an answer to all the problems Aristotle pointed out, nor did they explain the whole tradition the Conimbrans lived in. Therefore he proposed Cipriano [Suárez] to focus on the mathematical questions treated by Aristotle, such as examples of geometry and demonstrations. In addition to this he added that one should also cover the passages that pertain to cosmography, astrology and perspective found in *De coelo* and the *Meteors*. On top of that the theory of the planets, as presented in the fourth chapter of John of Holywood (Ioannes de Sacrobosco) should also be included, as this work was already lectured on in Coimbra. Finally he should include the passages of Pliny and some others that could be used for explaining the *Meteors*, as the passages on winds and on the origin of the rivers.²³ The works of Cicero should not be omitted for questions of convenient terminology

excepto el 2º capº en que se dará una buena summa. El primero *De Coelo* en el capº 5 6º y 7º, con summas y letras; los demás con letra y glosa. Del 2º libro, los primeros 8º capítulos y el 10 y 11, con letra y glosa. El 9º y los demás, con summa. El último capº con letra y glosa. El 3º libro se dexa todo, dando un argumento breve dél. En el 4º libro se dexa el 2º capº, con un breve argumento; los demás capítulos, con letra y glosas. Los *De generatione*, en el primero libri, se dexa la letra del 2º y 8º y 9º, dando summas; lo demás con letra y glosa. Del 2º libro, se dexa el 6º y 9º, con summa breve. Lo demás, con letra y glosa. Los *De anima* del primero libro, se leerá el primero capº, con letra y glosa; lo demás se dexará, dando un argumento de todo. El 2º y 3º libro, todo con letra y glosa'. Ladislaus Lukács (1974), *Monumenta III*. (1557–1572) 67.

²² *Monumenta paedagogica Societatis Iesu* III 319: 'Assímismo me parecía que yo fuesse en este tiempo viendo todos los libros de Aristóteles que no tengo vistos y pueden servir (o no tam vistos) apuntando las dudas y buenas exposiciones con dos o tres graves interpretes como cifras, exponiendo unos lugares por otros etc'.

²³ *Monumenta paedagogica Societatis Iesu* III 319: 'y que el P. Cypriano attendiese especialmente a las cosas de mathemáticas que ay en Aristóteles, como son exemplos de geometría, demonstraciones, lugares que hablan de lo que pertenece a cosmographía, astrología y perspectiva, como ay muchos en los libros de coelo y metéoros; y allende desto hiziesse por traer algo de las theóricas de los planetas al 4º cap. de la sphaera de Sacrobosco que acá se lee, quanto buenamente se pudiesse hazer, y se compadeciesse con el tiempo que se da a estas cosas. Finalmente que leyesse en Plinio y otros algunos lo que puede servir para materia de metéoros, como de vientos, de origine fontium etc.'.

(*modos de hablar y tratar*).²⁴ Marcos Jorge (1524–1571)²⁵ is chosen to deal with some questions of Scotus and others he considered important that could be discussed within the *cursus*, pointing out briefly the difficulties and their resolutions. The same was to be done with the *Natural Questions* of Seneca and Alexander of Aphrodisias, as well as some other ancient authorities that would serve the point.²⁶

This letter is compelling for many reasons, the most significant one being the authors and works it does not display. Fonseca establishes a plan for his crew by giving a framework. A handful of canonical authors, both from Antiquity and the Middle Ages, are quoted, among them Alexander, Cicero, Seneca, Pliny, Scotus and John of Holywood. But only two works are named explicitly; *Natural Questions* and *The Sphere of the world*.²⁷ The crew is left with some independence to add *some others* related to the questions and authors given. Nonetheless he does not argue whether this authors should be contemporaries, other classical authors or both, leaving the choice optional. Another striking point is the absence of Thomas Aquinas.²⁸

Fonseca thought that this common task could be accomplished in two or three years' time, as it was split among a crew and everyone would work daily in order to complete it. After this preliminary work, the recollection of the manuscripts could then be done by one single person and reviewed for editing.²⁹ Although no source is known to us, it is plausible that Fonseca wanted the whole course ready for 1565, the year in which the College of Arts was integrated into the University

²⁴ *Monumenta paedagogica Societatis Iesu* III 319.

²⁵ Sommervogel C., *Bibliothèque de la Compagnie de Jésus* IV (Brussels – Paris: 1893) 821.

²⁶ *Monumenta paedagogica Societatis Iesu* III 319: 'y que el P. Marcos Jorge podría ver algunas questiones (que sabe seren altercadas en el curso) por Scoto y otros que le pareciesse, apuntando brevemente lo que ay de dificultad o de resolución, y leyesse las questiones naturales de Séneca, Alexandro Aphrodiseo, et de alguno otro antiguo que hiziesse al caso'. To the third quoted in this letter, P. Pero Gómez, there is no specific task mentioned. Cf. *Monumenta paedagogica Societatis Iesu* III 318.

²⁷ The importance of this work will be discussed in the next point.

²⁸ António M. Martins argues that the *Doctor evangelicus* was implicitly present in this outline without need of mentioning him. This problem will be indirectly stressed by Ariew R., *Descartes and the Last Scholastics* (Ithaca: 1998), as he tries to prove that they were Scotists and not Thomists, as evidenced by the great french historian Etienne Gilson.

²⁹ *Monumenta paedagogica Societatis Iesu* III 319: 'Creo que a cabo de dos o tres annos, si esto procede deste modo y los otros maestros y theólogos ayudan en lo que tengo dicho, estara la materia tan dispuesta, que se haga mui en breve el curso todo, y con ocupación de quasi no más que una persona'.

of Coimbra. At that moment they were probably already preparing the new statutes that would also affect the didactical disposition of the courses. The three year course approved in 1552 in the College of Arts³⁰ passed to four years.³¹

When we consider the time frame given by Fonseca and the publishing years, i.e. 1592–1606, we understand that they did not meet the deadline. The only work published during that time slot were his *Institutionum dialecticarum libri octo* of 1564. Even his *commentaria in libros Metaphysicarum Aristotelis* were only published in the next two decades during the time he was in Rome. After having promised these commentaries in the first edition of his *Institutionum dialecticarum libri octo*,³² he explains in the “Preface” to the second edition of 1574 the reason that kept him from his work and finally the choice to publish his commentary on *Metaphysics*:

Concerning the remaining commentaries on Philosophy I promised to write in the first edition, there is no reason for anyone to accuse me for having published none of them until now. Scarcely had I concluded the interpretation on Porphyry’s *Isagoge* and on Aristotle’s *Categories* that I was compelled for quite some years to deal with things which left me with no spare time to write. But finally delivered, I came to the intention to comment first of all the books on *Metaphysics* and even to publish them.³³

The first commentary finally to be edited assuming a common position of the Coimbra Jesuits under the title *Commentarii Collegii Conimbricensis Societatis Iesu* [...] will only be issued in 1592 in Coimbra. This

³⁰ The College of Arts existed since 1548 but the leadership was only given to the Jesuits in 1555 by King João III.

³¹ The eight semesters of the course were organized according to the works of Aristotle in the following way: 1st and 2d semester: dialectics; 3d semester: *Physics*; 4th semester: *Ethics*; 5th semester: *Metaphysics*; 6th semester *Parva naturalia*; 7th semester: *De anima*; 8th semester: review and preparation for the degree.

³² Fonseca Pedro da, *Instituições dialécticas. Institutionum Dialecticarum libri octo* (Coimbra: 1964) 10: ‘ut ego, quod in profitenda Philosophia aliquot annos posuissem, qua possem brevitate et perspicuitate eos libros Aristotelis exponerem, qui auditoribus Philosophiae explicari consueverunt’.

³³ Ibid. 10: ‘Quod vero attinet ad reliquos Philosophiae commentarios, quos in prima editione me conscripturum pollicitus sum, non est, quod me quisquam iure accuset, quod nihil hactenus ediderim. Vix enim absoluta explicatione Porphyrianæ Isagoges categoriarumque Aristotelis eas res non paucis annis obire coactus sum, quæ nihil otii ad scribendum permittebant. Mihi vero tandem aliquando redditus, in eam sententiam sum adductus, ut ante omnia constituerim, libros primæ philosophiæ enarrare atque adeo in publicum emittere’. Cf. also Rodrigues, *História da Companhia de Jesus* II, 2, 109ff.

delay is certainly related to Fonseca's appointment in Rome as Assistant to the General Father in 1572.³⁴ But this is not the only reason.

Fonseca turned his attention to the *Metaphysics* as he said in the second edition of his *Dialectics* but he did not imagine that this work was destined to become his *grand oeuvre*. Although the first volume was published in 1577 and the others were ready by 1579, he only saw the second volume published in 1589, the others being issued after his death in 1606 and 1612.

In 1575 however the first critiques of Fonseca's accurateness were raised by the Provincial Manuel Rodrigues (1549–1612).³⁵ His detailed treatment would need too much time to study and was not well fitted to be read in the schools.³⁶ The best solution would then be to print the manuscript commentaries already in use at Coimbra, since one needed succinct and summarized explanations.³⁷ The commentaries written by Fonseca would be of use for scholars, not for students.

In 1579 the same demand was sent anew to Rome with sound arguments: the students were still forced to write and their teachers to dictate the course, which they prepared with great dedication. More important than this however was the evidence that this course was not only useful but even necessary to finally get the desired consistency on philosophical issues within the Company.³⁸ One year later the Provincial for the Portuguese Province came from Rome with the publishing order. A new chief editor had to be sought for this task. Luis de Molina (1536–1600)³⁹ seemed to position himself as the right man for the task. It seems however that his difficult and litigious character led the company, first of all Fonseca, to reject him as the general editor of the course.⁴⁰

³⁴ Martins A.M., "Pedro da Fonseca", *Logos*, vol. II, 657; Rodrigues, *História da Companhia de Jesus* II, 2, 105ff.

³⁵ Cf. Sommervogel, *Bibliothèque de la Compagnie de Jésus* VII (1940).

³⁶ Rodrigues, *História da Companhia de Jesus* II, 2, 110.

³⁷ Rodrigues, *História da Companhia de Jesus* II, 2, 110.

³⁸ *Ibid.*, 111: 'Por fim com êsse Curso se alcançaria finalmente a tão desejada uniformidade nas opiniões entre os Padres da Companhia. Por estas razões se persuadia a Congregação que era não só útil, mas necessária a publicação do Curso de Artes'.

³⁹ Sommervogel, *Bibliothèque de la Compagnie de Jésus* V 1167ff.

⁴⁰ The only evidence we have are the letters by Molina addressed to Claudio Aquaviva in Rome, published in Stegmüller F., *Geschichte des Molinismus. Erster Band. Neue Molinaschriften* (Münster i. W.: 1935) 548ff. In the introduction Stegmüller also evinces his character traits in pp. 78ff. A more crucial question though we can only point to it in this article is the fact that Molina was a Spaniard in the midst of Portuguese colleagues. He himself refers to this point in a letter to Aquaviva from August 29

Finally, Manuel de Góis was appointed to the task, as he was considered a good philosopher writing good Latin. Moreover he was well-prepared by a continuous teaching experience of two complete courses (i.e. 8 years); he had taught in the college from 1574 to 1582. In 1584 the commentary to the *Physics* was almost ready, as the General Father in Rome was asked whether this commentary should be printed in Portugal or not.⁴¹ At that time the commentary to the *De coelo* also seemed to be ready; in October 1585 he was working on the commentary to the *De generatione et corruptione*. Although Góis wanted these to be already sent to print, the General Father Aquaviva (1542–1615)⁴² suggested to wait until the whole course was completed. The insistency of Góis and of the whole Portuguese Province finally led Aquaviva to send his *imprimatur* to Coimbra. The first volume was then sent to the press in March 28th, 1592.⁴³

Nonetheless Góis cannot fully be considered the author of these commentaries. As stipulated by Fonseca since the very beginning, the chief editor had to collect the manuscripts used in the lectures and arrange them. Evidence is given to us in a letter by Molina written to the Praepositus Claudio Aquaviva in 1582.⁴⁴ He complains that his

1582: '[...] propongo lo que en ella se contiene, no dexaré para más luz de advertir a V. P. la aversion, que en muchos, etiam superiores, e sentido, y el poco favor que an dado para que luzgan y se impriman mis cosas, parece que por extranjero; y aunque no uiera de ser tenido por tal, pues a veinte y nueve años que estoy y me crié entre ellos', *ibid*, p. 558. In other letters he points to the malevolence of Fonseca regarding him. This may be relevant as the letter is written exactly two years after Philippe II of Spain reclaims the Portuguese crown, since he was the uncle of heirless king D. Sebastião (1554–1578). This political change led in the Portuguese culture to the messianic movement known as *Sebastianism*. We do not know how the Jesuits positioned themselves in this movement, since it was a company founded by a Spaniard and coming from the neighbouring country. Moreover, they were firmly established in the political power since 1542 and the Spanish queen D. Catarina (1507–1578), sister of Carlos V of Spain (1500–1558) always knew to relate the policy of these two countries against part of the parliament (Cortes), cf. Cruz M.A.L., *D. Sebastião* (Lisbon: 2009). The dedication of Fonseca's *Metaphysics* to King D. Sebastião in 1577 may denote some nationalistic feelings. Yet we would over-interpret it if we considered this a *sebastianic* dedication. We do not follow Rodrigues, *História da Companhia de Jesus* II, 2, 114 in this point, as he argues that Molina was 'too easily suspicious, demanding and difficult a character with his pretensions'. This too seems to us a nationalistic argument of the early XXth century.

⁴¹ *Monumenta paedagogica Societatis Iesu* VII, 302; Rodrigues, *História da Companhia de Jesus* II, 1, 115.

⁴² Somervogel, *Bibliothèque de la Compagnie de Jésus* I, 480ff.

⁴³ Rodrigues, *História da Companhia de Jesus* II, 1, 116.

⁴⁴ Stegmüller, *Geschichte des Monilismus* 548–557.

course in Arts, which had to be printed, is still used in Coimbra but in an unacceptable way; 'a great part was taken from the *glosas* I did, cutting many things away and retaining opinions that are experienced as quite hard to understand. And these *glosas* do not have the topics as coherently as should be'.⁴⁵

We have no evidence why the treatise *De anima separata* included in the commentary to the *De anima* was formulated by Cosme Magalhães as well as the passage from the *Problems*.

The commentary to *Dialectics* was finally issued in 1606 as the Coimbra Jesuits came to know that a commentary using the title *Commentarii Collegii Conimbricensis Societatis Iesu* [...] had been published in 1604 in Frankfurt. This *logica furtiva* forced them to assert their position on logic.⁴⁶ This task was given over to Sebastião do Couto.

A commentary on *Metaphysics* would finally never be printed. Rodrigues asserts that in 1592 Fonseca is asked to complete a commentary on logic and metaphysics, although the Jesuits from Coimbra recognize that Fonseca is the bad choice for having it done quickly. In 1606 a letter exchange between Rome and Coimbra suggests Sebastião do Couto as the editor these commentaries. As we know, only one of them would appear in print.⁴⁷

The time these commentaries took until their first appearance in print and the way they were composed clearly show us the problems the Jesuits of Coimbra were confronted with. The first one is obvious to anyone having worked in a university department: managing the different characters and ambitions of the crew. The second one is less obvious but philosophically relevant: the position assumed in the commentaries have to be in accordance with the positions of the group. Moreover, the hierarchical structures obliged them to develop a *via media* on Aristotle fading out the actual problems the Aristotelian text lead to. We have to consider that by that time the positions Peter Ramus (1515–1572) developed in his *Aristotelicae animadversiones* of

⁴⁵ Ibid., 550: '[...] que en gran parte fueron sacadas de las que yo hize, cortando muchas cosas, y metiendo opiniones que se experimentaron asaz duras. Y hallaronse aquellas glosas no tener las cosas coherentes como convenia'.

⁴⁶ Many conjectures have been given to this fact, although they are not based on evidence. Rodrigues asserts that this Frankfurt edition recuperates a text by a former teacher that he used to dictate to his students. One of them sold them to the editor, who used that title as a marketing strategy. Cf. Rodrigues, *História da Companhia de Jesus* II, 1, 119.

⁴⁷ Ibid., 118.

1543 got more and more appreciated, leading away from Aristotle. In this sense the Jesuits of Coimbra are the last philosophers trying to save Aristotle from his dissolution in Catholic countries. The way they chose to do this was the most arduous; rejecting any position on Aristotle that was irreconcilable with their *Corpus Aristotelis interpretumque*, whatever period they were from.

This indebtedness to tradition leads us to the question how they dealt with the news coming from overseas. Did the geographical discoveries have any impact on their Aristotelian *imago mundi*?

Quid sit America? *An un-Aristotelian question in an Aristotelian treatise*

‘It remains to speak of the earth, of its position, of the question whether it is at rest or in motion, and of its shape’.⁴⁸ This sentence, introducing the last two chapters of book II of *De coelo*, compel whoever writing an up-to-date commentary in the 1580’s to reconsider the question. One hundred and five years after the discovery of a whole new world in the west and sixty five years after the circumnavigation by Magellan in 1522, it was impossible to ignore that the *imago mundi* was changing. It is acknowledged that ‘America was a fabulous prefiguration of European culture before becoming a reality’.⁴⁹ But the question we are confronted with is the opposite one: since this new world was ‘fabulously prefigured’, how was it introduced into the scientific *imago mundi* once it had been discovered? In other words, how did aristotelianism introduce this new data into a closed Aristotelian scientific system? How was innovation possible within Aristotelianism?

To attempt an answer to this question, we have to examine how Manuel de Góis structures the commentary to chapter XIV, where Aristotle develops his own view on the topic.

The *glosa* around the Aristotelian text of chapter 14 is a sentence by sentence comment. The most important point Góis emphasises at the

⁴⁸ Aristotle, *On the havens*, Oxford, II, 13, 293 a 15: ‘Λοιπὸν δὲ περὶ τῆς γῆς εἰπεῖν, οὗ τε τυγχάνει κειμένη, καὶ πότερον τῶν ἡρεμοῦντων ἔστιν ἢ τῶν κινουμένων, καὶ περὶ τοῦ σχήματος αὐτῆς’.

⁴⁹ ‘[America] antes de ser una realidad fue una prefiguración fabulosa de la cultura europea’, in: O’Gorman E., *La invención de America* (Mexico: 1958), quoted in Serna M. (ed.), *Crónica de Indias* (Madrid: 2000) 16.

very beginning of his *glosa* is Aristotle's error in admitting the eternity of the world,⁵⁰ a topic obviously inherited from Thomasian cosmology. Following the text, he explains that the earth is at the centre of the universe and at rest.⁵¹ He also reiterates its sphericity.⁵² These topics, present in Aristotle, rely on theoretical suppositions. At the end of chapter 14 however, Aristotle gives some empirical evidence for the sphericity of the world, leading his speculative character to some of the most astonishing assertions:

Again, our observations of the stars make it evident, not only that the earth is circular, but also that it is a circle of no great size. [...] Hence one should not be too sure of the implausibility of the view of those who conceive that there is continuity between the parts about the pillars of Hercules and the parts about India, and that in this way the ocean is one.⁵³

This observation, the most commented one in modern comments as it seems to have inspired Columbus,⁵⁴ is not given any importance to by Góis in the *glosa*. It is even considered irrelevant, since Góis states that the example given by Aristotle to prove this assertion, i.e. the presence of elephants on the African continent and in India, is wrong. In his opinion, nature could have generated animals of the same natures and intelligence at very distant points.⁵⁵

⁵⁰ Cf. *de Coelo*, II, 14, 296a33 and Góis, *Commentarii Collegii Conimbricensis Societatis Iesu in octo libros physicorum Aristotelis Stagiritae* (Coimbra: 1592) 311: 'Error Aristotelis de sempiternitate mundi'.

⁵¹ *De coelo*, 296b25 ff. and Góis, 312: 'Terram esse in medio universi, et inibi quiescere'.

⁵² *De coelo*, 297a8 and Góis, *Commentarii in de coelo* 313: 'Terram esse globosam'.

⁵³ *De coelo*, II, 14, 297b30ff.–298a10, translation by J.L. Stocks.

⁵⁴ Jori A., "Einleitung" in Aristotle, *Über den Himmel* (Darmstadt: 2009) 173 and Ross W.D., *Aristotle* (London: 1956) 96, n. 3: '[...] Aristotle's opinion, expressed in this connexion (298a9–15), that there may be no great distance between Spain and India by the Western ocean was one of the chiefest causes which sent Columbus on his voyage of discovery, so that the name 'West Indies' and 'Red Indians' are indirectly due to Aristotle'.

⁵⁵ Góis, *Commentarii Collegii Conimbricensis* 315: 'Quanquam re vera hoc argumentum non multum habet firmitatis, possunt enim etiam terrae longissimis intervallis distantes animalia eiusdem naturae et ingenii procreare'. It is striking that this issue will also be addressed by Charles Darwin in the sixth chapter of his famous *On the origin of species*, London 1859, prefiguring Alfred Wegener's (1880–1930) theory of continental drift: 'In the first place we should be extremely cautious in inferring, because an area is now continuous, that it has been continuous during a long period. Geology would lead us to believe that almost every continent has been broken up into islands even during the later tertiary periods; and in such islands distinct species might have been separately formed without the possibility of intermediate varieties

Aristotle finishes the chapter by reporting that some mathematicians evaluated the 'dimension' of the earth at 400.000 stades, an information simply repeated in the *glosa*.

The *questio* immediately following the text and glose takes up the last point referred to as we read in the title: First Question. What is the dimension of the earth, its division and what parts of it are inhabited? First Article. The dimension of the earth.⁵⁶

We notice here the use of the imprecise term *magnitudo*, whereas we read in modern greek editions τὸ μέγεθος τῆς περιφερείας, literally meaning *the greatness of the circumference*, usually simply translated as *circumference*. This prompts Góis to explain the meaning of *greatness of the earth* ('*magnitudo terrae*').

After a short introductory statement that the earth should be treated in book three and four with the other three elements, Góis defends the fact that this topic had to be treated here, since Aristotle also spoke about the earth at the end of book 2. Then he introduces into the problem by asserting that different conjectures for these measurements had been given not only by the ancients but also by recent geographers,

as we note by what Pliny in book two of his *Natural History*, paragraph 108, Macrobius in the first Book of the *Commentary to Scipios Dream* and Beda [Venerabilis] in *The Book On the Reckoning of Time* wrote. Although others are omitted, we offer here only the opinions of Aristotle and some others.⁵⁷

The measurements shown in *stadia* and *milliaria* are the ones by Aristotle, Eratosthenes, Hipparchus, Ptolemy, al-Farghānī (Alphraganus) and some more recent geographers, although these are not named. These calculations are given in two charts: the one provides the reader

existing in the intermediate zones. By changes in the form of the land and of climate, marine areas now continuous must often have existed within recent times in a far less continuous and uniform condition than at present. But I will pass over this way of escaping from the difficulty; for I believe that many perfectly defined species have been formed on strictly continuous areas; though I do not doubt that the formerly broken condition of areas now continuous has played an important part in the formation of new species, more especially with freely-crossing and wandering animals'.

⁵⁶ "Questio I. Quae sit terrae magnitudo, quae divisio, quae nam eius partes habitentur. Articulus I. De magnitudine terrae", Góis, *Commentarii Collegii Conimbricensis* 315.

⁵⁷ Góis, *Commentarii Collegii Conimbricensis* 316: 'ut constat ex iis, quae scripsit Plinius libro 2. Naturalis Historiae, capite 108. Macrobius libro 1. in Somnium Scipionis, Beda in libro de ratione temporum. Caeteris vero nunc omissis, Aristotelis tantum, et quorundam aliorum sententias proponemus'.

with the circumference (*ambitus*), the other one with the diameter (*diameter*).

The calculations of the circumference vary, going from 74.000 km for Aristotle to 28.238,4 km for the most recent scholars.⁵⁸ Although we have no information about who is meant by *recentiores*, it is highly plausible that this calculation is the one by Paolo dal Pozzo Toscanelli (1397–1482) on which Columbus relied when sailing West to find India. For the diameter we are given for Aristotle 23.545,32 km and for the more recent 8.983,6 km. This calculation base is astonishing for two major reasons: we know that the Iberic navigators used the league (*légua*) for their calculations and cartography. Moreover, they ought to have had a more concise calculation about the circumference and the diameter of the earth after Magellan's circumnavigation of the world.⁵⁹ The use of Roman measurement and the calculation difference leads us to believe that these calculations have not been counter-proofed by empirical evidence.

The reason Góis mentions for these differences in the calculations is the use of 'discrepancies of measurement'.⁶⁰ He does not explain their base for the calculation but prefers to elusively invoke Macrobius's 3d dialogue of his *Cosmology* and John of Holywood's *Tractatus de sphaera*.

The second article of this *quaestio*, bearing the title *Short division of the whole world* is even more puzzling to the modern reader. Góis clearly states that the ancients knew 3 continents, a fourth one, named America, having been discovered recently and named after its discoverer Amerigo.⁶¹ This part of the earth, found in 1492 is so great that it received the name of 'New World'.⁶² Since the map of Martin Waldseemüller in 1507, Amerigo Vespucci (1454–1512), who financed and

⁵⁸ Cf. Góis, *Commentarii in de coelo* 316. This conversion we did is based on the roman *stadium*, corresponding to 185 m, a *milliarium* to 1,48 km. For Aristotle Góis writes 400.000 Stadia, 50.000 Milliarum; for the *recentiores*, 152.640 stadia and 19.080 milliarum. He clearly indicates in the marginal note that the minutes are left aside (minutiis praetermissis), implicitly asserting that the calculations are approximative.

⁵⁹ Yet it is possible that these data were only affordable to the *Armada* at that moment.

⁶⁰ Góis, *Commentarii in de coelo* 316: 'Dicendum potius natam eam discrepantiam ex mensurarum, quibus usi sunt, dissimilitudine'.

⁶¹ Góis, *Commentarii in de coelo* 317: 'Nunc quarta pars adiecta, videlicet America ab Americo inventore ita nuncupata'.

⁶² *Ibid.*: 'novi orbis nomen obtinuit'.

accompanied Columbus in his third voyage of 1498, is widely considered the discoverer of the American continent, since Columbus is said to have believed until his death to have reached Asia.⁶³ This information about the American continent can hardly be considered as new. The way Góis considered Brazil though is not an innocent one:

About that times Brazil, which is continued by the great extension of America, was discovered by the Portuguese sailing on all the oceans.⁶⁴

Whether by *America* our Jesuit includes the Northern part of the continent or not is hard to say but it is clear that Góis considered Brazil as an extension of South America. Among the classical informations about the etymology of *Brasil*, Góis indicates in the margin a bibliographical note on João de Barros's (1496–1570) *Historiae rerum Indicarum*,⁶⁵ printed between 1552 and 1563. Brazil was at that time divided into captaincies and Barros was appointed captain of Maranhão and Rio Grande in 1535. This author, nowadays considered a classic in Portuguese literature, shipwrecked but survived and wrote the most important history of the Portuguese navigations in a Livian style, the *Decades of Asia*.⁶⁶ Hence, the reference to this author is consistent; Barros is considered to provide the most up-to-date knowledge about that part of the earth.

The relation of this novelty to tradition is not made explicit:

There are some who assert that this new part has already been explored, although its notice had fallen in oblivion for the next centuries; this is the island called Atlantis in Plato's *Critias*, opposed to our regions and surrounded by the Ocean, i.e., the Atlantic. And this island is imagined there to have been submerged by terrible earthquakes and tsunamis according to the Egyptian priests (in the words of Solon).⁶⁷

⁶³ The question about who first discovered that this dry land was a continent and not an island remains a scholarly discussion. Vespucci lands on the South American continent and recognizes it as such. This leads Waldseemüller to consider only South America as *America*. A draft by Bartolomeo Colombo though, available in the collection of Alessandro Zorzi in the Florentine National library (reproduction in: Wallisch R., 'Nachwort' in Columbus, *Der erste Brief aus der neuen Welt* (Stuttgart: 2000) 111), clearly bears at the south of the equinoctial line the words 'mondo novo', leading Wallisch to assert that Columbus was well-aware of the *New World* he found, cf. 102ff.

⁶⁴ Góis, *Commentarii in de coelo* 317: 'Ac circa idem tempus a Lusitanis maria omnia obeuntibus reperta Brasilia, quae Americae longo tractu continuatur'.

⁶⁵ This may be the work known as *Décadas da Índia*.

⁶⁶ Saraiva A.J. and Lopes O., *História da Literatura Portuguesa* (Oporto: s.a.) 277ff.

⁶⁷ Góis, *Commentarii in de coelo* 317: 'Non desunt tamen, qui novam hunc orbem iam priscis temporibus exploratum, sed eius notitiam posterioribus seculis

In this passage Góis prefers to refer some opinions without facing the question whether the identification of the new world with Plato's Atlantis was to be considered as a serious hypothesis or not. In the margin he quotes a history by a certain Zarate. The only concordant work we have is Augustín Zárate's (1514–1560) *Historia del Descubrimiento y conquista del Perú* published in 1555.⁶⁸ Zárate is quoted as to give more probability to this identification by the authority of a contemporary author. Góis however does not provide the reader with the sources of a possible scholarly controversy. This will only be done in the next paragraph, as some of the geographers and topographers did not accept the division of the earth in four regions:

Others now believe that the whole landmass is divided in three; the first includes Europe, Asia and Africa. The second one the new world. The third one includes the southern or Magellan's land explored until now on a few shores. Other divisions by which the single parts of the world are distributed in small and exact parts are sought for by geographers and topographers because the divisions are nor once for all established by that conciseness, nor by this division we try.⁶⁹

The fascination of this passage lies in Góis' conscience that the age of discoveries is not passed, nor the problems they rise. He clearly shows that the way the landmasses have to be distinguished is still a scholarly discussion at the time he is drawing up his commentary.⁷⁰ This division in three however is astounding to any modern reader. This third mainland he calls 'land of the south or of Magellan' can only be identified as Tierra del Fuego, on the south of the strait of Magellan. Francisco Albo, Magellan's pilot, does not explicitly speak about a mainland in his logbook. The description of the route in the strait

intermortuam fuisse contendat; essequ eam insulam, quam Critias apud Platonem Atlanticam vocat, orbi nostro oppositam et vero ponto, id est Oceano adiacentem; quamque ibidem ex sententia Aegyptiorum sacerdotum (referente Solone) vehementi terrae motu et aquarum illuvie absorbatam fabulatur'.

⁶⁸ Serna M. (ed.), *Crónicas de Indias* (Madrid: 2000) 512.

⁶⁹ Góis, *Commentarii in de coelo* 317: 'Aliis nunc placet totam continentem in tres partes distribuere; ut prima comprehendat Europam, Asiam, Africam; secunda novum orbem; tertia Australem sive Magalanicam terram paucis adhuc littoribus exploratam. Aliae divisiones, quibus singulae mundi partes minute exacteque distribuuntur, apud Geographos et Topographos quaerantur, quia neque huius instituti sunt neque eius, quam affectamus, brevitatis'.

⁷⁰ This discussion will only come to an end with Alfred Wegener's (1880–1930) theory of continental drift.

mentions some islands and little islands.⁷¹ All the testimonies indicate by different words a 'strait'.⁷² Pigafetta even refers that Magellan 'knew that he would have to pass through a very hidden strait he saw represented on a map done by the excellent cosmographer Martin Behaim which the King of Portugal held in his treasury'.⁷³

This means that Magellan's crew, without the secret information their chief captain had, recognized that the now so-called Tierra del Fuego was still part of the American continent, whereas Góis refers to cosmographers taking this for another mainland. Unfortunately he does not provide any references for this hypothesis.⁷⁴

The next article treating the habitable parts of the earth⁷⁵ is much more elaborated and extensive than the previous ones. The reason for this commitment lies in the fact that he wants to stress one of the errors of ancient and Aristotelian cosmography; the notion of the torrid zone.⁷⁶ Although this passage is found in the *Meteorology*,⁷⁷ Góis prefers to treat it in this commentary, leaving it aside there.

⁷¹ 'Ilhas' and 'ilhéus', in "Diário ou roteiro da viagem de Magalhães desde o cabo de Santo Agostinho, no Brasil, até ao regresso a Espanha da nau 'vitoria'", in *Fernão de Magalhães. A primeira viagem à volta do mundo contada pelos que nela participaram* (Mem Martins: 1986) 241ff.

⁷² Pigafetta, the genovese pilot, Martin of Aimonte clearly use the word strait (estreito), cf. *Fernão de Magalhães*, 45, 150 and 194. The manuscript of Leiden carries the word 'entrance' (entrada), while Gines de Mafra speaks of a mouth (boca) in *Fernão de Magalhães* 176 and 210.

⁷³ *Ibid.*, 45.

⁷⁴ Góis may rely on José Acosta, *Historia moral de las Indias* (Seville: 1591), lib. III, cap. 10, in which the Tierra del Fuego is identified as the Southern continent conjectured by Ptolemy. Therefore the possibility to discover a Southern Land (*terra australis*) was still taken very seriously by the navigators in the next centuries. It is not clear whether this Southern mainland should be the Antarctic or not. At least we can assert that they were right if we consider James Cook's (1728–1779) discovery in 1770 and the name given to this continent now called Australia. Cf. Hennig R., *Terrae Incognitae. Eine Zusammenstellung und kritische Bewertung der wichtigsten vorcolumbianischen Entdeckungsreisen an Hand der darüber vorliegenden Originalberichte* (Leiden: 1956) 408.

⁷⁵ Góis, *De terra habitabili* 317ff.

⁷⁶ Ancient cosmography distinguished between five zones, meaning 'belt' in Greek; the two polar zones in the north and in the south, the two temperate zones between the equator and the poles, considered as the two habitable zones and the equator, considered as torrid and therefore impossible to cross.

⁷⁷ Aristotle, *Meteorology*, II, 5, 362b25–30.

Therefore the ancients were persuaded that this zone [equinoctial zone] was burning with heat and the two extreme zones [North and South poles] stiff with cold, so that they could not be inhabited by human beings, as it is well-known that the earth is heated by the approach of the sun and cooled by its retraction, as shown by the change of summer and winter, day and night, as well as the variety and change [of temperatures] at noon and the other parts of the day.⁷⁸

This opinion however had to be revised following the news brought by the navigators in that century:

But it was proved in our century that things are quite different, since new islands, new shores and new lands, new parts of the earth and a new world has been discovered by the Portuguese and Spanish navigations, scrutinising almost all the vastness of the Atlantic. It is known of course that the middle zone is in most places absolutely not burned by the heat, but even temperate. These parts of the earth have rain and perennial sources, rivers and water in abundance, as well as fruits, in plenitude and great variety. They are inhabited by a variety of different people who are given the favour and health benefit of the soil and the sun.⁷⁹

It is obvious that the ancients lacked the experience given to any XVIth century reader: 'only the experience of our times shows'⁸⁰ the inhabitability of the equinoctial zone. The reasons why this zone could be temperate are than elucidated. First, the span of night and day are equal on the whole equator. The sunlight duration is thus less than during summer in the temperate zones. This leads to an equilibrium of heat and cold. Second, the recurrence of precipitations does not allow this zone to get as heated as it was thought to be by the ancient cosmographers. Third, the conditions and qualities of this land are the ones given by God at the very beginning, meaning that they were

⁷⁸ Góis, *Commentarii in de coelo* 318: 'Ideo vero antiquis persuasum fuit mediam Zonam ardore flagrare, duas extremas frigore obrigare, ita ut incolae ab hominibus non possent, quia constat Solis accensu terram califieri, abcessu perfrigerari, ut aestatis et hyemis, diei et noctis, meridiem temporis et aliarum diei partium vicissitudo varietasque ostendit'.

⁷⁹ Ibid., 318ff.: 'Verum multo aliter rem habere compertum fuit seculo nostro, quo Lusitanorum Hispanorumque navigationibus tota pene Oceani vastitas longe lateque perlustrata est, et novae insulae, nova littora, novi terrarum tractus, novus orbis inventus. Cognitum quippe est mediam Zonam plerisque in locis non solum non torreri aestu, sed temperatam esse et imbrium, perennium fontium ac fluminum aquis, nec non et frugum fructumque copiis affatim abundare et variarum gentium populis magno coeli solique favore et salubritate incolae'.

⁸⁰ Góis, *Commentarii in de coelo* 319: 'sola nostrorum temporum experientia ostendit'.

thought to be lived in. Fourthly, the steepness of the landscape allows what we nowadays call microclimates. The fifth reason is the proximity of the sea and the sixth one the presence of cooling winds.

Since the *cursus* was also intended for the missionaries leaving for these regions, the Jesuits also included some anthropological considerations about the people living there:

We have to notice that in these climates there are human beings who are candid and black by the heat or in between: here with curly, there with straight hair, here with gentle and easy character, there with savage rituals, without any human culture.⁸¹

These novelties lead Góis to the conclusion that there is no region that would not be inhabited because of weather conditions. In order to prove this assertion he gives the reference to Olaus the Great's (Olaus Magnus) (1490–1558) first book of his *Historia de gentibus septentrionalibus*, the most northern land known to Ptolemy being Thule, i.e. most probably Island. The harshness of the climate forced people to develop different strategies to avoid its rigour, as living in caverns or to protect themselves with furs.

As a consequence of the believed inhabitability of the equatorial zone, Góis has to revisit the question of the antipodes, making this subject-matter his fourth *quaestio*.⁸² This however was a tricky subject after Lactantius's and Augustine's refutations.⁸³ Lactantius's statement is based on the refutation of the sphericity of the world. He took the argument *ad absurdum* by inventing a world where things would be upside down.⁸⁴ It was thus easy to rectify his polemic by inferring the Aristotelian gravity, so that even in the south nature behaves exactly like in the north. Augustine's assertion though is more to the point:

⁸¹ Ibid., 320: 'Ubi etiam animadvertere licet in eisdem climatibus nasci homines alibi candido, alibi miti facilique ingenio, illic efferatis moribus, nullo cultu humanitatis'.

⁸² In the very beginning we already notice a fusion and confusion of two distinct terms; *antipodes* and *antichton*, the former signifying literally 'counterfoot', the latter 'counterearth'. Both are aristotelian terms, though the first one describes the location of a human being whereas the second the location of a landmass. The confusion is already present in Pomponius Mela's *De chorographia*, leading to the assumption that the counterearth was necessarily inhabited by the counterfoot.

⁸³ Beda Venerabilis and Lucretius are also referenced. Augustinus though is a church father, whose authority is untouchable, as we see by the attribute *divus* with which the name of the church fathers is always quoted.

⁸⁴ Lactantius, *Divinarum institutionum libri septem*, III, 24.

But as to the fable that there are Antipodes, that is to say, men on the opposite side of the earth, where the sun rises when it sets for us, men who walk with their feet opposite ours, that is on no ground credible. And, indeed, it is not affirmed that this has been learned by historical knowledge, but by scientific conjecture, on the ground that the earth is suspended within the concavity of the sky, and that it has as much room on the one side of it as on the other: hence they say that the part which is beneath must also be inhabited. But they do not remark that, although it be supposed or scientifically demonstrated that the world is of a round and spherical form, yet it does not follow that the other side of the earth is devoid of water; nor even, though it be bare, does it immediately follow that it is peopled.⁸⁵

The evidence given for the antipodes is according to Augustine only by conjecture. Even if we assume the sphericity of the world, be it as a hypothesis or as a scientific demonstration, we still lack scientific proof for their existence. There is nothing we can assert about the southern hemisphere; we simply do not know if there is water and whether it is inhabited.

Góis' answer is obvious; what was only conjectured in Augustine's time is now known by empirical proof. This piece of land is explored and thus known:

We respond to the divine Augustine that the great part of land opposed to ours is already explored and known, not only that it is unrestrained by the waters but also inhabited by human beings.⁸⁶

This leads Góis to an astonishing last question within this *quaestio*: how did this people arrive there? Several possibilities are discussed. The first tends toward Augustine's explanation of the fauna on the remotest islands in *De civitate dei*, XVI, 7: animals could have been

⁸⁵ Augustine, *De civitate Dei*, XVI, 9: 'Quod vero et antipodas esse fabulantur, id est homines a contraria parte terrae, ubi sol oritur, quando occidit nobis, aduersa pedibus nostris calcare vestigia, nulla ratione credendum est. Neque hoc ulla historica cognitione didicisse se adfirmant, sed quasi ratiocinando coniectant, eo quod intra convexa caeli terra suspensa sit eundemque locum mundus habeat et infimum et medium; et ex hoc opinantur alteram terrae partem, quae infra est, habitatione hominum carere non posse. Nec adtendunt, etiamsi figura conglobata et rotunda mundus esse credatur sive aliqua ratione monstretur, non tamen esse consequens, ut etiam ex illa parte ab aquarum congerie nuda sit terra; deinde etiamsi nuda sit, neque hoc statim necesse esse, ut homines habeat'. Translation by Philip Schaff.

⁸⁶ Góis, *Commentarii in de coelo* 321: 'Divo Augustino respondemus exploratum iam cognitumque esse magnam terrae partem nostro orbi oppositam non solum ab aquis liberam esse, sed ab hominibus etiam habitari'.

preserved from the Deluge not only by Noa's ark but could also have been transferred there by angels on God's permission and will.⁸⁷ A second possibility is the one still taken seriously nowadays: these people migrated to these lands:

They could perhaps have gone there on their own feet, as it is believed by those thinking not out of light conjecture that this our land was continued by that on a certain part or separated of it through a still bridgeable distance.⁸⁸

This assumption is clear when speaking about Asia. For the American continent this would mean that Góis prefigured the *Bering Strait Land Bridge Theory*.

The last approach is of course that these lands had already been discovered by navigators. He does not repeat the names of Plato and Atlantis because he feels compelled to give some passages from ancient navigations, preferring thus to quote Pliny the elder's *Natural History*, II, 67. The passages quoted though are related to the navigations in the Indic Ocean and to the circumnavigation of Africa. For the explanation of America he offers some conjectures he himself considers ridiculous, without giving its source:

Finally some people believe that the ophyric regio, from which King Salomo got a great amount of gold in the third year, has also been alleged to be this part of the new world, that is nowadays called Peru: although there are many doubts about it. Others again believe that this region is the island Hispaniola, discovered in our times by Christopher Columbus, others that it is Sofala, others that it is Golden Chersonessus, where stands now the town of Malacha. This opinion pleases us more than all the others.⁸⁹

⁸⁷ Augustine, *De civitate Dei*, XVI, 7: 'quamvis iussu Dei sive permissu etiam opere angelorum negandum non sit potuisse transferri'.

⁸⁸ Góis, *Commentarii in de coelo* 322: 'Potuerunt fortasse pedestri itinere illuc ire; ut placet quibusdam non levi coniectura opinantibus nostrum hunc orbem cum illo aliqua parte aut continuari aut certe non procul ab eo disiungi'.

⁸⁹ Góis, *Commentarii in de coelo* 322: 'Denique sunt, qui putent Ophyram regionem, e qua regi Salomoni magna auri vis tertio quoque anno afferebatur, esse eam partem novi orbis, quae nunc Peru dicitur, aliis etiam existimantibus esse insulam Hispaniolam in Oceano Occidentali positam ac nostris temporibus a Christophoro Colombo repertam; aliis esse regionem Sofalam; aliis esse Auream Chersonessum, vbi oppidum Malacha nunc est; quae sententia nobis prae ceteris arridet'. The only reference we found about 'Ophyr' is to be found in Hennig R., *Terrae incognitae* (Leiden: 1956) 312, where he quotes from Petrus Martyr Angelicus, *Oceanica* (Basel: 1533), dec. I, lib. I, p. 1, a work apparently written in 1493, although only published in 1533.

This divagation on the vastness of the Ocean only serves to focus the last point better: was it possible to the apostles to evangelise the whole world that is nowadays known? As this point is entirely theological, the answer will be short:⁹⁰ They had been to the coasts known at that time, i.e. Africa, Asia and Europe.

The problems raised by the above mentioned *quaestiones* are trivial. The mathematical issues addressed are only the calculation of the diameter and circumference of the world showing immediately the different results, hiding thus the calculation base. The cosmographic issues are treated in two different ways; the scientific problems resolved at that time, e.g. the discovery of the American continent, the sphericity of the world, the existence of antipodes, are evidenced by empirical proof. For the unresolved problems, Góis preferred to show the different positions without privileging one of them, even those he himself considered ridiculous. Conscious that he was editing a textbook, he favoured the choice of showing all the positions of his day. We have nonetheless to be aware who this textbook was thought for. It was not only written for practical use but also in order to present the scientific *imago mundi* of the time. The Jesuits themselves noticed at that time that they were lacking practical mathematical knowledge.

This appears as a strange fact, since Pedro Nunes (1502–1578) was a teacher at the University of Coimbra from 1544 to 1562.⁹¹ He was present at least for seven years after the Jesuits took over the first school in that town and also when they were preparing the integration of the *studia* into the University. The advancement of mathematical learning he brought cannot be underestimated: in his commentary on Holywood's *de Sphaera* of 1537, a compilation of different works, he developed the loxodrome leading to the Mercator projection allowing to draw routes on maps by straight lines. He translated into vernacular some of the most important mathematical textbooks, such as John of Holywood's *De Sphaera*, the first book of Ptolemy's *Geography* and wrote commentaries on them as well as on Euclid.⁹² His other works focus on topics of seafaring (*marinharia*), since as chief cosmographer

⁹⁰ Góis, *Commentarii in de coelo* 322: 'verum quia res prorsus theologica, paucis respondemus'.

⁹¹ Leitão H., "Introdução", in Ministério da Cultura, *Pedro Nunes. 1502–1578. Novas terras, novos mares e o que mays he: novo mundo e novas estrellas* (Lisbon: 2002) 22.

⁹² Cf. *Ibid.*, 24: 'As duas obras mais usadas e citadas por Nunes são os *Elementos* de Euclides e o *Almagesto* de Ptolemeu'.

he was supposed to resolve problems skippers were confronted with.⁹³ The importance of mathematics in the Jesuit cursus will only be stressed by Christophorus Clavius (1538–1612), who happened to have been a student in Coimbra between 1555 and 1560⁹⁴ before he was appointed teacher in Rome. The *Ratio studiorum* of 1586 still displays the reticence the Jesuits had towards mathematics. The *Ratio* of 1599 finally shows Clavius's influence.⁹⁵ Mathematics are not taught independently; Euclid's *Elements* are to be taught within the physics. Afterwards some notions of geography or of Holywood's *De sphaera* will be explained or something else they like better⁹⁶ but still in relation to Euclid.

This late awareness may surprise. Jerónimo Nadal (1507–1580), who will be the Superior of the Order and as we saw one of the spiritual fathers of the *Ratio*, was interested in mathematical questions. During the time he was rector of the College of Messina, from 1548 to 1549, he will teach mathematics to the students of the *studia superiora* in extracurricular classes.⁹⁷ It is in Portugal though that the urgency for applied mathematics is the most profoundly resented. Ugo Baldini shows this by comparing the comments of the different provinces:

⁹³ Brotóns V.N., "Astronomy and Cosmography 1561–1625. Different aspects of the activities of Spanish and Portuguese mathematicians and cosmographers", Saraiva L. – Leitão H. (eds.), *The Practice of Mathematics in Portugal* (Coimbra: 2004) 231.

⁹⁴ Leitão H., "Introdução" 26. Even if Clavius was not a student of Nunes, he may have met him, leading to the conjecture that he may have known Nunes not only by his publications.

⁹⁵ Badini U., "The Portuguese assistancy of the Society of Jesus and Scientific activities in the Asian Missions until 1640", *História das ciências matemáticas. Portugal e Oriente. History of Mathematics and Sciences. Portugal and Asia* (Lisbon: 2000) 53: 'It [i.e. the Company] officially recognized the place of mathematics in the College education'. This was due mainly to Christophorus Clavius, the mathematics professor at the Collegio Romano, whose influence on the Order grew after the great success of his commentaries on Sacrobosco's *Sphaera* and Euclid's *Elements* and, above all, because of his role in Gregory XIII's reform of the Julian calendar. The 1586 *Ratio* was sent to all assistancies and provinces of the Order for comment and discussion, from which the 1599 text eventually resulted.

⁹⁶ *Regulae professoris mathematicae*, in *Ratio studiorum* 1599, in Miranda M., *Código pedagógico dos Jesuitas. Ratio Studiorum da Companhia de Jesus [1599]*, Lisbon: 2009) 146ff.: 'Physicae auditoribus explicet in schola tribus circiter horae quantantibus Euclidis elementa; in quibus postquam per duos menses aliquantisper versari fuerint, aliquid Geographiae vel Sphaerae, vel eorum, quae libenter audiri solent, adiungat; idque cum Euclide vel eodem die, vel alternis diebus'.

⁹⁷ Gatto R., "Cristoforo Clavio e l'insegnamento delle matematiche nella Compagnia di Gesù", in Clericuzio A. – Ernst G. (eds.), *Il Rinascimento italiano e l'Europa. Volume Quinto. Le Scienze* (Costabissara: 2009) 439.

While stating some difficulties and suggesting some changes, comments by non-Iberian provinces were generally favourable towards strengthening the discipline's role in the *cursus studiorum*. In contrast, Spain went close to denying its actual usefulness. Portugal's province proposed a daily one-hour lesson during the first year, but only from Easter to Summer: half an hour devoted to '*principia*' (of Euclidian geometry), the other to Sphere and "*usus astrolabii, theorica planetarum, aliaque huiusmodi altioris negotii*"; and during the second year, also a daily one-hour lesson, dealing only with astronomical subjects. So all pure mathematics included in the course should have been taught in about four months, 30 minutes a day (that is, in about forty hours).⁹⁸

We immediately sense the combination of theoretical and practical mathematics, the focus lying on the latter. The *Elements* of Euclid are taught in order to introduce to the *Sphere*, allowing thus to pass over to teaching the use of the astrolabe and the theory of planetary movement. The expression 'and other things alike of higher work',⁹⁹ if we take it literally, may mean 'and other things like the use of the astrolabe and the theory of planetary movement, *necessary for the higher teaching of seafaring*'.

The scope of education was thus quite different, depending on the interests of the crown or those of the Jesuits. Hence, the major problem for the country after the death of Nunes¹⁰⁰ was that while the crown

⁹⁸ Baldini U. – Napolitani P.D. (eds.), *Christoph Clavius: Corrispondenza. Edizione critica* (Pisa: 1992) 54. The passage he is discussing is in Lukács, *Monumenta paedagogica Societatis Iesu* VI, 294: 'Mathematicarum lectio in hac provincia sic videtur distribuenda: habebitur imprimis pomeridiano tempore per unam horam, quae prima erit a communi ingressu in gymnasia. Singulis annis post Pascha priori horae dimidio tradentur principia mathematicae, quibus primi cursus auditores interesse cogentur. Deinde tam posteriori dimidio post Pascha, quam reliquo anni tempore per integram horam secundi et tertii cursus auditoribus explicabitur usus astrolabii, theorica planetarum, alique huiusmodi altioris negotii; ita tamen, ut nullum triennium praetereatur sine Sphaerae praelectione, cui, exceptis dialecticae tyronibus, intersint quicunque eam e philosophorum schola nondum audierint'. Mathematics were usually taught in the second half of the first year within logic and in the second year within natural philosophy.

⁹⁹ 'aliaque huiusmodi altioris negotii', see Lukács, *Monumenta paedagogica Societatis Iesu* VI, 294.

¹⁰⁰ Henrique Leitão even considers that after Nunes's death, mathematics suffered a complete decay in Coimbra, as the courses were taught by incompetent masters to uninterested students in an university, whose administration was totally unpreoccupied with this situation: 'Com a jubilação de Pedro Nunes, em 1564, as aulas de Matemática foram sucessivamente entregues a figuras menores e, pouco a pouco, caíram em total desleixo. Mestres incompetentes, alunos desinteressados e uma administração universitária pouco preocupada com a situação explicam o estado em que caiu o ensino da Matemática e disciplinas científicas em Coimbra', in Leitão H., "A difícil aceitação

needed mathematical skills to school competent skippers, it only had an excellent school to train theologians.

This led the crown and the Jesuits to reform the College of Santo Antão in Lisbon, existing since October 18th 1553, where in 1555 Francisco Rodrigues (1515–1573)¹⁰¹ began to teach the *Sphere*.¹⁰² In the 1590's finally, after a stable financial situation was given to this College by D. Henrique in 1573 and a new building in 1579, João Delgado began to lecture mathematics in a course known as "Course of the Sphere" (Aula da Esfera). Holywood's text served as groundwork letting teachers develop their own interests. The masters of this school will finally be considered as the initiators of mathematical higher studies and scientific culture in Portugal.

The passages dealing with mathematics in the commentaries are very few. In his commentary to *Dialectics* Couto discusses whether mathematics has to be considered *stricto sensu* as a science within the considerations on the category of relation.¹⁰³ His position is *in nuce* the following, as outlined by Bernardo Mota. The concept of "mathematics" was two-fold; on the one hand there is the distinction of applied mathematics, as in music and optics to take only these as examples. On the other hand there is pure mathematics, including arithmetics and geometry. The only object science could apply to is nature. Hence, only applied mathematics can be called science in a strict sense (*stricte*), while pure mathematics are a science in general (*absolute*).¹⁰⁴

Bernardo Mota demonstrated in his article that Couto's position does not simply take over Benito Pereira's (1535–1610) view. It is a reaction toward Delgado's and Clavius's positions to establish mathematics as a science in the Aristotelian sense.¹⁰⁵ In his comment on the *De coelo* of 1592 Góis has to explain the need of mathematics within cosmographical consideration, speaking thus only about applied mathematics.¹⁰⁶ Mathematics are thus considered as auxiliary discipline to

pela Companhia de Jesus do "múnus da Instrução", in Biblioteca Nacional de Portugal (ed.), *Sphaera Mundi: A ciência na Aula da Esfera. Manuscritos científicos do Colégio de Santo Antão nas coleções da BNP* (Lisbon: 2008) 21.

¹⁰¹ Sommervogel, *Bibliothèque de la Compagnie de Jésus* VI (1941).

¹⁰² Leitão, "A difícil aceitação" 20.

¹⁰³ Couto S. de 356ff.

¹⁰⁴ Cf. Mota B., "O debate sobre o estatuto da Matemática em Santo Antão a partir de 1590", *Biblioteca Nacional de Portugal* (ed.), *Sphaera Mundi* 53ff.

¹⁰⁵ Cf. Mota, "O debate sobre o estatuto da Matemática".

¹⁰⁶ Góis, *Commentarii in de coelo* 339.

physics.¹⁰⁷ The two works in which we find the passages correspond to the division of pure and applied mathematics present in the *Ratio*.

This digression on the status of mathematics within the Jesuit comments of Coimbra allows us to draw a more detailed picture in order to answer the question whether these commentaries are to be considered scholastic or modern. It would nonetheless lead to a major error, if we leave aside the goal of these writings. These comments were intended as textbooks. The reason of their success was the all-in-one strategy followed by Fonseca; the commentaries offered the aristotelian text, the comment and the questions, all these texts rigorously separated. This innovation due to the philological advancements of the Renaissance cannot be underestimated, compared to the medieval commentaries that mingle these three levels. The idea of building a consistent intertextual reference system by a *Corpus Aristotelis interpretumque* in which every passage would be clarified by another passage is also new. We have to recall that most of the late antique commentators were edited in the early XVIth century and considered as new, while the medieval authors were treated as old and known authors.¹⁰⁸ This is why these comments are still used nowadays in Aristotelian scholarship, even after Bonitz's *Index Aristotelicus*.

Nonetheless Rodrigues's critiques towards Fonseca's too accurate working style shows the difficult equilibrium on which this comments rely. Providing the text to the reader, explaining the wording and contextualising it was hardly possible without scholarly refinement. The literary form already pushed these comments to become subtle works of erudition. This will be one of the major reasons for their success in Europe. The best example is given by Fonseca's comments; a simple glance on his *Isagoge* and his comment on *Metaphysics* will evidence this evolution. Textbooks are not intended to produce or show novelties but to provide the reader with a fundamental basis of what is already known. This refinement leads us astray as we forget that we are reading textbooks pursuing this goal.

The attack that they did not take into account the scientific developments of their days has to be moderated as we have tried to prove. The

¹⁰⁷ Góis, *Commentarii in de coelo* 339: 'Mathematica dicuntur per abstractionem a naturalibus, cum spectentur ut avulsa a materia, Naturalia vero dicuntur per adiectionem ad Mathematicam, cum illis addunt motum et accidentia sensibilia'.

¹⁰⁸ Grafton A., "The availability of Ancient Works", Schmitt C.B. and Skinner Q. (eds.), *Cambridge History of Renaissance Philosophy* (Cambridge: 1988) 767–791.

geographical discoveries are taken into account as well as the scholarly discussions framing them. The mathematical problems underlying these discoveries however are omitted. This is certainly in relation to the lack of good mathematicians in Coimbra after Nunes had left the University. Moreover, textbooks had to stick to the major Aristotelian writings. We do not have comments on the *Mechanics* or on the *Problems*, to cite only these,¹⁰⁹ although these treatises would correspond better to discuss mathematical problems. Commentaries on Ptolemy, Holywood and Euclid were available in vulgar and were not part of the *cursus*. Another major issue is the low status of mathematics in the *Ratio studiorum*. Clavius will be the Jesuit to stress the importance of mathematics for educational purpose. The need of mathematics to resolve theological problems was unquestionable after the publication of his *Novi calendarii Romani apologia* in Rome in 1595, although the question about the scientific status of this discipline was well sustained since his *Euclidis elementorum libri XV* of 1574. The value of mathematics is just being (re)discovered during the time the Conimbran Jesuits are writing their comments. This may explain why only the very last comment of Couto on *Dialectics* published in 1606 briefly addresses the problem of the scientific status of this discipline.

The anecdote about Clavius's time in Coimbra may be the best illustration of the Jesuits' attitude towards this discipline before the mathematical turn of the Company: Clavius wanted an explanation or demonstration of the geometrical theorem asserting that the sum of the three angles in a triangle corresponds to two right angles, present in many passages of the *Posterior Analytics*. Fonseca, who was his teacher on *dialectics*, did not have an answer to his insistent question. He contented his student by sending him to the library to read the forgotten copy of Euclid, the author his student would comment on.¹¹⁰

The socratic consciousness of their lack of knowledge allowed the Jesuits to become masters in the advancement of learning. Once this socratic awareness lost, the masters erected a dogmatic Aristotle, leading to the downfall of Aristotelian and scholastic philosophy.

¹⁰⁹ Only the *Parva Naturalia* are commented as an extension of the *Physics*.

¹¹⁰ Baldini and Napolitani (eds.), *Christoph Clavius* 38ff. and Mota, "O debate sobre o estatuto da Matemática" 48.

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FROM DISCOVERY TO KNOWLEDGE:
PORTUGUESE MARITIME NAVIGATION AND
GERMAN HUMANISM

Marília dos Santos Lopes

In 1500 the *Epistolae Orationes*¹ written by the famous Italian humanist Cataldo Sículo were published in Portugal, in an edition printed by Valentim Fernandes,² a German who had arrived from Moravia six years before. Cataldo Sículo,³ the distinguished teacher of the Portuguese court, lived and worked most of his life in Portugal. His book is the third ever printed in Portugal. The fact that the author is a master from Italy confirms the idea that humanism in Portugal is a phenomenon of foreign import, but it seems rather surprising that such a humanist work is among the very first books printed in Portugal already in the beginning of the 16th century.⁴

Cataldo Sículo has been described as the “instructor” of humanism in Portugal.⁵ In his work we find already the outlines of a training model for aristocratic youth in Portugal. His disciples are members of a modern nobility with its own homogeneity and its new ideas to introduce Arts and Letters in education. Aware of their role in serving the court, the young scholar should ‘not only talk about weapons but also about Letters’,⁶ thus cultivating the idea of a ‘literate knight’.

¹ Sículo Cataldo, *Epistolae et Orationes quaedam Cataldi Siculi* (Lisbon, Valentim Fernandes: 1500).

² On Valentim Fernandes see: Anselmo A., *L'Activité Typographique de Valentim Fernandes au Portugal (1495–1518)* (Paris: 1984); Marques A.H. de O., “Alemães e Impressores Alemães no Portugal de Finais do Século XV”, *No Quinto Centenário da Vita Christi. Os Primeiros Impressores Alemães em Portugal* (Lisbon: 1995) 11–14 and Dias J.J.A., “Os Primeiros Impressores Alemães em Portugal”, *No Quinto Centenário da Vita Christi. Os Primeiros Impressores Alemães em Portugal* (Lisbon: 1995) 15–27.

³ Ramalho A. da Costa, *Para a História do Humanismo em Portugal* (Coimbra: 1988); idem, “Quelques Aspects de L’Introduction de l’Humanisme au Portugal”, in J.A. França (ed.), *L’Humanisme Portugais et l’Europe* (Paris: 1976) 33–49.

⁴ Gouveia A.G., “O Portugal do Renascimento”, *Sociedade e Cultura Portuguesas* (Lisbon: 1990) 11–59; Mendes A.R., “A vida cultural”, in Mattoso J. (ed.), *História de Portugal*, dir. 3 (Lisbon: 1993) 375–402.

⁵ Ramalho, *Para a História do Humanismo*.

⁶ ‘Nec propterea quod eques sis fortissimus linguam contemnas latinam. Non enim te pusillanimum, sed fortissimo fortorem audentissimo, audentorem reddet. Operae

Reviewing a re-edition of Cataldo's work, Jorge Osório discusses the question of who might have inspired its first publication in 1500.⁷ Indeed, a simple teacher of Latin would never have been able to promote such an important publication – especially given his frequent complaints for not having been paid for his services.⁸ Therefore Osório finds it reasonable to conjecture that the promotion of the volume is due to the esteem for the power of the Letters and books that came up in the Renaissance and which was shared and cultivated by the king himself.⁹ A new kind of 'self-fashioning' and 'self-presentation' must have worked on both, the author and his public.¹⁰

There are some hints that might support the argument. In a letter to Valentim Fernandes, D. Pedro de Meneses, one of the best disciples of Cataldo, who gave his first lecture at the age of seventeen at the University of Lisbon,¹¹ points out that he would not send his own writings to Valentim Fernandes for print, because he still considered them too 'rough and rude', and not worthy to be mentioned. Instead of his own writings he sends in a few other texts that he had received from Cataldo some years before. Meneses finishes his letter inviting the printer to: 'Use your faculty of judgement, I've used mine'.¹²

Cataldo seems to have found great esteem at court. The German humanist Hieronymus Münzer, who thanks to Cataldo's mediation arrived in Portugal with Valentim Fernandes, was invited to meet the Portuguese monarch, D. João II. In his famous work *Itinerary* Münzer praised the young people at the Portuguese court, especially the illegitimate son of the King, D. Jorge. Münzer refers to D. Jorge as

pretium erit tum coram Caesare, tum coram ceteris magnis uiris non solum de armis, sed de litteris quoque conferre', Letter by Cataldo to D. João de Noronha in Sículo Cataldo P., *Epístolas*, ed. A. da Costa Ramalho – A.F.O. e Silva, vol. II (Lisbon: 2005) 172. Among others I would like to mention the example of Martim de Sousa who invited a humanist teacher from Seville to give a better education to Portuguese soldiers in Africa; Sículo Cataldo, *Epístolas*, ed. A. da Costa Ramalho – A.F.O. e Silva, vol. I (Lisbon: 2010) 479.

⁷ Osório J., [Review] "Epístolas, 2 (Lisbon: 2005)", *Via Spiritus* 13 (2006) 223–241.

⁸ *Epístolas*, for example I, 79; 89; 117–118.

⁹ Osório, "Epístolas, 2 (Lisbon: 2005)" 225.

¹⁰ Greenblatt S., *Renaissance Self-fashioning, From More to Shakespeare* (Chicago, London: 1980); Enenkel K.A.E., "In Search of Fame: Self-representation in Neo-Latin Humanism", in Gersh St. – Roest B. (eds.), *Medieval and Renaissance Humanism. Rhetoric, Representation and Reform* (Leiden: 2003) 93–115.

¹¹ Sá A.M. de, *D. Pedro de Meneses, Oração proferida no Estudo Geral de Lisboa* (Lisbon: 1964).

¹² Pedro de Meneses to Valentim Fernandes, *Epístolas*, I 565.

a young man aged 13, talented and extremely well trained in the recitation of poetry – and he mentions his ‘most distinguished’ preceptor Cataldo Sículo from Paris, who proved to be a humanist of profound knowledge. By the excellence of his qualities and his customs, D. Jorge would actually be worthy to be a King. Well educated in the humanities and very familiar with Horace, Virgil and other poets, he would ‘himself even rhyme not too badly’.¹³

Cataldo himself evokes this meeting in a letter addressed to the prince, in which he confirms the impression that D. Jorge had on Hieronymus Münzer: Tears fell from the eyes of this so well distinguished German scholar when he met the prince and got to know his skills and good-natured character, tears of pleasure mixed with joy.¹⁴

The scene might give expression to this lengthy and laborious task of *studia humanitatis*, thus bearing witness to the atmosphere of a new interest in humanist issues and explaining the appearance of a humanist’s book among the first books at all to be printed in Portugal.¹⁵

Precisely in the turn of the 15th to the 16th century one can observe in Portuguese cultural life the symptoms of a change: on the one hand, the emergence of a humanistic interest, as we have seen, and on the other hand the endeavour of overseas journeys. The humanist interest draws attention to the discovery of the Letters, obtained by reading and imitating Greek and Latin authors. The overseas endeavour prepares the discovery of nature and man’s relation to and within a global order. Despite the different routes and trails, both will converge to a new conception of the world.¹⁶

The printer Valentim Fernandes is an early example of a mediator between the different positions and interests. On the one hand, through the publication of Cataldo’s book, he contributed to the

¹³ Vasconcelos B. de, “Itinerário” do Dr. Jerónimo Münzer (Excertos) (Coimbra: 1932) 15.

¹⁴ *Epístolas*, I 69.

¹⁵ That is why some 13 years later, Valentim Fernandes published a second volume of texts by Cataldo Sículo with the title *Cataldi Epistolarum et Orationum secunda pars*. Anselmo A., *As origens da Imprensa em Portugal* (Lisbon: 1981) and *História da Edição em Portugal. Das origens até 1536* (Oporto: 1991).

¹⁶ Barreto L. F., *Os Descobrimentos e a Ordem do Saber, Uma análise sociocultural* (Lisbon: 1987); idem, *Descobrimentos e Renascimento, Formas de ser e pensar nos séculos XV e XVI* (Lisbon: 1983), Dias J.S. da S., *Os Descobrimentos e a problemática cultural do século XVI* (Lisbon: 1988), Carvalho J.B., *O Renascimento Português (em busca da sua especificidade)* (Lisbon: 1980).

dissemination of the new cultural environment of humanism. On the other hand, Valentim Fernandes did not only publish the *Epistolae* of Cataldo Sículo, but he also proved to be very influential in spreading the “novas novidades” (Garcia de Resende), the “new news” never before seen, that Portuguese sailors brought back from their journeys. And many people were actually interested in these stories, so that they were published all over Europe.¹⁷

Attracted by the astonishing news of the Portuguese sailors,¹⁸ Valentim Fernandes makes one of the most euphoric statements about the discovery of land beyond the equator. Indeed, in the introduction that precedes the publication of his *Book of Marco Polo*¹⁹ – one of the first European editions – Fernandes expresses his enthusiasm and fascination towards the Portuguese achievements. Written in 1502, the text is an enthusiastic hymn to the Portuguese navigators – indeed in the wake of Cataldo,²⁰ Poggio²¹ and Lucena²² – a work that tells of “new and marvellous things of the world and the new peoples and their things”.

Acknowledged as the discovery of the “promised land”, the finding of another world was finally achieved in the reign of the lucky inheritor of the overseas enterprises, D. Manuel I. With all the special circumstances that brought him to power and success, this Portuguese monarch personifies the new Portugal. After several years of hard work and painful experiences along the African coast, it was in the reign of D. Manuel that Vasco da Gama finally reached India by sea. Here is a happy king worthy ‘to enter that new world, that we may well call the land of promise’.²³ These words of praise written by Valentim Fernandes resonated widely in coeval cartography and geography. Let us just mention, for example, the iconography of the Portuguese king

¹⁷ Matos L. de, *L'Expansion Portugaise dans la Littérature Latine de la Renaissance* (Lisbon: 1991).

¹⁸ Andrade A.A. Banha de, *Mundos Novos do Mundo, Panorama da difusão, pela Europa, de notícias dos Descobrimentos Geográficos Portugueses* (Lisbon: 1972) and Ehrhardt M., *A Alemanha e os Descobrimentos Portugueses* (Lisbon: 1989) 31–40.

¹⁹ Paulo Marco, *O Livro de Marco Paulo*, (Lisbon, Valentim Fernandes: 1502; reprint Lisbon: 1922).

²⁰ See Cataldo Sículo, “Arcitinge”, in Ramalho A. da Costa (ed.) *Latim Renascentista em Portugal* (Lisbon: 1985) 65–97.

²¹ See “Carta de Poggio Bracciolini ao Infante D. Henrique”, *Oceanos* 17 (1994) 14.

²² Costa A.F. (ed.), “Vasco Fernandes de Lucena e as suas Orações de Obediência”, *Às portas da Índia em 1484* (Lisboa: 1936) 54–87.

²³ *O Livro de Marco Paulo* fol. Aii r.

in the *Carta Marina* by Martin Waldseemüller (1516) or in the world map of Laurentius Frisius (1530), where the ‘Most Christian King of Portugal’ hoists the national flag representing the glorious epic of the overseas enterprise in a figure represented next to the Cape of Good Hope.

Valentim Fernandes recognizes the usefulness and value of the news about the overseas world and, thus, proposes himself to rewrite the world, or to “*écrire le monde*” as Frank Lestrigrant put it,²⁴ a common task, some years later, among European scholars and geographers, but at the dawn of the sixteenth century still an early and unique deed.

In the hope to participate actively in the major contemporary event of historical impact, his edition of *Marco Polo* (particularly its introduction), testifies the commitment to link the new findings with ancient terminology and knowledge. Written for those who wish to “see and walk across the world”,²⁵ this collection should amend and correct the prevailing geographic contours. Thus, the printer praises the Lusitanian navigators who wrote down the new names and designations of regions and places they visited for the first time. Until more and new information become available, the collector of “news” thus renders to the public the text by *Marco Polo* – though not being a contemporary source of knowledge –, to which he added the recent report by Nicolao Veneto and a letter by Jeronimo de Santo Esteuam, as enrichments to his book.

With respect to this work, some historians raise the question of why a man so interested in the novelty decided to edit a text of the thirteenth century.²⁶ Why didn’t he publish instead of the *Book of Marco Polo*, a more recent text, as the one written by Luís de Cadamosto from Venice, for example? Cadamosto’s report on his travel to Africa in 1463 was only printed in Italy in 1507 in a collection organized by Fracanzio da Montalboddo. We believe that the answer is to be found precisely in the attitude described above, which led Valentim Fernandes to combine old and new knowledge and insights as belonging to a common project of humanist interest. His attention to the new

²⁴ Lestrigrant F., *Écrire le Monde à la Renaissance, Quinze Études sur Rabelais, Postel, Bodin et la Littérature Géographique* (Caen: 1993).

²⁵ *O Livro de Marco Paulo* fol. Aiiij v.

²⁶ See, for example, Pinto J.R., “A Viagem, Memória e Espaço, A Literatura Portuguesa de Viagens, Os Primitivos Relatos de Viagem ao Índico 1497–1550”, *Revista de História Económica e Social* 11–12 (1989) 1–239, esp. 135–170.

endeavours and experiences does not contradict the desire to relate the new with the traditional system, to integrate the new information into the bequeathed cultural context. Moreover, the *Book of Marco Polo* was considered a groundbreaking writing, opening horizons and knowledge on the Far East that could not be ignored at all. Valentim Fernandes was not the only one to recognize in Marco Polo's text a unique source of knowledge about the widely unknown cultures of the so called "Indias". Indeed, until the seventeenth century, Marco Polo's writing continued to figure among the lists of works considered as fundamental sources of knowledge in Europe. By collecting detailed and manifold information on Asia, Polo's report could be taken as a first sum of information concerning the Far East. Especially after Vasco da Gama's voyage to India, there was an actual need for more information about this region. Following a traditional geographic concept, Polo's text provided the initial outlines of the Eastern geography, while Portuguese sailors started to amend those outlines and to fix a more correct description of Asian realities. That is why Valentim Fernandes mentions in the colophon to his edition that the book was written as 'a service to God and as an instruction for all those who now go to the Indias'. And he continues inviting those travellers to correct and emend everything they would not find acceptable in this writing, like the names of regions, kingdoms, cities, islands or many other things such as the distance between the different places.²⁷ Valentim Fernandes' edition develops on the basis of the bequeathed *fundus*, a new sum of everything worth to be known, a new strategic organization of knowledge.

The purpose of "correcting" the geographical horizons of his contemporaries was also the fundamental reason for the compilation of the famous manuscripts associated to his name: the so-called "Manuscript Valentim Fernandes", a collection of writings related to the Portuguese overseas endeavour, which belonged to the library of his friend and correspondent, the *Stadtdiener* of Augsburg in Germany, Conrad Peutinger. Though we do not know which has been its dissemination and resonance in the German speaking countries,²⁸ we can

²⁷ *O Livro de Marco Paulo* fol. 98 v.

²⁸ One of the names that must be mentioned in this context is Hartmann Schedel, the author of the famous *Chronica-mundi* (1493), which already included recent data from the Iberian overseas endeavour, like the report written by Hieronymus

nevertheless acknowledge the compilation of several authors, among them Gomes Eanes de Zurara, Martin Behaim or Hans Mayr, as an outstanding pioneer work. As a vivid evidence for the curiosity of its author concerning overseas experiences, it is an example of the interest aroused by the Portuguese endeavour all over Europe. This collection that Fernandes elaborated between 1505 and 1508 in direct contact with Portuguese sailors turned out to be one of the most interesting documents of the Portuguese discoveries, as well as a valuable proof for the humanistic interest and spirit to know more about the geographical horizons and human conditions all over the world.

Although the anthology could not count on the wide dissemination of printed works like *Paesi novamente ritrovati* by Fracanzio da Montalboddo,²⁹ which we already mentioned, the *Novus Orbis* by Simon Grynaeus³⁰ or *Navigazioni e Viaggi* by Giovanni Battista Ramusio,³¹ Fernandes' manuscript belongs – as a very early example – to the same atmosphere of curiosity, interest and a humanistic spirit of “collecting” novelty.

The desire to gather and collate information concerning the recent travel experiences in Portugal, already present in the compilation of the *Book of Marco Polo*, turned out to be the major task to which the Moravian resident in Lisbon devoted his work. Being aware of the significance of the contemporary events, the printer turned out to be an important and careful author and collector. His manuscript reveals, above all, a man committed to collect information accurately without aspiring to an analytical and ideological discourse on the maritime endeavour and its consequences, as the one we find, for example, in the Portuguese chronicles. Evidence of his interest in ‘hard news’ is the summary he elaborates from the *Chronicle of Guinea* by Gomes Eanes de Zurara.³² In fact, Valentim Fernandes disregards the more

Münzer; see Marques A.H. de O., “Deutsche Reisende im Portugal des 15. Jahrhunderts”, in Knefelkamp U. – Lopes M. dos Santos – Hanenberg P. (eds.), *Portugal und Deutschland auf dem Weg nach Europa* (Pfaffenweiler: 1995) 11–26.

²⁹ Montalboddo, Fracanzio da, *Paesi novamente ritrovati* [...] (Vicenza, Fracanzio da Montalboddo: 1507).

³⁰ Grynaeus, Simon, *Novus orbis regionum et insularum veteribus incognitarum una cum tabula cosmographica et aliquot aliis consimilis argumenti libellis* (Basel, Johannes Herwagen: 1532). Also in German as *Die New Welt* (Strassburg, Ulrich: 1534).

³¹ Ramusio, Giovanni Battista, *Navigazioni e Viaggi* [...] (Venedig, Ramusio: 1550–1559).

³² See Carvalho, “Temps, Groupes Sociaux et Mentalités” 25–31.

theoretical chapters and all national ideology in favour of precise information.

Bearing in mind that this documentation was intended to inform – even beyond the Pyrenees – about new and unknown lands and peoples overseas, and to offer the opportunity for scholars and merchants to “see” through the eyes of others the outlines of newly discovered lands and the features of peoples never yet seen, his caution in transmitting only descriptive and factual data without any explanatory comment is in fact outstanding.

Recognized as a unique document on the travels in West Africa, this codex is meant to be an authentic manual of factual information. Its main characteristic is the method that the author uses in presenting and describing the lands and peoples never before seen. One of the great merits of Valentim Fernandes is the way in which he brings together all the new concrete and precise data concerning geographical and human reality.

Although we do not know what exactly might have been the intention which prompted the diligent editor to assemble this collection of new geographic insights – whether he was thinking of an edition in Portugal or even abroad –, the fact remains that he did so given the keen curiosity that the news from overseas – among the “things worth seeing” – was raising everywhere, including the humanistic circle of Peutinger’s friends in Germany.³³

Besides being an imperial adviser, political agent and lawyer, Conrad Peutinger was a great collector of relics of the past and a great admirer of geography. Peutinger intended to sample a geographic collection about the whole world, so that the news brought by Portuguese sailors was of great value for his work. Besides classical antiquity – Peutinger may be considered the founder of the study of Roman and Germanic antiquities in Germany – one should consider evidence from the Indian and the New World. It is thus no surprise that he mentions the Portuguese caravels in the Atlantic and their arrival at Calicut, e.g. in his work *Sermones conviviales*.³⁴ There is actually much evidence

³³ Lopes M. dos Santos, “O impacto da viagem de Vasco da Gama na Alemanha”, in García J.M. (ed.), *A Viagem de Vasco da Gama à Índia 1497–1499* (Lisbon: 1999) 604–608; Lopes M. dos Santos, *Wonderful things never yet seen. Iconography of the Discoveries* (Lisbon: 1998); Lopes M. dos Santos, *Afrika, Eine neue Welt in deutschen Schriften des 16. und 17. Jahrhunderts* (Stuttgart: 1992) and Wuttke D., *German Humanist Perspectives on the History of Discovery, 1493–1534* (Coimbra: 2007).

³⁴ Peutinger, Konrad, *Sermones convivales* [...] (Strassburg, Mathias Schürer: 1506).

of his vivid efforts to be as updated and close to news as possible. On the one hand, he tried intensely to convince the German Emperor Maximilian I, of how useful it would be when German merchants would join the Portuguese trade and maritime activity.³⁵ On the other hand he held active interest in the novelty of discoveries, as shown by the many volumes dedicated to this theme in his library.³⁶ Married to the heiress of one of the largest trading houses in Europe, the Welser, Peutingger was naturally well informed about German commercial activities and he knew how the opening of the Cape Route meant an opportunity for German merchants (as a disadvantage for their Italian competitors). Many letters and reports which were found among his documents give witness to that, especially those texts concerning the first and second voyage of Vasco da Gama to India, the expedition of Pedro Álvares Cabral and the armada of D. Francisco de Almeida. In fact, his curiosity for these writings exceeded mere reading, as shown by the fact that Conrad Peutingger translated into German the report on the second voyage of Vasco da Gama to India.³⁷

In addition to these texts and news, one finds in his rich library the collection of travel reports by Fracanzio da Montalboddo, the so-called *Itinerarium Portugallensium* in its Latin version from 1508 (the Italian original was published in 1507),³⁸ which could generally inform a comprehensive reader on the Iberian travels, Martin Waldseemüller's cosmography, or the letter written by Amerigo Vespucci, that means a wide range of works dedicated to the maritime enterprises. In this context we understand also his relationship to Valentim Fernandes, one of the best informed men on the maritime and commercial activities of the Portuguese.³⁹

The German intellectual circles, especially Conrad Peutingger's – who might have met Valentim Fernandes in 1488, during his visit to the

³⁵ See "Briefe und Berichte über frühesten Reisen nach Amerika und Ostindien aus den Jahren 1497–1506 aus Dr. Conrad Peutingers Nachlass", in Greiff B. (ed.), *Tagebuch des Lucas Rem aus den Jahren 1494–1541. Ein Beitrag zur Handelsgeschichte der Stadt Augsburg* (Augsburg: 1861) 171.

³⁶ Vogel K.A., "Neue Horizonte der Kosmographie, Die kosmographischen Bücherlisten Hartmann Schedels (um 1498) und Konrad Peutingers (1523)", *Anzeiger des Germanischen Nationalmuseums* (1991) 77–85.

³⁷ See "Briefe und Berichte" 113–172.

³⁸ See Matos, *Itinerarium Portugallensium* (Lisbon: 1992).

³⁹ See, e.g., Andrade A.A. Banha de, "O auto notarial de Valentim Fernandes (1503) e o seu significado como fonte histórica", *Arquivos do Centro Cultural Português* 5 (1972) 521–545; Ehrhardt, *A Alemanha e os Descobrimentos Portugueses* 32–35.

city of Augsburg –⁴⁰ could thus benefit from the contact with one of the most influential foreigners in Lisbon – Fernandes had been made Knight of Queen Leonor in 1503 and was the notary for the Germans living in the city⁴¹ – and establish a close relationship with this small peripheral country: offering not only access to the commerce of eastern spices, but also to a wide range of surprising new insights in geography and the cultural diversity of the world.

As we have seen so far, in the beginning of the 16th century European scholars were deeply interested in the information and novelties which derived from the discoveries so that they became important disseminators in the exchange of news and knowledge.

In this sense, the Italian merchant Luis de Cadamosto accepted the invitation of Prince Henry to embark on a Portuguese caravel, seeking new experiences and markets. Actually, as he demonstrates in his report, the trip did not disappoint him: what he saw on his voyage along the West African coast was so unprecedented and wonderful that the navigator felt like being in “another world”, different from everything previously known. Cadamosto’s report is the first about a Portuguese voyage in the South Atlantic that we know of and thus the beginning of a description of the West African coast, and of the world inaccessible before.

In 1507, the humanist Fracanzio da Montalboddo edits Luis de Cadamosto’s travel report in the compilation *Paesi novamente ritrovati*, mentioned before, soon followed by many other editions throughout Europe: a year later, for example, in Latin, with the title *Itinerarium Portugallensium* and in the same year of 1508, in German, *Neue unbekante Landt und ein neue weldte in kurzer zeythe erfunden*. Jobst Ruchamer, a physician from Nuremberg who translated the text into German, explains in his prologue, how amazed he was, when he first

⁴⁰ See Anselmo, *As Origens da Imprensa em Portugal*, 155.

⁴¹ On the presence of German merchants in Lisbon see Kellenbenz H. (ed.), *Fremde Kaufleute auf der Iberischen Halbinsel* (Cologne – Vienna: 1970); idem, “The Role of the Great Upper German Families in Financing the Discovery”, *Terrae Incognitae*, vol. X (Amsterdam: 1978) 45–59; idem, “La Participation des Capitaux de L’Allemagne Méridionale aux Entreprises Portugaises D’Outre-Mer au Tournant du XV^e siècle”, *Les Aspects Internationaux de la Découverte Océanique aux XV^e et XVI^e siècles* (Paris: 1966) 309–317, and idem, *Die Fugger in Spanien und Portugal bis 1560. Ein Großunternehmen des 16. Jahrhunderts*, 3 vols. (Munich: 1990). On the German participation in the 1505 voyage to India see Hümmerich F., *Die erste Handelsfahrt nach Indien 1505/1506* (Munich – Berlin: 1922).

read the stunning and unusual news from distant lands, where black people lived with customs so different from those known to Europeans. This news caused him such admiration that he felt compelled to make them more familiar by translating them into German. The discovery of new regions seemed to be a miracle, even more as they were found inhabited.

It is curiosity that leads the Italian Luis de Cadamosto to participate in the Portuguese maritime enterprise. It is also curiosity, which leads scholars in southern and northern Europe to read and translate the report that this traveller wrote on the extraordinary experience he made.⁴²

Humanists like Jobst Ruchamer, Cadamosto's translator, or Valentim Fernandes and his German friend Conrad Peutinger were engaged in the same task: to disseminate the works about the Portuguese expansion. What led them to translate and edit these texts? Or, to put the question in another way: What do these Portuguese works add to humanism?

The prologue of the German edition of *História e Conquista da Índia pelos Portugueses*, written by Fernão Lopes de Castanheda,⁴³ points out that the explorers happened to discover a great part of the world and that their voyages allow to know a lot about regions and peoples never before seen. Beyond the initial surprise of discovering a whole new world, the German humanists immediately recognize the scientific value of the realities encountered overseas. Without them one could not see the world in its true dimensions. The concepts known before lost their validity. Without the news brought about by the maritime enterprise one could hardly study and draw seriously the outlines of the globe. It became necessary to consider the new experiences in order to reflect on the inherited concepts aiming at a new order of knowledge. In their prefaces to the translation of Portuguese travel reports,⁴⁴ the editors enthusiastically declare that the world had reached a cultural and geographical dimension hitherto completely unthinkable. It is therefore not surprising that these works are treated like the works

⁴² See Krüger K. (ed.), *Curiositas. Welterfahrung und ästhetische Neugierde in Mittelalter und früher Neuzeit* (Göttingen: 2002).

⁴³ Castanheda, Fernão Lopes de, *História do Descobrimento e conquista da Índia* (Lisbon: 1551–1561); idem, *Warhafftige vnd volkomene Historia/ von Erfindung Calecut vnd anderer Königreich/ Landen vnd Inseln/ in Indien/ vnd dem Indianischen Meer gelegen [...]* (no further information: 1565).

⁴⁴ Lopes, *Afrika* 34–95.

of classical antiquity, as they also formulate the principles inherent to the concept of the world. While the classical texts give notice of the past of Europe and the world, the Portuguese travel literature reports on the present, so both are considered as valuable documents for the historical knowledge of humankind. So did Thomas More, when he conceived his *Utopia*, in which the great Rafael, who reports from the utopian country, has simultaneously a profound knowledge of classical antiquity and – as a Portuguese sailor – of current discoveries.

But what could be the reaction of the scholars, when they had to conclude that this news was not only unknown to themselves, but also to the classical authorities such as the Alexandrian Ptolemy, whose description of the land was considered the foundation of geographic and cultural knowledge. Geographers in the 16th century started to talk about a world outside of Ptolemy, “extra-Ptolemy”. One of the most significant examples is the work of Sebastian Münster. In his edition of Ptolemy’s *Geography* Münster adds several comments in the margins of the main text,⁴⁵ in which he includes a wide range of contemporary data and information. His famous *Cosmography*,⁴⁶ the sum of contemporary knowledge for almost hundred years, published in fifty editions throughout Europe, aims at informing and presenting a historical continuity of the geographical realities. In both works (the *Geography* and the *Cosmography*), Münster refers to the travel literature in order to obtain the latest information about new worlds. Names such as Luis de Cadamosto and Damião de Góis, Francisco Álvares, Duarte Lopes,⁴⁷ among others, appear in the pages of his works, as the sources *par excellence* that shaped the new geographic and cultural boundaries. But it is not only in works concerning geography and nature that we find references and quotations from Portuguese authors. In several areas of knowledge, like history, theology, linguistics, botany or zoology, there are traces of these sources.⁴⁸ Without forgetting the artistic production, since, as we showed elsewhere,⁴⁹ the Portuguese works depict exotic landscapes, create colourful settings,

⁴⁵ Münster Sebastian, *Geographia universalis, vetus et nova, complectens Claudii Ptolemaei Alexandrini enarrationis Libros VIII* (Basel, Henricus Petri: 1540).

⁴⁶ Münster, Sebastian, *Cosmographia, Beschreibung/ aller Lender [...]* (Basel, Henricus Petri: 1544ff.).

⁴⁷ Lopes, *Afrika* 115–123.

⁴⁸ Lopes, *Afrika* 213–218.

⁴⁹ Lopes, *Wonderful things*.

and portray unusual characters able to inspire many European artists to graphically sketch that brand new reality.

The Portuguese travel literature provides the basic corpus of documents for humanistic reasoning. Therefore German scholars from the 16th and 17th century considered travel literature as important and groundbreaking, since on its pages they could find true *historiae*, information and data. Written and witnessed by those who had seen the news first and with their own eyes, these works constitute an immeasurable contribution in the description and interpretation of remote lands, peoples and societies.

Among the works published by Portuguese authors, we also find some that were written in Latin with the purpose of disseminating the Portuguese endeavour. This is the case of humanist authors such as André de Resende,⁵⁰ Jerónimo Osório⁵¹ or Damião de Góis, the most cosmopolitan among them.⁵²

During his rich and manifold humanistic education, which brought him to Leuven, Italy, and finally to Erasmus in Fribourg, Góis did not only receive humanistic influences. Representing a country that had just provided new data about the world and the people who inhabited it, the sea voyages also turned out to be a frequent subject of his correspondence and exchange with humanist scholars all over Europe, as well as the decisive reason for publishing some of his works.

In 1532, at the request of Johannes Magnus, Bishop of Uppsala, Damião de Góis edited *Legatio Mahna Indorum Imperatoris Presbyteri Joannis ad Emanuele Regem*, on the relations between Portugal and Ethiopia. In 1539 it is time to address the defence of Diu in *Commentari rerum gestarum in India 1538, citra Gangem a lusitanis, anno 1538*, dedicated to Pietro Bembo, a subject that he will turn back to in *De Bello Cambaico, commentarii tres*, in which he describes the situation of the Portuguese in India, referencing in particular the activity of the viceroy D. João de Castro.

⁵⁰ Resende André de, *Epitome rerum gestarum in India a Lusitanis* (Louvain, Seruatijs Zassenus: 1531).

⁵¹ Osório Jerónimo, *De Rebus Emmanuelis, Lusitanorum Regis, invictissima virtute et auspicio gestis* (Cologne, Arnold Birckmann: 1574).

⁵² Martins J.V. de P. (ed.), *Damião de Góis, Humaniste européen* (Braga: 1982); Faria F.L., *Estudos Bibliográficos sobre Damião de Góis e a sua Época* (Lisboa: 1977), and Matos L. de, "L'Humanisme Portugais et ses Relations avec L'Europe", *Bulletin des Études Portugaises*, 26 (1965) 45–65.

These are just some of the issues which might exemplify how these texts intend to collaborate to a climate of exchange of ideas, responding concretely and in detail to the great curiosity about the new world and its peoples. Hence, these works are printed in different European cities and become a regular and frequent reference in cosmography (as already mentioned in the case of Sebastian Münster), in books on history, theological works, et cetera. In fact, Damião de Góis is one of the most cited Portuguese authors. As his European colleagues, Damião de Góis did not limit his interest to the classical heritage, but opened his mind to the challenges of the change induced by the discovery of new worlds.

It was a profound cultural revolution, since the news about other nations and remote lands grew visibly from Gomes Eanes de Zurara to Cadamosto, to Valentim Fernandes, Duarte Pacheco Pereira, Pêro Vaz Caminha and so many others who witnessed the importance of the new realities. And among these works the reports and notes on natural history have been of outstanding significance. Thanks to these writings, the ancient knowledge was sometimes confirmed, sometimes corrected or completed by the observation of new realities and by more detailed descriptions. These findings would, as we have already mentioned, challenge men to describe and understand what they saw with their own eyes. Many will refer to the experience as eyewitness, like the first travel reports, but many of them also carried along a classical academic education.⁵³

When leaving for India in 1534, Garcia d'Orta took along in his intellectual baggage a wide range of academic knowledge. Orta is thus not just a simple traveller; he is an erudite traveller of a second generation, who had conducted his medical studies in Alcal and Salamanca. Unlike the early Portuguese travellers, Orta can and will use the inherited knowledge. But in the new Indian reality, Orta will also resort to on-site observation. This makes him a very special and interesting case. He is different from those, who saw, by what he had read, and from those, who read, by what he had seen, as Conde Ficalho put it in his work on Garcia d'Orta and his time.⁵⁴

That Orta had a long list of readings can be proven by the numerous quotes and references. But Orta did not just base his writing on those

⁵³ Hooykaas R., *O Humanismo e os Descobrimentos na Ciência e nas Letras Portuguesas do século XVI* (Lisbon: 1983).

⁵⁴ Conde Ficalho, *Garcia da Orta e o seu Tempo* (Lisbon: 1983).

previous readings. In the mid-sixteenth century his knowledge of both realities will give result to a unique work, his famous *Colóquios*. In this work he openly claims that Pliny the Elder was wrong, for example, or that Theophrastus was mistaken, when he said that the cinnamon plant had many burls, because he had not been in the East to see how it really is.⁵⁵ Orta shows no fear to criticize those he had learnt to accept as authorities.⁵⁶ Where does this courage come from? The trust, the certainty of his statements are an expression of authentic experience and observation. Orta trusts what he sees. This is the grounding of his knowledge, 'and this I know very well as an eyewitness',⁵⁷ an expression that later echoed in Luís de Camões' epic *The Lusíads* as 'Vi, claramente visto', 'I saw, clearly seen'.

It was the opportunity to travel and to see things on-site that gave him the courage to contradict the inherited knowledge; at the same time, this awarded him the authority to establish new insights. His knowledge of the world is based now not just on the readable, but on the visible, as demonstrated by Luis Filipe Barreto.⁵⁸

Garcia da Orta is not intended to disesteem the authors of antiquity, rather he speaks of them with the greatest respect – we must not forget that the title of the work of Garcia da Orta is *Colóquios*, i.e., a conversation between two characters, Dr. Ruano, a former student in Salamanca, the scholar who knows by heart Dioscorides or Pliny the Elder, and d'Orta, the experienced observer who imperturbably affirms: *I saw* – without, however, dispensing or endangering his freedom in the appreciation of this new *prose of the world*. As José Sebastião da Silva Dias put it, Orta's erudition is a tool for observation: erudition helps, it confirms, it develops observation, but it never replaces or dominates it, and when erudition is in contradiction with observation, erudition ceases and gives in to observation.⁵⁹ – a feature of what should be called scientific humanism.⁶⁰

⁵⁵ Orta, Garcia da, *Colóquios*, ed. Conde Ficalho (Lisbon: 1987) vol. I 211.

⁵⁶ Ibidem, vol. I 105.

⁵⁷ Orta, *Colóquios*, vol II, 246.

⁵⁸ Barreto L.F., "A matéria médica renascentista, A leitura dos Colóquios por Cristóvão da Costa", in idem, *Caminhos do Saber no Renascimento Português, Estudos de História e Teoria da Cultura* (Lisbon: 1986) 109–201.

⁵⁹ Dias, *Os Descobrimentos* 100.

⁶⁰ Albuquerque L. de, "Science et Humanisme dans la Renaissance Portugaise", *L'Humanisme Portugais et l'Europe* (Paris: 1984) 419–437; idem, *Sobre o empirismo científico em Portugal no século XVI* (Coimbra: 1982).

Observation is joined by experience. Always attentive, Orta investigates the new reality around him, prompting even his own experiences as a private laboratory of observation.

In the *Colóquios* more than fifty Oriental drugs, mostly plants, are classified. It is the first accurate description by a European of the botanical characteristics, origin and therapeutic properties of many oriental drugs, some of them previously, but incorrectly or incompletely known in Europe.

With this work, Garcia da Orta offers a valuable and outstanding testimony for a more real and true description of oriental nature. Thus the book by Garcia da Orta, the first naturalistic study of these species, was considered and admired as a landmark in the knowledge of oriental drugs. That is why it was translated into Latin language by the renowned and famous botanist Carolus Clusius (Charles d'Écluse). In fact, Clusius was then the most renowned botanist in Europe. Born in 1526, Clusius studied law in Leuven and Marburg and medicine in Wittenberg. Later, in Montpellier, he discovered his interest and passion for botany, by translating into French a book by Rembertus Dodonaeus, author of a history of plants. In 1564, he is Jakob Fugger's tutor, working for one of the most prestigious families of German merchants. In this function he leaves for his first scientific voyage that brings him to Spain and Portugal, where he will remain for two years, discovering, collecting and describing more than two hundred new species of plants. Thus, in the following years he will write a history of Iberian botany and translate Portuguese and Spanish botanical works. Indeed, during his stay in Portugal, Clusius got to know the work written by Garcia da Orta and a year later he had the privilege of printing it. In 1567 he published an abridged and annotated version of the *Colóquios* under the title *Aromatum, et Simplicium Aliquot Medicamentorum Apud Indos Nascentium Historia*,⁶¹ in Antwerp. The work of Clusius was reprinted in 1574, 1579, 1593 and 1605. Thus, the Flemish botanist published five editions and still, in 1582, some comments and notes on the book. He never stopped working on his version, improving it and completing it with notes and figures, which,

⁶¹ Clusius, Carolus, *Aromatum, et Simplicium Aliquot Medicamentorum Apud Indos Nascentium Historia* (Antwerpen: 1567). On Clusius see *Festschrift anlässlich der 400jährigen Wiederkehr der wissenschaftlichen Tätigkeit von Carolus Clusius* (Eisenstadt: 1973).

as already pointed out by Conde de Ficalho,⁶² shows how much he estimated the Portuguese book. Orta's work was like the basic structure to which he added complements and attachments.

Carolus Clusius knew how important Orta's work was and how necessary its publication. Hence, the botanist assumed the role of a translator and commentator on this innovative writing. In this edition, he does not hesitate, as we have seen, in changing even the structure of the work, which is no longer presented as a dialogue but as a scientific compendium in alphabetical order. In his reduced version Clusius presents the factual essence revealed by Orta. Thus it is not a *verbatim* translation of the Portuguese text, which was kept unknown to the European public in its original form. Actually, no one read the *Colóquios* in the form conceived by Orta, as already Conde de Ficalho pointed out.⁶³ We nevertheless note that this is a particular moment in the history of its reception by the emerging scientific community in Europe: What mattered first was the scientific content assured by Clusius' translation. In other words, the work of Garcia da Orta did not get lost, as happened to other Portuguese works, and might thus be known and recognized as a fundamental contribution to the contemporary scientific discourse.

It is through the same attitude that we can understand the images, which Clusius included as a contribution to a visual clarification of the description and characterization of the species described by Orta. Everything that could help to understand better and more deeply the mysteries of the universe is welcome as a genuine expression of taking science seriously.

These changes, as well as the reorganization of the content in an alphabetical order are considered as methodological principles in the consolidation of a discourse that aims at being increasingly scientific. Clusius despises, so to speak, the dialogue form that characterizes the original as an encounter between the old erudition and the new science of observation, to focus without further ado on hard facts and categorical information. The contents as the "scientific juice" (in the expression of Conde de Ficalho), were what attracted the attention of European scholars in Orta's work.

⁶² Conde Ficalho, *Garcia da Orta*, 379.

⁶³ Conde Ficalho, *Garcia da Orta*, 379.

Clusius was not the only one to publish the work of Garcia da Orta; others followed his footsteps, but it was through him that Orta found his European readers. And, indeed, it was Clusius' Latin version that invited other scholars to translate Garcia da Orta into Italian or French,⁶⁴ and to initiate scientific studies on Asian flora.

Wherever one wanted or needed to use accurate descriptions of Asian species, the work of Garcia da Orta in Clusius' version proved to be a valuable manual. Scholars necessarily drew on the work of the Portuguese botanist as one of the greatest connoisseurs of oriental plants.

Once its integration into the natural, cultural and historical context was completed, the new worlds could no longer simply be taken as a different world. Integrated in a new summation of knowledge, the legacy of classical authorities could finally be transcended, and conditions for a new draft of science could emerge. Only after having contact with the variety and diversity of societies and customs, languages and laws in the world, scholars could dare to make a global history of humanity, or intend to sketch a model of civilization. In this sense, the findings and testimonies of Portuguese sailors acquire an outstanding position in the cultural debate: as a mirror of authentic experiences.

First steps towards an empirical science and classification are done, still respecting both the tradition of the past and the influences of the present. The arrival at remote and different cultural ports challenged European culture. Indeed, any idea of a unique track or a single path of civilization had to be shaken in light of the new and unlimited world. The plurality and variety of human realities in the world required new categories, redesigning of criteria, and reshaping of concepts. But these new concepts had to be developed in a continuous dialog with the inherited references. Time had come to acknowledge peoples and regions previously ignored within the context of a global reality. Thus the discoveries led to knowledge, promoting science in a new mapping of the world and a new conception of humanity.

⁶⁴ The Italian translation by Aníbal Briganti (Venice: 1575) was reprinted in 1580, 1582, 1589, 1605 and 1616. The French translation by Antoine Collin was published in 1602 and a 2nd edition in 1619.

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PRISM OF EMPIRE: THE SHIFTING IMAGE OF ETHIOPIA IN RENAISSANCE PORTUGAL (1500–1570)

Giuseppe Marcocci

Introduction: Ethiopia, Prester John and the Portuguese Empire

Scholars have generally disregarded the history of early modern Portuguese imperial thought. While a dozen scattered articles deal with particular aspects, there is no book about the subject as a whole.* At the same time, international historiography over the last two decades has been characterized by an outstanding production of comparative studies about theories of empire, in which surprisingly little attention is paid to the Portuguese case.¹ This chapter aims to focus on the special role played by Ethiopia in the making of a public image of the Portuguese overseas expansion during the sixteenth century. By ‘public image’ I mean the official representation of the main purposes of the Portuguese Empire, closely related to the means used to achieve them. I stress that at the beginning of the sixteenth century there were competing ideas about the Portuguese Empire: Ethiopia was a sensitive prism of the tensions concerning the framework of the overseas power, its organization and administration. Indeed, in Renaissance Portugal the public image of Ethiopia shifted over the course of time. More precisely, the controversial interpretations of the place occupied by the encounter with Ethiopia and its inhabitants in the evolution of the Portuguese Empire disguised another, no less vibrant debate about the colonial experience itself. The importance of Ethiopia is especially clear since it was the only subject on which vernacular writings pertaining to Portuguese imperial literature were published in the first half of the sixteenth century.

* See now my book *L'invenzione di un impero. Politica e cultura nel mondo portoghese* (Rome: 2011), which was published after submitting this chapter.

¹ Pagden A., *Lords of all the World. Ideologies of empire in Spain, Britain and France, c. 1500–c. 1800* (New Haven: 1995). A partial exception is to be found in Armitage D. (ed.), *Theories of Empire, 1450–1800* (Aldershot-Brookfield, VT: 1998).

A mythic land between Christendom and Islam, Ethiopia had stood at the core of the justification of Portuguese overseas expansion since the mid-fifteenth century. The awareness of and interest in a remote Christian empire, surrounded by Muslim enemies, was reinforced by the identification of its sovereign, the *negusa nagast* ('king of kings'), with the legendary Prester John, a charismatic figure of medieval European legend. As was the case of many other real or invented personalities in the Middle Ages, two contrasting traditions referred to Prester John: mentioned for the first time in a twelfth-century Latin letter, this singular name did not refer to a priest, but rather to the overpowering lord of a great and marvellous Christian realm somewhere in the East, protected by an immense army. By the beginning of the fourteenth century, a new and more elaborate version of the story was propagated by Marco Polo's *Il Milione*: Prester John's fantastic kingdom did really exist in Asia, but it had been reduced in size after its king was killed in battle by his former vassals, the Tartars led by Gengis Khan.²

The legend of Prester John lived on through Marco Polo. Known as 'Prester John of the Indies', this title contributed to the realization of what has been called the 'Ethiopian destiny' of this imaginary sovereign.³ Rumours spread the notion that 'Ethiopia', a generic name known since Antiquity, corresponded to a Christian land in the East.⁴ Moreover, the geographers of the late Middle Ages used to associate Ethiopia with the 'Middle Indies'. All these factors helped to keep Prester John alive: in fifteenth-century Europe he was often confused with the Emperor of Ethiopia.

The wars of conquest against the Muslims in North Africa, as well as the growing power of the Ottoman Empire, made Prester John (and the opportunity of alliance with his Christian troops) a perfect myth for Portuguese expansion. Copies of the letter of Prester John circulated in mid-fifteenth-century Portugal, and considering that the papal bull *Romanus Pontifex* (1455) granted the Crown an unheard-of authority over lands and seas from Cape Bojador 'to the Indians'

² Gumilev L.N., *Searches for an Imaginary Kingdom. The Legend of the Kingdom of Prester John* (Cambridge-New York-Melbourne: 1987).

³ Ramos M.J., "O destino etíope de Preste João. A Etiópia nas representações cosmográficas europeias", in Cristóvão F. (ed.), *Condicionantes da literatura de viagens: estudos e bibliografias* (Lisbon: 1999) 235–249.

⁴ Beckingham Ch.F., *Between Islam and Christendom. Travellers, Facts and Legends in the Middle Ages and the Renaissance* (London: 1983).

(*usque ad indos*), that is to Ethiopia, the juridical dimension of this legend stands out. During the second half of the century, the Ethiopians and their sovereign were subjects that intrigued European humanists and learned men, especially in Italy. In Renaissance Portugal, a special attention to Ethiopia in printed literature followed the voyage in search of Prester John undertaken by Afonso de Paiva and Pêro da Covilhã in 1487.⁵ There was a genuine continuity between the political use of the myth of Prester John and his Empire and the disparate images of the African kingdom later presented by pre-eminent representatives of the Republic of Letters, from the German Valentinus Moravus (also known by the Portuguese name Valentim Fernandes) to the Erasmian Damião de Góis.

The debate over Ethiopia was intense at the beginning. Then, by the mid-sixteenth century interest and enthusiasm diminished. Gradually, silence enshrouded a subject that had been a central issue in previous decades, culminating in a paradox that has not been pointed out by modern readers: the absence of Prester John from the *Lusiadas* (1572), the poem by Luís de Camões devoted to a mythological celebration of the Portuguese expansion to the East. Nor did Camões give significant space to Ethiopia, mentioned merely as an isolated land 'where still is maintained the ancient Christian rule' (4, 62, 7–8).⁶ Camões's obliteration can be seen as the most striking outcome of what I propose to call the age of silence (ca. 1540–1570) in relation to the two former phases in which the Portuguese literature dealing with Ethiopia can be divided: the age of enthusiasm (ca. 1500–1520) and the age of conflict (ca. 1520–1540).

I will follow this periodization and show how Prester John became a censored topic, because of his meaning within Portuguese imperial literature: if different ways of talking about him implied contrasting positions about the overseas policy undertaken by the Crown, we can consider treatises and pamphlets regarding Ethiopia as a prism of theories of empire. The relationship with a Christian power outside of Europe culminated in an embarrassed silence that was the end of the rapport between Ethiopia and Portugal in the sixteenth century, as well as Spain in the seventeenth. What remains of European

⁵ Rogers F.M., *The Quest for Eastern Christians. Travels and Rumour in the Age of Discovery* (Minneapolis: 1962).

⁶ Camões L. Vaz de, *Lusiads*, ed. L. White (Oxford: 2002) 89.

influence in Ethiopia today is apparently a 'story in stones'.⁷ But a close reading of literary sources reveals the hidden significance of Ethiopia as a theme for reflection and theorization of imperialism in early modern Portugal.

*Manueline millenarianism and Prester John:
the age of enthusiasm, ca. 1500–1520*

This chapter will analyse historical facts at the conjunction of ethnography and political communication, theology and literature, in order to shed light on the tangle between Empire and the Republic of Letters in early modern Portugal. No other subject demonstrates the complexity of this intersection better than Ethiopia. At the time of governor Afonso de Albuquerque's imperial conquests in the East, contacts were established between Portuguese officers and alleged representatives of the Ethiopian Empire, ending with the embassy of the 'Armenian' Matewos to the Court of King Emmanuel I in Lisbon (1514).⁸ At roughly the same moment, a former commander of Portuguese fleets in the Indian Ocean, Tristão da Cunha, cousin of governor Albuquerque, led a memorable procession in Rome exalting the Portuguese triumphs in Asia, including the seizure of Goa and Melaka, in the presence of Pope Leo X.⁹

This two-sided strategy was a constant in Manueline imperial propaganda: on the one hand, a cautious official political communication supported the providential image of the overseas conquests by means of public ceremonies, legends and the highly controlled circulation of a few writings at Court and across the kingdom; on the other hand, the announcement of the victories of the Portuguese Crown and the consequent propagation of the Christian faith in the world was addressed, by means of elegant Latin epistles, to European élites, above all those

⁷ Hespeler-Boulton J.J., *A Story in Stones. Portugal's Influence on Culture and Architecture in the Highlands of Ethiopia, 1493–1643* (British Columbia: 2006). See also Ramos M.J. – Boavida I. (eds.), *The Indigenous and the Foreign in Christian Ethiopian Art. On the Portuguese-Ethiopian Contacts in the 16th–17th Centuries* (Aldershot-Burlington, VT: 2004).

⁸ Aubin J., "L'Ambassade du Prêtre Jean à D. Manuel", in idem, *Le Latin et l'Astrolabe*, 1 (Paris: 1996) 133–182.

⁹ Bedini S.A., *The Pope's Elephant. An Elephant's Journey from Deep India to the Heart of Rome* (Manchester: 1997).

in the Eternal City, the main diplomatic centre in those days.¹⁰ Rome was also the real source of legitimacy of the Portuguese Empire. Papal bulls had allowed the crown to make war and conquer in a very wide geographical area in exchange for an unprecedented effort of evangelization. The universal conversion, with all its millenarian implications, had become a political issue. Thus propaganda directed toward the Papal Curia mixed imperial and apostolic topics in order to negotiate, to the benefit of the Portuguese monarchy, the jurisdictional balance with the Church of Rome. Prester John and Ethiopia were part of this plan, especially after Emmanuel I had extended his title with the grandiloquent expression 'Lord of the Conquest, Navigation and Commerce of Ethiopia, Arabia, Persia and India'. The king took the new name in 1499, after the discovery of the route to India and the return to Lisbon of the fleet captained by Vasco da Gama. The ships had sailed from Portugal in the same year when thousands of Jews living in the kingdom were forcibly baptized (1497). These two parallel events changed Portuguese history forever. While the dream of opening access to Eastern markets became a reality, the metropolitan society was shocked by the problematic assimilation of the converted Jews, called 'New Christians': the theology of conversion was leaning toward intransigence, with long-lasting influence on the missionary strategies in the Portuguese Empire.

In 1502 *Il Milione* was translated in Portuguese and published in Lisbon, under royal privilege, by the printer and humanist Valentinus Moravus. Given the relatively modest development of print in Portugal at the time, the *Livro de Marco Paulo* had a special political meaning.¹¹ In the epistle dedicatory Moravus celebrated Emmanuel I, whose 'sovereignty not only is heard in Europe and Africa, but the sound of Your name is great in Asia as far as in the most remote regions of India'.¹² Thus, Moravus invoked 'the age when I will see Your powerful Lordship magnificently entitled as emperor of any monarchy'.¹³ The translation of Marco Polo was intended to affirm the Portuguese dominion over the world travelled by the Venetians during

¹⁰ Andrade A.A. Banha de, *Mundos Novos do Mundo. Panorama da difusão, pela Europa, de notícias dos Descobrimentos geográficos portugueses*, 2 vols. (Lisbon: 1972).

¹¹ Anselmo A., "L'activité typographique de Valentim Fernandes au Portugal (1495-1518)", in *L'Humanisme Portugais et l'Europe* (Paris: 1984) 781-818.

¹² *O Livro de Marco Paulo. O Livro de Nicolao Veneto. Carta de Jeronimo de Santo Estevam*, ed. F.M. Esteves Pereira (Lisbon: 1922) 3.

¹³ *Ibidem* 5.

the Middle Ages: intellectual appropriation and political subjugation went together. Like Marco Polo, Moravus rejected the myth of Prester John, whom he identified with a prince of Cathay 'killed by the Great Khan who conquered his lands', as clarified in an introductory chapter on Ethiopia, whose sovereign 'is reputed to be Prester John, but he is not'. All his subjects, however, were 'Christian': more properly, 'they share the Jacobite error. According to someone, these Christians are baptized, but also circumcised, they observe the Saturday and don't eat pork meat'. This representation of the Ethiopian faith reflected a positive attitude. In truth, the Ethiopians were not Jacobite, but pertained to another branch of Monophysitism, to be exact a variant of the Coptic Church of Egypt; but what matters is that Moravus didn't classify them as 'heretics'. This allowed him to openly advocate a coalition between Portuguese and Ethiopians for a global war against Islam, addressing Emmanuel I as follows:

May the clemency of God agree that Your royal Lordship were Emmanuel to them against the enemies of the faith, by restoring their freedom and sending missionaries who teach them the true Catholic faith, saving them from their errors, so that they could take advantage from us, as well as we from them, in order to be members of one body, and so one shepherd and one fold.¹⁴

The reference to the prophecy of *Unus Pastor* ('and there should be one fold and one shepherd', John 10, 16) expressed a millenarian interpretation of the forthcoming encounter with Ethiopia, a sort of reply to the Spanish enthusiasm for the discovery of America. Contrary to the New World, Ethiopia was a very ancient world, which was capable of awakening the age-old dream of the reunification of Western and Eastern Christians. It was a scenario full of symbolic meaning, even if Moravus's tacit goal was to persuade his compatriot merchants and bankers to invest in Portuguese overseas business: the rejection of Prester John should be understood as a touch of realism.

The idea of an ultimate war against the Muslims, which would have preceded the universal triumph of the Christian faith, circulated widely at the Court of Emmanuel I and supported the political use of millenarianism. Moravus' words stood at the intersection between the Crown's propagandistic enthusiasm and the pragmatism of foreign investors (the list of goods available in the East presented by Moravus confirms it).

¹⁴ Ibidem 7.

In the past, scholars have stressed the solidity of the links between prophecy and imperialism in the Manueline age.¹⁵ This national perspective has now been surpassed by Sanjay Subrahmanyam's challenging approach: at the beginning of the early modern period a millenarian conjuncture involved an area ranging from the Mediterranean to the Indian Ocean, multiplying connected histories that made possible the European overseas expansion to the East.¹⁶ Although limited to Christendom, the relationship between Ethiopia and Portugal at the beginning of the sixteenth century supports Subrahmanyam's hypothesis.

According to reports from Portuguese active at the entrance of the strategic area of the Red Sea, even Muslims were persuaded that European penetration in that region was part of the prophecy of the holy city of Mecca's destruction by a Christian army. This dramatic atmosphere encouraged millenarian interpretations, not only in Portugal, but also in Ethiopia, where the sixteenth century was identified with the initial moment of the Eighth Millennium, an age of religious wars and suffering before the final victory of Christianity. In the last decades of the fifteenth century, political prophetism and millenarianism were the reaction to the end of the peaceful coexistence between Christian and Muslims in Ethiopian society.¹⁷ This was the context of the encounter with the Portuguese, as recalled by the first letter to King Emmanuel I from the regent of Ethiopia, Empress Eleni. Dated to 1509 and published for the first time in 1514, after Matewos's mission in Lisbon, Eleni's epistle reads:

And now is the time arrived of the promise made by Christ and Saint Mary his Mother, Who said that in the last times the King of the parts of the Franks would rise up, and that he would put an end to the Moors. And this is the promise made by Christ and His Mother.¹⁸

¹⁵ Thomaz L.F.F.R., "L'idée impériale manueline", in Aubin J. (ed.), *La Découverte, le Portugal et l'Europe. Actes du Colloque* (Paris: 1990) 35–103; Aubin J., "Études inédites sur le règne de D. Manuel, 1495–1521", in idem, *Le Latin et l'Astrolabe*, 3 (Paris: 2006).

¹⁶ Subrahmanyam S., "Sixteenth-Century Millenarism from Tagus to the Ganges", in idem, *Explorations in connected history*, 2 (New Delhi: 2005) 102–137.

¹⁷ Wolde Aregay M., "Millenarian Traditions and Peasant Movements in Ethiopia, 1500–1855", in Rubenson R., *Proceedings of the Seventh International Conference of Ethiopian Studies* (Addis Abeba-East Lansing: 1984) 257–262. For an overview of the political and social history see Abir M., *Ethiopia and the Red Sea. The rise and decline of the Solomonic dynasty and Muslim-European rivalry in the region* (London: 1980) 69–85.

¹⁸ The letter has been published several times. See Faria F. Leite de, *Estudos bibliográficos sobre Damião de Góis e a sua época* (Lisbon: 1977) 324. I quote from *The*

Even if there was no reference to Prester John in the Ethiopian correspondence, in Portuguese writings addressed to the Popes these first contacts were used to reaffirm the great success of the expansion to the East. The powerful myth of Prester John was coherent with the evocative image of an isolated Christian people, surrounded by hostile Muslims. If the Portuguese Crown stressed the highly symbolic power of a military alliance with these remote Eastern Christians in order to reinforce jurisdictional claims for more autonomy and privileges, Rome answered by omitting any mention of Prester John, as well as by recognizing coldly that the Ethiopians were substantially Christian ('they differ minimally'). The Curia defended its authority by suggesting a political reading of the Portuguese conquests as if they were just enlarging the boundaries of the 'Empire of the Church'.¹⁹ In this delicate diplomatic negotiation by means of humanistic epistles in Latin Ethiopia had a special place.

In 1515, however, King Emmanuel I and Pope Leo X both sent ambassadors to the Ethiopian Court. In Portugal the mission was entrusted to the royal counsellor Duarte Galvão, who had been among the most ardent supporters of an alliance between the two countries, based on his millenarian beliefs.²⁰ During the last years of the reign of Emmanuel I the Court was divided into factions in conflict over the imperial policy to be applied in the East: the defenders of a more pragmatic and mercantile view of empire asked for a light structure able to ensure control of the main couplings of international economic networks in the Indian Ocean; those who aspired to a more classic imperial power insisted on military conquest and political subjection of new territories, stressing the importance of the providential apostolic mission of the Portuguese in the history of mankind.²¹ The topic

discovery of Abyssinia by the Portuguese in 1520. A facsimile of the relation entitled: Carta das novas que vieram a el rey Nosso Senhor do descobrimento do preste Joham, Lisbon, 1521, ed. H. Thomas – A. Cortesão (London: 1938) 91.

¹⁹ See the epistle from King Emmanuel I to Pope Leo X, June 6, 1513, published in Rome on August 9, 1513, in *Corpo Diplomático Português contendo os actos e relações políticas e diplomáticas de Portugal com as diversas potências do mundo desde o século XVI até aos nossos dias*, ed. L.A. Rebello da Silva, 1 (Lisbon: 1862) 196–199; and the papal brief *Oratores maiestatis tuae*, 1514 (248–250).

²⁰ Aubin J., "Duarte Galvão", in idem, *Le Latin et l'Astrolabe* 1, 11–48.

²¹ Thomaz L.F.F.R., "Factions, interests and messianism: the politics of Portuguese expansion in the East, 1500–1521", *Indian Economic and Social History Review* 28 (1991) 97–109; Subrahmanyam S., "Making India Gama: the project of Dom Aires da Gama (1519) and its meaning", *Mare Liberum* 16 (1998) 33–55.

of Ethiopia, the hope of an alliance with the Eastern Christians and the tolerance toward their faith were all arguments in support of this latter idea of empire. More and more isolated politically, the king aligned with this view and once again began to promote the myth of Prester John, which also served to strengthen the messianic aura of his own person.²²

The faith of the Ethiopians: the age of conflict, ca. 1520–1540

In 1520 the Portuguese theologian Pedro Margalho, who was teaching at the University of Salamanca, published a treatise of Physics that included some information about the geographic discoveries.²³ A product of the University of Paris, where he had formed an intellectual alliance with the intolerant and conservative Diogo de Gouveia senior and Diego Ortiz de Villegas junior, Margalho showed his pride for the Portuguese conquests from the epistle dedicatory of the treatise to Diogo de Sousa, archbishop of Braga. Among several interesting elements in the text, the peremptory condemnation of the faith of the Ethiopians draws our attention. Margalho's operation is anything but casual and ingenuous. He introduced his opinion after refusing any millenarian enthusiasm for universal conversion: the number of the Christians in the world was lower than the sum of all the non-Christians; and this count included the Eastern Christians, even if they were 'heretics'. The principal object of the polemic, however, was Ethiopian Christianity, a subject about which theologians had just questioned the ambassador Matewos in 1514.²⁴ Significantly, Margalho quoted almost literally from Moravus, just substituting few words that sufficed to alter the meaning of his description. The adjective 'Christian'

²² 'He [Emmanuel I] began defying the members of the Royal Council and governing disorderly by himself', the bishop of the Algarve wrote in 1525 to the confessor of King John III, in *Colecção de São Lourenço*, ed. E. Sanceau, 1 (Lisbon: 1973) 330.

²³ Useful, although apologetic, the biography by Soares L. Ribeiro, *Pedro Margalho* (Lisbon: 2000).

²⁴ The interrogatory was to be published around 1879. The proof is stored in the Biblioteca da Academia das Ciências (Lisbon), *Res. cofre n. 2, doc. 36: Documenta Historiam Habessinorum Illustrantia*, ed. J.A. de Graça Barreto, 3/2, doc. 54. It had no consequences: the following year Matewos was graced with the habit of the Order of Christ (Aubin, "Études inédits" 387).

disappeared and Prester John was totally ignored. Margalho's message was clear: there was nothing to be expected from Ethiopians.

They have the habit of cauterizing their faces. They are not baptized by fire, as some say, but take the baptism by water. They admit heresy and false dogmas, respect the old law's writs together with our law and imitate other infidel customs. They are polygamous. They falsely claim to be descendants of Salomon and the Queen of Sheba.²⁵

Around the same time this severe assessment was published, the fleet of the new governor of India, Diogo Lopes de Sequeira, a nobleman trusted by the king, disembarked in Eritrea. It was a very delicate geopolitical moment, after the failure of Albuquerque's project to control the Red Sea and after the Ottoman conquest of Egypt. A delegation headed by Rodrigo de Lima, including the secular priest Francisco Álvares, was entrusted with establishing a direct contact with Prester John. Once there, Ethiopia looked very different than expected: a weak political system in a technologically backward land tormented by constant conflicts against the Muslims. The following year, however, the *Carta das novas que vieram a el Rey nosso senhor do descobrimento do Preste Joham*, published in Lisbon under the auspices of Emmanuel I, told another story.²⁶

Prester John was not just a myth. Written on the basis of Auditor Pedro Gomes Teixeira's report from Ethiopia, the *Carta das novas* announced the 'true certainty' of the existence of the legendary sovereign, 'a very powerful Christian king'. It was the strong reaffirmation of the warlike idea of empire supported by a visionary spirituality that had been exemplified by Albuquerque, but also a sharp reply to royal counsellors and noblemen who put economic interest before the imperial expansion: 'the great outlay and expense of his fleets, and the labours and deaths of his subjects and vassals, which have hitherto been made in this holy enterprise, may be deemed the better employed' after the encounter between Portuguese and Ethiopians, celebrated in millenarian terms by both sides.²⁷

The *Carta das novas* did not only express political enthusiasm, but also manifested concern for a new issue: the risk of an interpretation

²⁵ Margalho Pedro, *Phisices Compendium* (Salamanca, n.p.: 1520) fol. 4v.

²⁶ On the expectations surrounding Lopes de Sequeira's mission, see Aubin, "Études inédits" 404–409.

²⁷ *The discovery of Abyssinia* 63.

of the Ethiopians as Jews. It was the growing, but still contained intolerance toward the New Christians that strengthened Margalho's accusation of heresy against the Ethiopian faith, and a long passage in the *Carta* rejected the medieval prophecy that linked the realm of Prester John with the ten lost tribes of Israel, a legend derived from the Jewish eschatological tradition.²⁸ Gomes Teixeira recounted that, during a conversation at the monastery of Dabra Bizan (Tigray), he asked the old prior Samara Christos if the Bible read in Ethiopia included the fourth book of Esdras. The monk's negative answer is followed by a narrative pause, which is revealing of the doubts circulating in Portuguese culture:

This question about Esdras the Auditor says he put to him because in the fourth book, in the thirteenth chapter, it says that King Shalmaneser captured ten tribes, who crossed over the river Euphrates into a very far country a year's journey away, where they must keep his commandments; and that God will open the way again for them to return. Perchance these are the descendants of that race, whom God by means of the King our Lord would bring back to the Holy House; and this, considering how much of the world has been discovered by His Highness, and there is no news of these ten tribes. And these peoples, he says, have some manner and ceremonies of the law of the Scriptures, besides being a very great country.²⁹

Gomes Teixeira's rhetorical artifice gained strength from the acknowledgement that the 'manner and rites' of the Ethiopians were similar to Jewish ones, but any implication of such an analogy was undermined by Samara Christos's ignorance of the apocalyptic book by Esdras. Eloquenty, the *Carta* closed with a version of the prophecy of *Unus Pastor* even more enthusiastic than the one in the *Livro de Marco Paulo*. Prester John and the Portuguese Crown, 'both uniting in one will against the enemies of the faith', would have achieved 'all increase of it and the universal destruction of the evil sect of Mohamet', so 'that in a time of the King our Lord, and by his hand, His holy faith shall be so increased, in those parts and in all others, as is his desire, as is well seen from the pains he takes in this matter, that there may be one single fold and one single shepherd'.³⁰

²⁸ Beckingham Ch.F. – Hamilton B. (eds.), *Prester John, the Mongols and the Ten Lost Tribes* (Aldershot-Burlington, VT: 1996).

²⁹ *The discovery of Abyssinia* 78–79.

³⁰ *Ibidem* 89–90.

Things went in a different way. At the end of 1521 Emmanuel I died and his son succeeded to the throne with the name John III. Rival Court factions resurfaced. And if the supporters of the merchant empire received a more sympathetic hearing from the new king than from his father, by the middle of the decade intransigent theologians, hostile to the Ethiopian faith, took advantage of the arrival in Portugal of a mysterious Jew from Arabia. A presumed brother of the king of the Jews of the desert of Habor, the supposed descendants of two lost tribes of Israel, David Reubeni stimulated messianism among the New Christians and, instead of finding allies for a war against the Turks, his stated goal, he was expelled from the kingdom in 1526.³¹

Before Portugal, Reubeni had visited Pope Clement VII in Rome, claiming to be in touch with Prester John, and it is possible that this fame surrounded him in Portugal as well. In any case, he was charged only with proselytizing among converted Jews: nevertheless, his appearance was exploited by a group of intransigent theologians in favor at court, led by Diogo de Gouveia senior, Pedro Margalho and Diego Ortiz de Villegas junior: advocates of Scholasticism against Erasmian humanism, they asked for a firmer rejection of religious doubt, as well as for a stricter control of converts, including the Inquisition (founded subsequently in 1536).³² In this changing atmosphere, after the return of Lima and father Álvares from Ethiopia (1527), the latter was formally questioned in 1529 by Diogo de Sousa, the prelate to whom Margalho had dedicated the treatise in which he condemned the Ethiopian heresy. The interrogatory is lost, but a selection was published as the last chapter of the controversial edition of a treatise that Álvares wrote on Ethiopia. It is easy to suppose that matters of faith were discussed, but the censors who mutilated the printed version of Álvares's book (1540) probably cut away this section from the questioning. However, there is an evident theological concern for the rites and customs of the Ethiopians. In addition, two references are an indirect sign of the pressure that Álvares felt: on one hand, his claim for the identification of the Emperor of Ethiopia with Prester John; on the other hand, the explication, which had become imperative after

³¹ Tavim J.A. Rodrigues da Silva, "David Reubeni: um «embaixador» inusitado", in *D. João III e o Império* ed. R. Carneiro – A.T. de Matos (Lisbon: 2004) 683–715.

³² See my article "A fundação da Inquisição em Portugal: um novo olhar", *Lusitania Sacra* s. 2, 23 (2011) [in press].

Reubeni, that 'in no parts of the kingdoms or lordships of the Prester John are there Jews'.³³

This reaffirmation of the political convenience of the myth of Ethiopian Christians was the object of the solemn ceremony of the Ethiopian Church's obedience to the Pope, which took place in Bologna in 1533, celebrating the successful universal conversion. The meeting was organized by Álvares in association with the Portuguese ambassador in Rome, Martinho de Portugal, a nobleman influenced by Erasmus.³⁴ It was nothing more than a diplomatic strategy, but while Álvares received attention and manuscripts of his treatise circulated widely in Italy, in Portugal the archpriest Saga za-Ab, the representative of the Ethiopian Court who had accompanied Lima and Álvares to Portugal, was under arrest.³⁵ Considered a heretic, Saga za-Ab was forbidden from taking the Eucharist and was repeatedly questioned by two Court theologians: Margalho and Ortiz. By then there was an open conflict over the faith of the Ethiopians, which produced opposing images of their country. The increasingly criticized representation of Ethiopia as the realm of Prester John and his Christian subjects was mainly interpreted as the legitimization of an inclusive pattern of empire that was capable of absorbing Eastern Christians and converts without discrimination: it was a Christianization on the model of Ancient Rome, not very different from the reinterpretation of Machiavelli proposed by the Portuguese humanist João de Barros in the panegyric of John III delivered at Court in 1533.³⁶ On the contrary, the firm condemnation of the faith of the Ethiopians cooled any enthusiasm for worldwide evangelization, reflecting a more prudent and pragmatic view of empire, shared by important royal counsellors, like António de Ataíde, count of Castanheira, and many financial investors.

The case of Saga za-Ab impressed the humanist Damião de Góis, when he returned temporarily to Portugal from Northern Europe in 1533 in order to be nominated treasurer of the Casa da Índia, the

³³ Beckingham C.F. – Huntingford G.W.B. (eds.), *The Prester John of the Indies. A true relation of the lands of the Prester John being the narrative of the Portuguese Embassy to Ethiopia in 1520 written by Father Francisco Alvares* (Cambridge: 1961) 512.

³⁴ Lefevre R., "L'Ambasceria di David re d'Etiopia a Clemente VII (1533)", *Accademie e biblioteche d'Italia* 34 (1966) 230–248; 324–338.

³⁵ Andrade A.A. Banha de, "Francisco Álvares e o êxito europeu da *Verdadeira Informação sobre a Etiópia*", in *Presença de Portugal no Mundo* (Lisbon: 1982) 285–339.

³⁶ See my article "Machiavelli, la religione dei romani e l'impero portoghese", *Storica* 41–42 (2008) 35–68.

ministry for commerce in Asia.³⁷ Góis had a special feeling for Ethiopia, a subject to which he had devoted a pamphlet in 1532.³⁸ He asked Saga za-Ab to write a memorandum about the real content of the faith of the Ethiopians that was concluded in April 1534. When Góis received the report in Padua, where he had moved in the meantime, he intended only to translate it, perhaps for a book. His position in favor of Ethiopian Christianity and his intention to exalt the encounter between that special African people and the Portuguese presented a challenge not only to the Court theologians, but also to the more pragmatic factions.

Prester John doesn't exist: The age of silence, ca. 1540–1570

Less than one year separated the release of the mutilated edition of the book by Francisco Álvares, the *Verdadeira informação das terras do Preste Joam das Índias* (Lisbon, October 1540), from the communication to Damião de Góis that his treatise, entitled *Fides, Religio Moresque Æthiopum* (Leuven, September 1540), had been prohibited from circulation in Portugal by two censors of the Inquisition: once again, Margalho and Ortiz (July 1541).³⁹ Surely, the Court theologians did not appreciate the insertion of Saga za-Ab's memorandum, reflecting a very negative image of both of them, in Góis's volume, a composite work that collected letters exchanged among the sovereigns of Ethiopia and Portugal and the Popes, short historical excerpts and a final section about the faith of the Ethiopians, including the text written by the archpriest. An epistle by Góis to Pope Paul III introduced the

³⁷ For biographical information see Bataillon M., "Le Cosmopolitisme de Damião de Góis", in idem, *Études sur le Portugal au Temps de l'Humanisme* (Paris: 1974) 121–154; Feist Hirsch E., *Damião de Góis. The Life and the Thought of a Portuguese Humanist, 1502–1574* (The Hague: 1967); *Damião de Góis na Europa do Renascimento* (Braga: 2003).

³⁸ [Góis Damião de], *Legatio Magni Indorum Imperatoris ad Emmanuelem Lusitaniae Regem. Anno Domini MDXIII* (Antwerp, Johannes Grapheus: 1532).

³⁹ Letter from the inquisitor-general, prince Henry, July 28, 1541, in *Índices dos livros proibidos em Portugal no século XVI*, ed. A. Moreira de Sá (Lisbon: 1983) 65. On Góis's treatise see Lawrance J., "The Middle Indies: Damião de Góis on Prester John and the Ethiopians", *Renaissance Studies* 6 (1992) 306–334; and my article "Gli umanisti italiani e l'impero portoghese: una interpretazione della *Fides, Religio, Moresque Æthiopum* di Damião de Góis", *Rinascimento* 45 (2005) 307–366.

book, urging the Christian princes to cease religious wars in Europe and make a coordinated global attack against the Muslims in which Ethiopia would be a powerful ally. Góis concluded by recovering the millenarian prophecy of *Unus Pastor*, which he claimed referred to the Pope. This change (in the past the king of Portugal had always been identified as the object of the prophecy) was due to Góis's close relationship with two spiritual cardinals from Venice, Pietro Bembo and Gasparo Contarini. The Portuguese humanist had been in frequent contact with them during his stay in Padua, between 1534 and 1538. They discussed geographical discoveries and overseas empires, their shared fear of the Turks (in 1539 Góis published an account of the Ottoman siege of Diu of the previous year) and were all engaged in interfaith dialogue with the Protestants, hoping for a reconciliation of European Christianity. Contacts between Góis and the Protestant world, including Luther (who met him in 1533), were known in Portugal. However, the Inquisition was not chiefly concerned in Góis's orthodoxy at the time, or about the possible connection between Ethiopian customs like the reiteration of baptism and the marriage of priests and Protestant positions. As the inquisitor-general, prince Henry, explained in a further letter to Góis (December 1541), the censors were troubled by Saga za-Ab's memorandum (where any reference to Monophysitism was obliterated), which represented Ethiopian Christianity as substantially orthodox, but also by Góis's openness toward non-Catholic Christians in general, possibly influenced by Erasmus's indifference to rites, liturgies and external aspects of religion that risked being seen by the Portuguese New Christians as an indirect justification of their errors.⁴⁰

It can be supposed that the text's millenarianism also worried the inquisitorial censors. Indeed, Saga za-Ab's report, although adulterated by Góis, confirmed the connections among beliefs and prophecies of Ethiopians and Portuguese, since only the archpriest was able to inform Góis about two oracles of Coptic origin that were referred to during their encounter, 'one from Saint Victor's prophecy, the other from Saint Shenouda the hermit who was born in the most remote lands of Egypt, neither of them dissenting from the other'. Since the Ethiopian Emperor had received Emmanuel I's ambassadors, 'these oracles seem to be nearing their fulfillment. By now our Prince doesn't

⁴⁰ Letter dated on December 13, 1541, in *Índices dos livros proibidos*, 66–67.

think and meditate with plans and arms about anything but the elimination of the Muslims from the earth'.⁴¹

Contrary to Góis, any prophetic dimension was absent in Álvares, who continued to believe in the existence of Prester John and the opportunity of an alliance ('bringing Christians together with Christians'). Álvares's evocative description of the legendary sovereign was the first autoptic one circulating in Europe. It was partly moulded as an answer to images spread by renowned humanists like the Venetian Marco Antonio Sabellico, who stated that the name 'Prester John' was a misunderstanding of the original Ethiopian title 'Gyam, that is powerful' (Góis used the philological argument too). A descendant of David, he was the king of a powerful and rich Christian kingdom. The colour of his skin wasn't 'black' (*ater*), like his subjects, but 'white' (*candidus*).⁴² Álvares's effort to give to his treatise the potency of a realistic narration is clear when describing of his vision of Prester John (the Emperor Dawit II) at Court, in Tägwelät (Shäwä):

In age, complexion, and stature, he is a young man, not very black. His complexion might be chestnut or bay, not very dark in colour; he is very much a man of breeding, of middling stature; they said that he was twenty-three years of age, and he looks like that, his face is round, the eyes large, the nose high in the middle, and his beard is beginning to grow. In presence and state he fully looks like the great lord that he is.⁴³

Apart from this passage, the ambiguous position regarding the faith of the Ethiopians, classified as fragile and in need of correction, but not as openly heretical, must be seen as a compromise between the intransigence of a censorship and an Inquisition increasingly active and organized on one side (I suppose that the destruction of copies of the *Carta das novas*, as well as of the today very rare *Livro de Marco Paulo* can be dated to this moment), and the necessary support to the military expedition then departing to rescue Ethiopia on the other.⁴⁴

⁴¹ Góis Damião de, *Fides, Religio, Moresque Aethiopum* (Leuven, Rutger Ressen: 1540) fol. L iv r–v. For a discussion see *Damian de Góis' Schrift über Glauber und Sitten der Äthioper*, ed. S. Uhlig – G. Buhring (Wiesbaden: 1994) 268.

⁴² Sabellico Marcantonio, *Secunda Pars Enneadum* (Venice, Bernardinus Vercellensis: 1504) fols. 170v–171r.

⁴³ *The Prester John of the Indies* 304.

⁴⁴ On this clampdown see my book *I custodi dell'ortodossia. Inquisizione e Chiesa nel Portogallo del Cinquecento* (Rome: 2004) 67–80. In particular, on Ethiopia see Aubin J., "Le Prêtre Jean devant la censure portugaise", in idem, *Le Latin et l'Astrolabe* 1, 183–210.

Indeed, while religious orthodoxy was becoming dominant in royal political communication, both in the kingdom and the empire, Portuguese troops led by Cristóvão da Gama, a son of Vasco da Gama, moved to Abyssinia in order to help the Christian Ethiopians who had been under invasion since 1527, when a Muslim army commanded by imam Ahmad Gragn attacked the highlands where the Ethiopian Court resided from the South.⁴⁵

The killing of Cristóvão da Gama in 1542, while fighting against Ahmad Gragn, was the kiss of death for the long-lasting hope for an Ethiopian alliance and Prester John. As pointed out by João de Barros in his *Décadas da Ásia*, when the news arrived in Lisbon the disillusionment made it clear to all that the belief in Prester John was a 'mistake'.⁴⁶ During the same period, a conversation about the true God and the coming of the Messiah confirmed to authorities the risk that the myth of Ethiopia represented: a rich New Christian merchant, Pêro Álvares, condemned to death by the Inquisition, revealed under the gallows to the notary of the Tribunal of the Faith that 'next to the Cape of Good Hope there were Jews who were ruled by a king and that an ambassador of the Prester, who was Christian, told it to the King our Lord, as well as to the Princes'.⁴⁷

It was a dangerous connection between the myth of the lost tribes of Israel and Saga za-Ab. Moreover, alongside the tragic expedition of Cristóvão da Gama, the first signs of the crisis of the Portuguese empire, repeatedly battered in North Africa and under constant pressure in Asia, advised against any new proposals of an attractive image of Ethiopia, even after the definitive rejection of Prester John. Finally, the general religious atmosphere was rapidly changing: a supporter of the establishment of the Inquisition in India, the former vicar-general of Goa, Miguel Vaz Coutinho, informed King John III in 1545 that he had come into possession of a copy of the treatise by Góis sent to Saga za-Ab after his return to Ethiopia, which he classified as a repertory of Ethiopian Christianity's great errors;⁴⁸ the following year, at the Council of Trent, the idea of sending letters to Christian princes,

⁴⁵ Abir, *Ethiopia* 88–99; Marcus H.G., *A History of Ethiopia* (Berkeley: 1994) 30–37.

⁴⁶ Barros J. de, *Ásia [...] Dos feitos que os portugueses fizeram no descobrimento e conquista dos mares e terras do Oriente*, ed. H. Cidade – M. Múrias (Lisbon: 1945) 168.

⁴⁷ Arquivo Nacional da Torre do Tombo, *Inquisição de Évora*, proc. 8628, fol. 409v.

⁴⁸ *Documenta Indica*, ed. J. Wicki, 1 (Rome: 1948) doc. 10.

including 'the king of Nubia, whom we call Prester John', 'made everyone chuckle, so that almost the whole synod burst into laughter'.⁴⁹

The discrediting of Prester John contributed to the transformation of Ethiopia into a missionary field, where the Jesuits would work subsequently.⁵⁰ Meanwhile, the treatises by Góis and Álvares were the object of a periodic exercise of censorship at the University of Coimbra, first by Martín de Azpilcueta, the famed Doctor Navarrus, in the mid-1540s, and then by anonymous readers who committed themselves to purifying those writings.⁵¹ References to Ethiopia became rare in Portuguese imperial literature, even more so when they included Prester John. Camões's silence reflected the new cultural order that supported a more cautious approach to a very delicate subject: the Empire. As a prism of the tensions around it, in less than a century the public image of Ethiopia as a powerful ally for a global war against Islam shifted to that of an impoverished wasteland in need of evangelization, resuming the passage of Portuguese theories of empire from a perspective based on conquests and millenarianism to one intimately related to missions and scholastic theology.

⁴⁹ *Concilium Tridentinum. Diariorum, actorum, epistolarum, tractatum nova collectio* (Freiburg im Bresgau: 1901) 25.

⁵⁰ Pennec H., *Des Jésuites au Royaume du Prêtre Jean (Ethiopie). Stratégies, reconstructions et tentatives d'implantation, 1495-1633* (Paris: 2003). I don't agree with the reconstruction proposed by Shabot L.C., "The Ethiopian Christianity as Heresy: The Development of the Concept in the Portuguese and Jesuit Sources", in *Proceedings of the XVth International Conference of Ethiopian Studies*, ed. S. Uhlig (Wiesbaden: 2006) 649-655.

⁵¹ *Documenta Historiam Habessinorum*, 3/2, docs. 258-259.

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